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[FORMERLY NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION]

AT THE FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION HELD IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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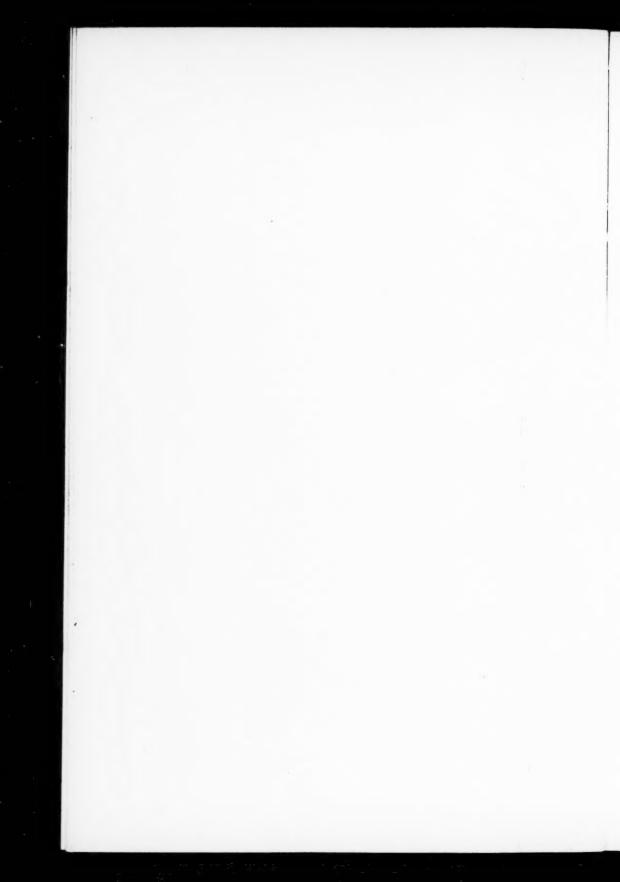
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#### **FOREWORD**

HE Executive Committee presents herewith the volume of *Proceedings* of the 1930 Conference. In line with policies established last year, the Editorial Committee abridged and edited the material submitted. This Committee consists of: Jane M. Hoey, New York; Joanna C. Colcord, New York; Harry L. Lurie, Chicago; and the following persons serving ex officio, Dr. Miriam Van Waters, president of the 1930 Conference; Howard R. Knight, editor of the *Proceedings*; and Mrs. Bertha Freeman Hooper, assistant editor.

The Editorial Committee wishes again to emphasize the fact that the omission of a paper from the *Proceedings* does not reflect on its value to the Conference. It may have served a very useful purpose in stimulating thought and discussion at the time of the meeting. Yet such considerations as publication of similar material in social work literature or previous volumes of the *Proceedings*, duplication of material in different divisions of the Conference, local character of projects discussed, permanent value, space, etc., may have led the Committee to omit or abridge the paper. Copies of all papers not included in the *Proceedings* are available for examination at: Russell Sage Foundation Library, New York; University of Chicago Library, Chicago; University of California Library, Berkeley; and the Conference office.

The Editorial Committee greatly appreciates the cooperation of the authors who submitted their manuscripts for consideration and the division chairmen who assisted in the selection of papers for the *Proceedings*.



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GENERAL SESSIONS



# PHILOSOPHICAL TRENDS IN MODERN SOCIAL WORK

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Miriam Van Waters, Referee, Juvenile Court, Los Angeles

Social workers have not written down their philosophy, absorbed as they are in dealing realistically with human experience. Social workers' case records contain detailed observation of life on a scale comparable only to the great Russian novelists, with this important distinction, the facts of the social workers have been lived exactly as recorded. Their reality has been tested, verified, and classified by means of the scientific method, whereas the observations of the Russian novelists are the outcome of constructive imagination and the personal philosophical viewpoints of the writer. The philosophy of the social worker one can infer only from his records and his acts.

When we try to state the philosophy that underlies social work we have to describe both an attitude and a system of ideas. We have to account for the various impulses that lead social workers to devote their lives to a new kind of pursuit. We have to examine the system of ideas by means of which, in a sense wholly new, the human scene is grasped as a whole. For social work is international in scope and interracial. Its methodology is useful in solving the human problems of the happy and adequate, as well as the handicapped and unhappy.

One method of discovering the systems of ideas current in modern social work is to examine the major preoccupations of the National Conference of Social Work for the last fifty-seven years.

Looking backward to the themes of social work discussed in the National Conferences from the period 1874, the date of the first publication of annual proceedings, until the present meeting, we discover certain broad trends.¹ The first meeting was in 1871, called the National Conference of Charities and Correction. It arose out of the desire of members of the state boards of charities and correction of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Kansas, to become better acquainted with one another, to meet for mutual benefit and encouragement, and to discuss questions in which they had a common interest. For the first six years, the conference met in conjunction with the general meetings of the American Social Science Association. In 1880 it separated itself from that group.

The scene presented by the first conference was vastly different from tonight's. The membership in 1874 was seventy-nine, including the newspaper reporters, and with the exception of one intrepid soul, all were men. Moreover, most of the group were public officials. After the first meeting, some representatives of private charities were anxious to join, and were permitted to do so. From 1874 to 1890 the public charities predominated, both in membership and program, but since 1890 private agencies have increased, and now provide the largest field of influence.

The theme of the first decade of conference meetings may be summarized as the Era of Big Buildings; it was the brick and mortar period. As Amos Warner said, the almshouse was the fundamental institution in American poor relief. The almshouse contained the insane, the paupers, the feebleminded, the illegitimate and dependent children, the prostitutes and unmarried mothers, or such of them as were "abjectly destitute, not otherwise provided for." Historically, however, outdoor relief antedates the almshouse in nearly all the states, because at first there was so little "pauperism" that a building seemed unnecessary: often the almshouse arose as a "reform movement due to excessive relief and its attendant evils." As Edward Devine remarked: "There has been no period within the century when the system of public outdoor relief has gone unchallenged."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For this summary I am indebted to Helen Eaves, in an unpublished thesis for the University of Minnesota.

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In the almshouse were often found the insane chained in cages, the handicapped of all sorts, blind, deaf, crippled, idiots, imbeciles, and morons, the aged poor, thieves serving short time sentences when there was no jail or it was full, orphaned and deserted children, and children born in the almshouse. The almshouse was usually lodged in an old farmhouse, lacked even the sanitation of the period, and it was managed by farmers who knew little save farm work, and had no idea how to care for the wretched people under their supervision.

The jails of that date have been described by Frederick H. Wines:

Most of them are unsanitary, owing to their location or to their architectural construction. Many of them are overcrowded, almost to suffocation. They are often terribly filthy. They are centers of tuberculosis and syphilitic contagion. . . . . The associations, the language, the practices in vogue are vile beyond description. The inmates are corrupted by compulsory association in enforced idleness. The worst of these prisons are cesspools of moral contagion, propagating houses of criminality, factories of crime, feeders for the penitentiary, public nuisances, the disgrace of modern civilization.<sup>2</sup>

This description must stand today as an accurate picture of the majority of our county and city jails.

The building of vast new structures to care for the insane, and for the removal of dependent and delinquent children from almshouse and jail, characterized the years 1874 to 1884. Sponsors for this program were filled with optimism, emphasizing the curability of the insane, and our responsibility for the youthful offender. Cures were estimated on the basis of the numbers admitted to the institution at the beginning of the year, minus those discharged at the end of the year.<sup>3</sup>

States entered into competition to see which could build the most beautiful and costly building. Cost per capita mounted. Applications of the insane for admission were so numerous that the quota was full before the paint was dry. Conference papers of this period were full of warnings against "needless extrava-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Frederick H. Wines, "Abolition of County Jails," Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1911.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dr. Pliny Earle, "Curability of the Insane," Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1880.

gance." That institutional care was needed no one denied, but the Conference advocated less money for buildings and more for treatment. As Dr. Herman Adler has since pointed out, a hospital though it is a marble palace may become, in the hands of the

wrong surgeon, a morgue.

In 1877 Dugdale read his famous paper on the Jukes. For the next half dozen years the Conference was plunged in pessimism due to belief that everything from insanity to laziness was inherited. The five subjects for the decade, ranged in degree of attention, were insanity, pauperism, dependent and neglected children, charity organization, crime and crime prevention. Gradually insanity, as chief topic of discussion, gave place to charity organization and dependent and neglected children. By 1884 a note of optimism was sounded, and in the next decade, 1884 to 1894, we find the Conference concerned chiefly with problems of administration.

After buildings had been secured, attention was naturally drained into the problem of how to run them. Papers dealt with the need of women doctors for women patients, and the growing disfavor of the use of mechanical restraints. The child was emerging as a problem. Some argued that he should be put in the reform school which was envisaged as a kind of nursery. Country placing of children was favored; carloads of children picked up from the streets were placed with farmers, usually with little or no investigation of the home, and with uncritical expectant optimism as to results.

Statistics were much in favor. It was noted that the census of insane and dependent persons always increased when a state building was advocated for their care. Frederick H. Wines

pleaded for uniform statistics.

In this ten year period, the charity organization movement was beginning. Alexander Johnson gave the report of the standing committee. The fundamental idea of private charities was to improve the condition of the poor by other methods than relief giving. The techniques of investigation, cooperation and registration were established. Thus modern case work was evolved.

The third decade, 1894 to 1904, shifted emphasis to a demand for trained workers. Trained nurses and trained social workers were gradually supplanting the volunteers. Prison reform was talked of; release from the convict labor lease system, need for industrial training, education, and recreation were stressed. The honor system was set forth as a means of discipline. It was not until this time that epileptics were put into institutions by themselves instead of being housed with the insane. The feebleminded menace emerged as a problem; social workers were beginning to recognize the concept of mental defect, and there were demands that the feebleminded be segregated.

The fourth decade, 1904 to 1914, marks a radical departure in the thinking of the Conference. Formerly, heredity and the personal characteristics of clients were relied on as causes: now we note attention to social environment. A great program of legislation was called for: "Minimum Wage and Minimum Wage Boards." "The National Child Labor Movement" were some of the titles discussed. The problem of fatigue, occupational diseases, health of workers, sanitation of factories, safety, regulation of hours, social insurance, occupied most of the program. Three constructive viewpoints are noted: that public health is a positive ideal to be attained by use of preventive measures, that neighborhood life is an asset to be conserved, that immigration is a tremendous challenge to Americanization. Gradually a sense of social relationships was dawning; medicine, religion, school, labor unions, commercial organizations were woven into the social worker's fabric.

The fifth decade, 1914 to 1924, saw the definite expression of self-consciousness and self-criticism on the part of social workers. Mary Richmond's definition: "Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment," is the first clear statement of the new goal. Social workers had been practitioners in a field of emergencies;

<sup>\*</sup> Mary Richmond, What is Social Case Work? (New York, 1922), pp. 97-98.

now they become analytical, searching for causes and methodology. They begin to stress record keeping, and to attempt an evaluation of their social process by some more searching tests than adding and subtracting.

The war years concerned the Conference and shifted attention to specialized needs and problems, but on this phase we will not dwell.

Definite attempts to mold public opinion on a large scale were made, particularly in the field of medical social work, and in control of communicable diseases. The community chest idea for raising finances appeared as a new project. The juvenile court movement, the psychopathic hospital, social legislation dealing with unemployment, a new attitude toward illegitimacy mark these years. Social hygiene as a constructive force received attention, and became an ideal to work for. Finally, the new era dawned, the day of mental hygiene with its concept of adjustment. Social workers at Conferences peered anxiously into the faces of their comrades with the unspoken question: have you been psychoanalyzed? Indeed there was no need to ask. The freshly psychoanalyzed social worker is immediately discernible. His speech is both cryptic and dogmatic. His curiosity about the way of life of his friends is second only to his intense preoccupation with his new self.

Speaking very generally, the trends in social work have been: first, the attack on concrete problems of human distress; second, a change of emphasis from amelioration to prevention; third, a program which embraces both but enlarges its scope to include constructive activities for the adequate and the happy.

No field illustrates this better than the family. First attention focused exclusively upon those isolated fragments of the broken family in the almshouse; then to the family in the tenement struggling to keep itself together. Today new techniques, even a new vocabulary are sought. For example the April Compass<sup>5</sup> solicits a term to describe the social worker who is placed in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Publication of the Journal of the American Association of Social Workers, Vol. XI, No. 8.

home where the mother is absent, or incapacitated. Formerly the children would have been placed out; now the home keeping activity is maintained by a worker who is more than a housekeeper. Finally we listen to the positive message of those who wish to educate young people for marriage and parenthood, and the community for fresh ideals of family formation.

Our sixth decade, beginning in 1924, has been called the era of research. Its chief characteristic is a change in attitude. On the one hand, we find growing out of the common background of social case work an intensive specialization; on the other hand, the growth of scientific scepticism. We look before we leap, we make a survey before we build. Not that this caution is wholly new. As early as 1883, a delegate to the Conference said, in wonder, "It seems almost as if one institution is no sooner established than it develops the need of another."

Thus in 1930, in the State of New York, we find Governor Roosevelt securing from the legislature as an emergency matter \$18,300,000 for the addition of 6,000 beds for mental hospital patients, at the same time predicting there would be in five years 18,000 more patients than could be accommodated by the present state hospitals. Nothing short of another \$50,000,000 bond issue, the Governor reports, will care for the needs of the insane in New York. At the same time, President Hoover signs a bill appropriating \$15,950,000 for new hospital construction for disabled veterans, of which approximately \$6,800,000 will be allotted for 2,600 additional beds for mental patients. The latest report from the United States Veteran's Bureau states that 12,780 mental patients are under care in government hospitals, or twice as many as suffer from tuberculosis.

It has been noted that effective social work tends to produce the need for more social work, and this has sometimes been deplored. A similar tendency in education does not alarm us. Good schools increase desire for more schools. If the thinking behind our social work activities and our education is sound, and if our goals

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Reports from states: Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1883.

are clear, the mere multiplication of our activities is nothing to deplore. There is no indication that the number of insane, handicapped, or maladjusted persons is increasing. It is the social workers who are increasing. An increase of social workers brings about an increase in social problems in proportion as each social worker is a social thinker. As we think more clearly we become more sensitive. As we become more sensitive our standards of life are enlarged. We are unwilling, in behalf of those we serve, to accept life on any terms, for we have embraced a vision of life abundant, wherein "humble men may realize beauty and the joy of living."

The present Conference deals with all the problems known to the first meeting. We do not solve our problems by the techniques we evolve; we merely outlive them. We shift emphasis of our attention. As far as outward problems go, we live in all five decades simultaneously. We are still in the era of big buildings, for example, but the wise value them only when they appear as the conscious symbol of a sociological wisdom, rather than costly warehouses where mistakes are stored. We know now that we do not need more prisons. Massachusetts has shown a better way, in her use of probation, and a statewide mental hygiene program.

Good administration we still need, but we cannot substitute procedure for knowledge of human character. We still need trained workers, but they must be human personalities worthy of training, in the first place, and in the second, able to understand

the mechanizing effect of their techniques.

It has been asserted that social work is a profession and that social workers are a professional group. The attributes of a professional group are four: first, acquisition of special skill based on training; second, a function to perform that is recognized by public opinion; third, a feeling of kinship, or consciousness of kind due to common training experiences, and to public recognition; fourth, a sense of loyalty, or honor expressing itself in a code of ethics in the field, of mutual relationships between clients and workers and the public.

The social worker has fulfilled these conditions in whole, or part, let us assume. The skill and the function of the social worker are based necessarily upon the development of the social sciences, and share consciously or unconsciously their philosophical assumptions. The social sciences are those that deal with what takes place in man himself. "Phenomena related to group activities are commonly called social phenomena, and the sciences which classify and interpret such activities are the social sciences." Social work deals with common, not separate wants; it does not, for example, seek to aid a man to become a better mathematician, but a better member of his household and community.

Some specialists deny this assumption—that is, they deny the possibility of a direct attack on the problem of human welfare. For example, this statement by a psychologist: "He who dedicates his services to 'human welfare' is rather less likely to ease the progress of mankind than, say, an ear doctor who limits his attention to a narrow field."

This is the kind of positive dogma which remains true, only when not applied. We live in a social order based on the personality of man; if we attempt to ignore the complexities of human relationships we not only contribute nothing to "easing the progress of mankind"; we do not even make life worth while to the man who has been cured of an earache.

"The subject matter of social work is the adjustment of men to their environment." This definition indicates the vast scope of an enterprise devoted to the quest of a way of life, rather than the acquisition of several goods. We cannot here point out how the social worker's task differs from that of the physician, teacher, lawyer, or clergyman, each of whom is engaged in one or more aspects of adjustment. It has been said that the social worker merely supplements the inadequacies of home, school, court, clinic, church, or other social institutions, beginning only when

F. E. R. Seligman, "Development of Social Thought and Institutions," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. I.

<sup>\*</sup>Truman L. Kelley (Professor of Education and Psychology), Crossroads in the Mind of Man (Stanford University Press, 1928), p. 1.

Porter R. Lee, Proceedings National Conference of Social Work, 1920.

they have failed and the individual has been cast forth—that is, has become a problem. This does not describe the whole field. The social worker assumes the responsibility for integration, the process of making whole, the various resources of well being in the community. For example, it is the business of certain specialists to give concrete shipping directions; thus Health says, "We must be well" whatever else we are. But there are situations when we prefer to safeguard other values, and these may range from an injudicious, extra cup of coffee to the sense of duty such as that which kept a social worker, a Los Angeles school teacher, voluntarily with her clients in the roped off bubonic plague area. Mental Hygiene may say, "Whatever happens we must be integrated," but there are situations where we lose more than we gain by the process of emotional adjustment. The questions put by the social worker are: Why take this direction? Where are we going?

If I am challenged to furnish evidence that social workers have staked out this high sounding claim, I offer:

The family case worker recognizes that case-work like social reform is not an end in itself, but that both are to be tested by their effect upon the quality of life with the individual and his enhanced capacity for creative striving.<sup>10</sup>

An interpretation of what a family welfare agency considers its function has been given by the Jewish Social Service Association of New York.<sup>11</sup>

It wishes to make it possible for the family to take part in what goes on around it with the full enjoyment of which the members are capable, to make them a productive, useful, contented, and harmonious group.

It wishes to give the family a strong confidence in itself and a substantial belief that it can overcome its own difficulties. This resourcefulness may be information, or it may be a new attitude toward life. . . . . Certain essentials are necessary to the realization of this end . . . . a home in which healthful, comfortable living is possible, food, clothing which not only meets material needs, but which provides . . . expression of individual tastes . . . . educational opportunities in accordance with ability to make use of that opportunity; work which is congenial and of-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Vocational Aspects of Family Social Work. Prepared by a committee consisting of Betsey Libbey, Mary F. Bogue, Edith Spray, Louise McGuire, Dorothy Kahn, Margaret Rich, 1926.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Fifty Years of Social Work, The History of the United Hebrew Charities of the City of New York (1927), p. 93, and pp. 108-9.

fers progress; recreation . . . . ; some means for spiritual development and growth; and with all of these, happy and wholesome relationships within the family group. . . . . This requires of the workers, before all else, an understanding of the individual, his capacities and his hopes, his successes and his failures in his relation to the world about him. Next there must be the ability with this understanding as a basis to lead the individual toward the development of his fullest capacity for life. If each of its members can be helped toward this equipment for his personal life, which includes his relationships to his family and the world outside, the family as a group will then be ready to face not only its present difficulties, but also those which the future holds for it.

What are the philosophical trends behind these statements of purposes and goals? Our social situation today has similarities to that of the Greeks after their victory over the Persians, the period twenty-four centuries ago (469–399 B.C.), which produced the Sophists. There was then as now thirst for knowledge that could be turned immediately to human uses, for "man was the measure of all things." The increased eagerness for knowledge that could be used as a tool in getting rich, as a means for social and political advancement, as a means of stabilization after the shocks to religious and moral belief, was expressed in a popular demand for teachers of adult education. Popular education had its usual effect: it comforted and inspired more persons in their strife for the material good things of life, and it brought new viewpoints that shocked those already comfortable.

The important social difference in our modern situation is our concern with the problem of the maladjusted, an intellectual concern which has come to the aid of our compassion. The Greeks would have interpreted a social worker's concern with the defective as sure evidence of that person's own defectiveness, either in sense or morals. There is a modern voice that says the same thing, as witness, Nietzsche. But the social worker's attitude does not spring primarily from his compassion. He sees the suffering individual as an integral part of the whole, not as a burden, but a challenge. This change in attitude is an indication of the social

Of the various meanings of the word "philosophy," the social worker is concerned with two: the study and knowledge of the principles that cause, explain, or control human facts and events,

worker's philosophy.

and the development of a viewpoint combining that serenity and practical wisdom which comes from the knowledge of the principles underlying human life. With the technical problems of philosophy, the nature of knowledge, and the ultimate essence of things, the social worker is not concerned. He could do his work as readily in the mental world of Plato, as in that of Dewey; whatever the ultimate nature of reality, the social worker deals with the vital part of philosophy, that which concerns itself with a quest of a way of life.

The potential contribution of social work to philosophy is greater than the contribution of philosophy to social work. So-

cial work has put new meaning into our collective life.

If we tried to explain our purposes to the assembled philosophers of all time Spinoza would understand us best, for Spinoza aimed "neither to revile, nor to deride, but to understand human conduct." For Spinoza, ethics was the most important problem, and the moral life of man involved seeing the universe as a complete unity of which all things, including human beings, are infinitely varied expressions. "To understand an object or event it is necessary to follow up the innumerable conditions on which it depends. We can never halt, although these ramify in every direction, until we comprehend the whole, which is God."

The emphasis placed on the possibility of understanding human beings is a dominant note in the social worker's philosophy. Human personality has intrinsic value for the social worker, not because it can be molded or rehabilitated, but because it is worthy of respect in its own right. No rehabilitation is required to make a human being worthy of respect. Expressed in other terms, the social worker, through an endless series of recorded experiences of human personalities in difficulties has built up a concept of the laws which lie at the foundation of behavior. The social worker is no longer bewildered by the old conflict of free will and determinism. When the idea of causation emerges praise and blame disappear. We hear no more about the "worthy poor." The attitude of the social worker toward human beings is one of "respect."

The social worker does not pity his clients, nor does he call on

them for repentance. The social worker is probably unaware how close he is to Spinoza in the field of ethics. Spinoza was of the opinion:

Pity is sorrow, and therefore is in itself evil. . . . . The man who has properly understood that everything follows from the necessity of the divine nature, and comes to pass according to the eternal laws and rules of Nature, will in truth discover nothing which is worthy of hatred, laughter, or contempt, nor will he pity, but so far as human virtue is able, he will endeavor to do well . . . . and to rejoice. 12

Spinoza warned against those emotions which spring from "want of knowledge and impotence of mind." For this reason confidence, despair, gladness and remorse are signs of weakness of mind. For although confidence and gladness are emotions of joy, they nevertheless suppose that

sorrow has preceded them, namely hope or fear. Repentance is not a virtue, that is to say, it does not spring from reason; on the

contrary the man who repents of what he has done is doubly wretched or impotent. For, in the first place, we allow ourselves to be overcome by a deprayed desire, and,

in the second place, by sorrow.13

The family case worker and the psychiatric social worker are alike in their reliance for treatment upon constructive attitudes, stressing competence and adequacy rather than humility and dependence. Thus the social worker is sharply differentiated from his ancestor, the philanthropist.

His attitude toward personality sets the social worker far apart from the social reformer who adopts a program of militant social

welfare, and fights the opposition with hatred.

In so far as public opinion is aware of social work it identifies it with reform or uplift movements. This is a mistake. There is evidence that social workers derive from trends of thought quite distinct from "reformers." Reformers have commonly a low opinion of mankind.

The problem for the militant reformer is bounded by his concept of human nature which is similar to that of Hobbes. The reformer is like Hobbes who "specialized profoundly in omniscience,"14 that is to say, the reformer would like you to believe he knows what is best for you to do, better than you know yourself.

For Hobbes, the state was not concerned with social good, but

<sup>12</sup> The Philosophy of Spinoza (New York: Modern Library, 1927), pp. 279-80.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 278-79.

<sup>14</sup> H. Laski, "Rise of Liberalism," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, I, 109-111.

with restraint; possibly restraint may be conceded evil, but necessary because of man's appetites. His problem was how to make a common life for men whose actions are always born of fear and self interest, and this was the more difficult because he had "no confidence in any power but the sword, no belief in any motive save the meanest in human nature." Hobbes' theory is congenial to the reformer by fiat, and also to the "one hundred per cent American" as he is popularly understood. The political doctrine of Hobbes was that every state is a "completely self-sufficient organism which does not need to look outside of itself for the sanctions of its conduct." This type of philosophical thinking has been repudiated by social work. It is antagonistic to its fundamental assumptions concerning human nature.

The social worker has been criticized for not knowing right from wrong, but in thinking in terms of adjustments, maladjustments, and complexes, and he is jointly indicted with psy-

chologists and psychiatrists: thus Dean Wigmore.

We say to the devoted social workers and the cold scientist "do not think that you have a right to demand that all crimes be handed over to your charge until you have looked a little more deeply into the criminal law and have a better comprehension of the whole of its functions."

### The functions of criminal law are explained:

First, to re-affirm the moral law (the only agency in modern life now doing it); second, to threaten and deter potential offenders; third, to handle the individual, now caught, so as to prevent repetition by him.

The social worker is in no position to demand that all crimes be handed over to his charge. His presence in the juvenile courts and in the schools and clinics for truants has made him know that force is powerless without rational understanding. He suspects that wherever there is crime, there also is to be found a sociological wrong. A social worker could not run a prison that would be satisfactory to the politicians, who insist upon a combination of profit and revenge. The social worker does not go so far as the early Christian philosopher Tertullian<sup>15</sup> who taught that no Christian could properly hold office of judge, in which he would have to doom to death, chains, and imprisonment. (So far as I

<sup>15 160</sup> A.D.

know no social worker ever became a judge anyway, but some judges are trying to be social workers.) The social worker has some follies and inadequacies at his door, but he can never be said to have had charge of the system which produced prison riots in Auburn, Folsom, Colorado, et cetera, nor the burning of over three hundred men to death in Columbus.

Taking stock of social work in the twentieth century we note a change. Older social workers expressed more faith and enthusiasm in human beings than social workers do today. Thus Octavia Hill in 1873 in a letter to a would-be contributor, who did not wish his name placed on an inscription:

It is not necessary that you should measure the amount and form of your faith before helping us. . . . . To me the real man is he—when hope is brightest, and the vision of what may be almost trembles into certainty, that that best thing is.

In reply to his doubts, she says,

I am sure you must always have felt it, and acted on it, with children, with wrong doers, when they, whom you have watched and cared for, have wandered from what is right: whenever you have tried to reconcile a quarrel, whenever you have tried to forgive anyone who had done you a wrong. I think all the sense of peace one is able to have in this world comes from this conviction: certainly all who have tried to reform themselves owe their strength to this faith. It seems to me the only ground for preaching freedom, and the only right foundation for hope for any of us.<sup>16</sup>

This is the familiar doctrine of Perfectionism, whereby the moral attainment of gifted individuals encourages the imaginative construction of ideals of human life which become standards to strive for. It has been of great use in the world. It is true that we are more successful in reforming ourselves "when hope is brightest" than when we are oppressed by a sense of guilt. But we no longer find attraction in the ethics of perfectionism. It is not necessary to our peace of mind to ignore that man is a "sinner." For us the "real man" includes all that he is. Jack Black, as a criminal, was essentially the same personality as the Jack Black who conquered drugs and gave up crime: his qualities of loyalty, courage, and frankness were merely directed to different ends when he encountered loyalty, integrity, and sympathy in a man like Fremont Older.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Letters of Octavia Hill (London, 1913), pp. 301-2.

<sup>17</sup> See Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work, 1929, p. 196.

The modern social worker does not deny reality to any phase of human conduct. The problem of evil is not attacked as a philosophical entity, but as a genetic concept, explained by an infinite series of childhood experiences and relationships. The past has "gnawed into the future."

There is no fundamental difference between old and new social workers. Both are illumined by conviction that the spirit of service is an expression of the highest development of the human personality. The pioneers are marked by serenity and gladness: no one ever heard of a veteran disillusioned, pessimistic social worker. Both love beauty. Octavia Hill broke down in service, went to Tyrol and wrote lyrically beautiful letters to her friends: she was sensitive to the beauty of the print of the chamois foot on the snow. She returned to end her life in her profession. She wrote,

I do not know that I have much that is beautiful or helpful to tell you, except the natures of people; those are the loveliest things that I see; and they are lovely—some of them.

A former past president of a state conference became president of the National Garden Association; when she was invited to this conference she replied that she would go next year, this year she is editing a book on cactus. This reminds us of Voltaire's Candide who fulfilled his life by cultivating his garden. It reminds us that the social worker's art is that of the gardener in human relations, accepting nature without malice.

It has been said that the younger social workers, by whom I presume the middle aged are intended, have lost their faith, if not their charity as they have become increasingly conscious of the magnitude of problems and their own limitations. Porter Lee<sup>19</sup> pointed out that change in emotional attitude which comes when we recognize that we are engaged, not in a crusade, but in the performance of function.

This does not imply that we are done with emotion. It is nonsense to say that great social work can be done without great emo-

<sup>18</sup> Pearl Chase, Santa Barbara, California.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Presidential Address, Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, San Francisco, 1929.

tion. Our emotion is composed of the feeling that what happens to flesh and spirit is important, plus courage, joy, satisfaction, and love of our calling. But it has sometimes happened that the great emotion has existed without its union to great ideas. The union of emotion and idea is the beginning of great social work.

Social workers have been criticized for having no inclusive program of social betterment. This is partly true. Social work is identified with the philosophy of liberalism. Liberalism has not yet succeeded in expressing itself in our institutions. Liberalism

is a method of thinking, not a program.

For brief periods in human history vast programs for human betterment, drawn up by movements, such as Utilitarianism or Positivism, for example, have glittered alluringly. Comte affirmed that we should one day worship man, when as the result of collective endeavor humanity would become worthy of being viewed as the Great Being, the object of religious service. But Comte, founder of the Positivists, was not a strict Positivist; he severely criticized the actual state of mankind, and held up ideals derived from something beyond him.

Social work has realized that a program cannot make men moral, religious, or happy. The strength of a program depends upon the morality and the religion and the happiness of those who build and execute it. The true springs of action are in the internal nature of man. Hence the uselessness of programs, particularly those dependent upon state action, or force. When they

succeed they are no longer needed.

Social work is not materialistic, nor idealistic. It is animated only by a philosophy of understanding life, and it gives to those who practice it the ability to face life realistically, as it is, and life as it may be, courageously, without dogma, or fear.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT

George W. Wickersham, Chairman, National Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement, Washington

R. VAN WATERS, in her address to the last National Conference of Social Work, said: "The subject matter of social work is the social, moral, and spiritual nature of man. It is not the form of the family we wish to conserve, but the spirit and substance."

And Mr. William Hodson, at the same conference, explained that the strength of the American Association of Social Workers is not measured by total numbers, nor by the growing solidarity of interest through professional organizations.

It lies rather in the gradual acceptance of the social worker by the community as one skilled in the art of adjusting human relations, and the recognition that there is inherent in that skill a measure of authority and expert judgment in public welfare questions.

Certainly there is need of skilled aid in adjusting or readjusting human relations and in conserving the spirit and the substance of the family. Yet I cannot help wondering how the spirit and substance are to be preserved without the form. Is not the form the outward and visible sign of that spirit to which Dr. Van Waters refers? In this age of general revolt against authority; of the impatience of youth at restraint; of the new freedom of women; in this age of the automobile and the airplane, when the counsels of religion have so greatly lost authority; when youth and age alike are perpetually on the move; when the cafeteria has succeeded to mother's kitchen and the radio supplies through the ear as much of literary and spiritual pabulum as an inattentive and impatient mind is willing to receive, what place is there for either the spirit or the substance of the family?

What is the family as a social organism that was long regarded as the unit of human society? Husband, wife, and children make

up the normal family. In the larger sense, prevailing in continental European countries, the family is the association of all the living males of a common ancestry, with their wives and children. In this sense, we never have had families in America. But in the more restricted meaning, the family and the home where it dwelt, until recent times, was the accepted unit of American life. Politicians orate about "the home," ignoring the fact that the home and the family alike virtually have disappeared. The modern idea of home has been well expressed as the place one goes to from the garage.

How could "the family" persist when to all the other elements that destroy stability is added the increasing frequency of di-

vorce?

Do not all the social workers know how large a proportion of

juvenile delinquents come from "broken homes"?

So the social worker today engages in the task of adjusting and readjusting social relations, with far less aid from the authority of the church, the precepts of religion, or the cohesive force of family relation than ever before.

But by that same token the sheer difficulty of the task must attract a body of abler, bolder, more courageous workers than those who could call upon the authority of revealed religion and parental control, to subdue the fractious or console the unfortunate.

If the church has lost authority, the essential principles of Christianity, the application of that same spirit that animated the Good Samaritan, never have been more widely applied in dealings between men. If the family as an organization of those of common stock has been disseminated by the restlessness of this age of movement, the conception of all human society as a family, with the reciprocal duty of responsibility and service among its members, has succeeded to the responsibilities and the duties of the smaller group, with the corresponding right to the loyalty, obedience, and support of its members.

The primary task of the modern social worker is then, as it seems to me, to bring home to all people the actualities of this great change in social life. As Dr. Van Waters said, "The func-

tion of the new (social) morality is not to terrorize man, but to vitalize him." Too much of the older methods of social control depended upon the use of fear—in this world and in the hereafter. The problem today is to bring home to everyone the realization that in this enlarged family which is modern society, every man and every woman owes a duty to every other; that the welfare of each is bound up in that of all; that the right to the pursuit of happiness, to life, liberty, and property, depends upon the observance of this rule of reciprocal duty, and that those who will not play the game according to the rules, from time to time made by the social organism for the conduct of its life, must not complain when they are denied the privileges and rewards secured to those who do.

Thus the problem is become one of education—in the broadest sense of that term. The new education, as Dr. Lawrence A. Averill has written in the April issue of *Mental Hygiene*, aims at the development of the individual. It manifests a keen interest in the health of the individual child.

Little by little school health work is being changed from a mere routine inspection that misses all save the most glaring defects, to a careful and methodical system of safeguarding and protecting the physical organism of the future citizen and worker through preventive measures. . . . The movement for mental health, too, is making rapid strides in many communities that are impressed with the tremendous possibilities of forestalling and preventing emotional and personality maladjustments, and already child guidance clinics are available to thousands of children in the United States. . . . The whole idea of prevention is basically behind this movement—prevention of physical disease and abnormality, prevention of unfortunate attitudes and habits on the part of both parent and child, and prevention of deficiency, underprivilege and maladjustment generally.

This enlarged conception of education, when accepted by the state and applied by qualified teachers and workers, is giving to children a greater and more intelligent care and supplying them with far better preparation for their mature life than was furnished by the home and the family of earlier days.

This new education is based upon the recognition—so late a development in the concepts of organized socily—of the preeminent value to the community of healthy sane-minded children. The children are the greatest assets of the state, from every point of view. Perhaps one-half of the money expended by organized society in maintaining the delinquents, the injured and the diseased, the incompetent and the indigent aged, would be saved if an adequate sum were expended yearly for the physical, mental, and moral welfare of our children.

Modern society, especially in America, is a highly complex organism, composed of many varied racial elements, subjected to the high pressure of an intensely mechanized civilization. Without the modifying influence of the new conception of social duty, our civilization would be in great danger of degenerating into as sordid, cruel, and impersonal a tyranny and servitude as that of Soviet Russia. It scarcely requires argument to demonstrate that no such complex social organization as that of the present day United States could long exist without established, recognized, and generally accepted rules of conduct of its members. The success of the rules depends upon their meeting the sense of justice of the greater number of the community. While in the beginnings of society, the only law discoverable may be custom, as Mr. James G. Carter said in his Harvard Lectures, yet, as he also remarked, "The word itself imports its main characteristic, namely, its persistency and permanency." He adds:

It is important to point out that the establishment of a custom requires time, and long periods of time, and as all conduct is preceded by thought, it also involves a long series of similar thoughts—that is, of long concurring common opinion. Custom rests, therefore, not only upon the opinion of the present, but upon that of the past; it is tradition passing from one generation to another.<sup>1</sup>

It was this customary law to which the Parliament of Henry VIII referred as such as

.... the people of this your realm have taken at their free liberty, by their own consent, to be used among them; and have bound themselves by long use and custom to the observance of the same .... as to the customed and ancient laws of this realm, originally established as laws of the same, by the said sufference, consents and custom; and none otherwise.<sup>2</sup>

But our modern civilization changes so rapidly that regulation of its life by ne y enacted law becomes imperative long before

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> James G. Carter, Law, Its Origin, Growth and Function (New York: Putnam, 1927), p. 19.

<sup>2 25</sup> Henry VIII c. 21.

uniform conduct can develop, ripen into custom, and become generally accepted rules. A generation that has lived through the invention and introduction into general use of the telephone, the electric light, the radio, the gasoline engine, and automobile and airplane, to say nothing of a thousand other adaptations of applied science, should readily understand that the problems resulting from the employment of all these must be met by some other means than self-imposed customary rules. Consider for example the problems presented by the increase in the number of automobiles on our highways during the last thirty years. The total number of motor cars of all classes in the United States in 1899

was 3,700; in 1928, 4,601,130.

Not only have the cars increased in numbers, but also in speed. so that the problem of safeguarding the community has been steadily intensified. Experience in the use of these vehicles early demonstrated the need of a code of regulations which with the rapid increase in the number and variety of cars has required amendment, modification, and supplementing. Everyone recognizes this as a legitimate field for legislative action. Whether the laws made for the occasion were the wisest and best or not, they have in general been accepted and obeyed. The consequences of failure to comply with them have been widely recognized, and there is perhaps a more general observance of these regulations by the public than is given to any other laws. On the other hand, even slight violations of the rules are summarily dealt with. There are many of these infractions. In one court alone, in Los Angeles, last year, there were tried and disposed of upwards of 140,000 complaints of violation of traffic regulations. Better compliance with laws regulating the use of automobiles is being secured through requirements of licenses to drive, granted only after examination; inspection of cars and engines to insure proper equipment and lighting and other provisions designed to prevent accidents. While there are rigid regulations respecting traffic, the emphasis of the law increasingly is placed upon preventive measures. Education as to the necessity of these laws is furnished daily by the reports of accidents resulting from their violation. Carelessness in driving high-powered cars on the public highways, despite the peril to the driver, is all too common. Yet I believe there is a constantly diminishing number of wilful violations of the established rules, especially in the more congested communities. It requires very little thought to convince even the heedless of the need of authoritative control of the increasing number of motor vehicles, and the great majority of chauffeurs observe the rules, while public sentiment approves the summary punishment of those who do not.

I have referred to the control of automobile traffic by legislation, because I think everyone will recognize that this is a field which requires the establishment and application of rules to protect the drivers and the public, not tomorrow or next year, but now. There are many other subjects which the legislature seeks to control. Sometimes it seems as if it would have been wiser if the law making power should have waited to see if common use would not evolve a better regulation than that embodied in the statute. But that is a matter of legislative discretion. Save as regulated or restricted by constitutional limitations, the legislatures, state and national, may exercise this discretion as they see fit and good citizenship accepts and obeys their mandates until they are repealed or modified.

Even Mr. James G. Carter, one of the most determined opponents of statute making, except when the customary law fails to meet an obvious moral need, and who contended that "crime, like law, cannot be *made*, but must be found," wrote,

We must obey the laws even when ill-advised, and must therefore regard as crimes what they declare to be crimes; but in the view of Science, conduct cannot be made criminal by a legislative declaration. In the true sense, crimes are those grave departures from custom which disappoint expectation, excite resentment, and produce revenge, and directly involve society in disorder and violence.<sup>3</sup>

Opinions will differ as to what subjects should be regulated by legislation and how they should be controlled. Broad discretion necessarily is vested by constitutions in legislatures as to the subjects which should be controlled by law and the means of com-

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 251-52.

pelling obedience to the law. Where the law is the expression of the will of a mere legislative majority and does not reflect the general views of the community, the lawmaking power frequently, if not generally, seeks to compel obedience by excessive penalties, although this method seldom accomplishes its object.

Lord Macaulay, in his *History of England*, gives an interesting account of the efforts by act of Parliament to prevent the importation into England of woolen goods made on the Continent. A report made to the House of Commons showed that "during the eight years of war, the textures which it was thought desirable to keep out had been constantly coming in, and the material which it was thought desirable to keep in had been constantly going out."

Lord Macaulay wrote:

The inference which ought to have been drawn from these facts was that the prohibitory system was absurd. That system had not destroyed the trade which was so much dreaded, but had merely called into existence a desperate race of men who, accustomed to earn their daily bread by the breach of an unreasonable law, soon came to regard the most reasonable laws with contempt, and, having begun by eluding the custom-house officers, ended by conspiring against the throne. And if, in time of war, when the whole Channel was dotted with our cruisers, it had been found impossible to prevent the regular exchange of the fleeces of Cotswold for the alamodes of Lyons, what chance was there that any machinery which could be employed in time of peace would be more efficacious? The politicians of the seventeenth century, however, were of opinion that sharp laws sharply administered could not fail to save Englishmen from the intolerable grievance of selling dear what could be best produced by themselves, and of buying cheap what could be best produced by others. The penalty for importing French silks was made more severe. An act was passed which gave to a joint-stock company an absolute monopoly of lustrings for a term of fourteen years. The fruit of these wise counsels was such as might have been foreseen. French silks were still imported; and, long before the term of fourteen years had expired, the funds of the Lustring Company had been spent, its offices had been shut up, and its very name had been forgotten at Jonathan's and Carraway's.

Not content with prospective legislation, the Commons unanimously determined to treat the offences which the Committee had brought to light as high crimes against the State, and to employ against a few cunning mercers in Nicholas Lane and the Old Jewry all the gorgeous cumbrous machinery which ought to be reserved for the delinquencies of great Ministers and Judges. It was resolved, without a division, that several Frenchmen and one Englishman who had been deeply concerned in the contraband trade should be impeached. Managers were appointed; articles were drawn up; preparations were made for fitting up Westminster Hall with benches and scarlet hangings; and at one time it was thought that the trials would last until the partridge

shooting began. But the defendants, having little hope of acquittal, and not wishing that the Peers should come to the business of fixing the punishment in the temper which was likely to be the effect of an August passed in London, very wisely declined to give their lordships unnecessary trouble and pleaded guilty. The sentences were consequently lenient. The French offenders were merely fined; and their fines probably did not amount to a fifth part of the sums which they had realized by unlawful traffic. The Englishman who had been active in managing the escape of Goodman was both fined and imprisoned.

This was a more speedy and a happier ending of an unsuccessful attempt to accomplish a mistaken economic result by law than many others of like nature.

Intelligent legislation takes account of such histories as this. Mr. Justice Holmes in the opening chapter of his famous book on *The Common Law*, wrote:

The life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuitions of public policy, avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices which judges share with their fellowmen, have had a good deal more to do than the syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed.

And while in another place he said "The first requirement of sound body of law is that it should correspond with the actual feelings and demands of the community, whether right or wrong," he adds, "Statutory law need not profess to be consistent with itself, or with the theory adopted by judicial decisions."6 As a matter of fact, much statutory law wholly ignores the theory of judicial decisions. And frequently, conscious that the new law will provoke widespread opposition and resentment, the legislature fortifies its mandates with excessive penalties for noncompliance, and when experience shows that the apprehension was well founded, supplements the original penalties by vindictive increases. This is but reverting to the early type of legislation. The penalties are in the nature of vengeful reprisals upon those who question the legislative wisdom. As Justice Holmes says, "It is commonly known that the early forms of legal procedure were grounded in vengeance."7

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Macaulay's History of England, chapter xxiii, pp. 17-20.

The Common Law, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 63. Tbid., p. 2.

Judge Parry, an English judge of wide experience in the administration of the criminal law, writing of some famous characters known to statutes as "rogues and vagabonds," says: "These poor creatures in Shakespeare's time were no doubt a great social pest, but the cruelty of the laws against them did little to stop their activities." He adds, "Each generation has had a few reformers with sufficient insight to understand that force, though

necessary to restrain, is no remedy for crime."8

Naturally in this connection one thinks of the national prohibition law. Without trenching upon the contentious ground of how the Eighteenth Amendment and the legislation to carry it into effect were brought about, one thing is perfectly obvious, and that is, that from the enactment of the Volstead Act down to the present time, reliance upon carrying out the purposes of the Amendment was placed upon the power of the government to compel by the imposition of penalties of fine and imprisonment the general observance of the statute law. This method reached its peak in the enactment of the Jones law in March, 1929, which in effect made every violation of the prohibition laws, with the exception of illegal possession and maintenance of a nuisance, a potential felony. No process of education or attempted education of the public into the value of prohibition to accomplish the maximum of temperance in the community was attempted during all this period. The long course of demonstration of the evils of the use of intoxicating liquor which had led to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment was abandoned.

It is interesting to contrast the history of this method with that of England during the same period. The testimony given during the last few months before the Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales) has brought forth much evidence showing a marked decrease in the amount of drunkenness in England and Wales since the pre-war period. This is ascribed in part to the restriction of the hours of the day and the evening during which liquor can be sold, the regulation of the quality of the liquor, re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Judge E. A. Parry, Vagabonds All (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 12.

quiring a higher price, but mainly to the general process of education of the public into the evils of excessive drinking and the advantages of other forms of innocent amusement. The Chief Metropolitan Magistrate, for example, testified to the steadily progressive decrease in drunkenness in London during the last twenty-three years, and said that he thought it due to better education; that the younger people amuse themselves in other and better directions; they get out of London, play more games, and lead a generally healthier life. Other magistrates testified to the same effect. One of them referred to the gradual spread of education and the influence of social workers, police-court missions, probation officers and others, in the district in which he had jurisdiction. He said the decline in drunkenness in his district had been so steady during the post-war years, that he had suggested to the Chief Superintendent of Police that it was nather unkind to bring an offender to the police court, he ought to be taken to a museum! An assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, testifying to the same general increase in temperate habits, ascribed them to the changing habits of the younger people; better amusements, better education, and perhaps the increase in the price of the liquor sold. He also referred to the great decrease in drunkenness among women, and ascribed it in part to the fact that in the morning and between three and five o'clock in the afternoon liquor could not be purchased.

So marked is this increasing temperance in England and Wales, that one witness testified that during the whole week of the National Eisteddfod, in 1928, when there was an average daily attendance of 15,000 to 20,000, not a single case of drunkenness or disorderly behavior was reported. This witness said that among the things which had contributed very largely to soberer habits were motoring and motorcycling, better housing and a system of communal provision of those amenities which were so lacking in the past—welfare institutes, recreation grounds, bowling greens, and playing fields. He said there had been an increase in various forms of pastimes and recreations—dancing, billiards, and forms

of athletics, among the younger men; the cultivation of hobbies, such as wireless sets, pigeon flying, dog training and dog fancying; many went twice a week to the cinema, and once or twice to dances; there also had been a great development of adult education and other cultural pursuits; tutorial classes in economics, the drama, and literature generally, etc. The churches, too, though under grave difficulties, had greatly developed their institutional work. I quote his further testimony, as it affords so much of interest and suggestion. He said:

In addition, choral singing, for which the people of the mining villages have long been famous, still maintains its hold on the people, while many of the younger folk have been trained in and can now do creditable work in instrumental music. Many centres have every year a drama week, in which amateur parties compete in the production of plays of their own selection. A greater comradeship between the youth of the two sexes has also sprung up. Young men treat the girls of their acquaintance more as pals than they used to do, and the girls share their interest in football, tennis, motor-cycling, or some other pastime. In fact, both men and women have learned and are still learning to make better use of their leisure than to spend it in clubs and taverns. 

Output

Description:

The record in what used to be regarded as one of the most drunken communities in the world, that is, the Welsh mining regions, is quite extraordinary, but it is only a part of the general trend of testimony to the increasingly temperate habits of English and Welsh communities; and all of this evidence furnishes very cogent suggestion to those charged with the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States as to better methods of attaining the object of that Amendment than those which for the last decade have been pursued.

Mr. Jack Black, the author of You Can't Win, at the last annual Conference spoke feelingly of the futility of our methods of compelling obedience to law. He ascribed, and in that I agree with him, much of the crime prevalent in our country to the effect of our prison system. He said:

Many people wonder at crime. I don't wonder at it, nor would they if they knew the character and caliber of the average prison official who is supposed to look after the correction and instruction of his charges. Here you have a seeming contradiction: our prisons instead of reforming prisoners, are geared and guaranteed to grind out criminals. I'll pass by the cruel and inhuman punishment, the iron discipline, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Testimony of Mr. D. L. Thomas, Stipendiary Magistrate, Mins., p. 366.

galling restraint, with a word; they send the prisoner out either a homicidal maniac or a broken petty thief, stealing door mats and milk bottles, and spending his life doing short sentence; in small jails.<sup>10</sup>

The remarkable study of 500 criminal careers made by Dr. and Mrs. Sheldon Glueck<sup>11</sup> is devoted to the case history of offenders who have served terms in the Massachusetts Reformatory. Dr. Cabot, in his Introduction to this book, says that the study "shows that the Massachusetts Reformatory (probably one of the best in the country) failed in 80 per cent of the cases studied, to do what it is meant to do. It did not reform these men, for they continued their criminal careers, though not quite so actively as before." If such be the result of the best reformatory treatment of young men, how can we wonder that the prison treatment of older persons should result as Mr. Black has described.

There is a pregnant suggestion in Mr. Black's address that deserves to be carefully considered. To quote him further:

To my mind young offenders should roughly fall into two classes: the strong and well, the sick and weak. Let the strong and well be taught to think straight, to learn responsibility, leadership. Develop the loyalty that's in them, and then challenge it. Find occupation for them that is hazardous, dangerous and adventurous, and they'll eat it up. Let the doctors, specialists and mental sharps treat the sick and weak. Look to their eyes, their ears, their teeth and their glands.

That paragraph summarizes the best program of crime prevention I have ever read. The only trouble with it is that it is too simple. People in general want their prescriptions for social as well as personal disorders written in a dead language.

To comprehend such a remedy we must rid our minds of the idea that criminals are a race apart from other men. They are not, until a course of treatment at prisons like Auburn, Columbus, San Quentin, or Boulder City, has reduced them to the condition described by Mr. Black. In the beginning, they are adventurous boys; but social neglect, broken homes, and the absence of any steadying moral influence transform them into outlaws.

I hope that in the near future other studies, similar to that of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting, p. 107.

<sup>11</sup> New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930.

Dr. and Mrs. Sheldon Glueck, of groups of men and women graduates of state prisons will be made and published, so that society may know better what is the result of our methods—our crude, unintelligent, brutal methods of treating offenders against our laws. Certainly today there should be no difficulty in getting support for such studies from men who believe that those who break the law are not necessarily criminals. There should be in the hearts of some of those who systematically violate laws of which they do not approve an active sympathy with others who violate the laws they find unpleasant, inconvenient, or unprofitable to obey! Indeed I believe there is more urgent need than for a scientific, penetrating study of the effects of our whole system of criminal justice. Dr. and Mrs. Glueck have blazed a pathway that should be followed by others in order that reforms should be intelligently planned in the light of ascertained facts.

As I already have said, I believe that in large measure observance of the law can be brought about by education and persuasion rather than by force and harsh penalties. Not force, but reason, I believe is the best preventive. If only those entrusted with the administration of our penal laws would cooperate with the public health authorities in bringing home to those affected by any particular legislation the advantage to them and to the community at large of its observance, I am confident we should have fewer prosecutions in the courts and less congestion in our prisons.

May I commend to the Division of Delinquents and Correction of this Conference, a careful consideration of this subject. By systematic instruction, the public health authorities are educating people into a recognition of the value to themselves of vaccination and inoculation in preventing smallpox, diphtheria, and other contagious diseases, and the importance to health of cleanliness and the prompt removal of garbage. A systematic campaign of instruction in the value of law observance should amply repay the cost of conducting it. Laws on related subjects might be grouped under appropriate heads and the general thesis of the advantage of obeying the law expounded to the public on the radio, by leaflets, and to groups of people living in congested areas.

The problem of law enforcement largely is a matter of education in law observance. Preventive measures rather than penalties of fines and imprisonment should be emphasized. The new education must study and teach the reciprocal duties of the state and its members. Sympathy and helpfulness, rather than the rod, the cell, and the stone pile should be tried in order that lawlessness be reduced to the lowest point.

In closing let me say, in a paragraph quoted in that quaint old book of Robert Southey *The Doctor*, etc., "These are my thoughts; I might have spun them out into a greater length; but I think a little plot of ground, thick sown is better than a great field, which for the most part of it, lies fallow."

## THE ECONOMIC BASIS FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS

Wesley C. Mitchell, Director of Research, Bureau of Economic Research, and Chairman President Hoover's Research Council on Social Trends, New York City

CONOMIC research and social work are as characteristic of western civilization as are atomic theory and me-cars, chain stores, radio sets, talking pictures, and tabloid papers with screaming headlines. For the attempt to deal with social problems by analytic thought and controlled experiment is an attempt which cannot accomplish much until men have acquired skill and confidence in science by solving many of the simpler problems presented by mechanics. A wheelbarrow civilization can develop subtle speculations spun from a thinker's personal experience about man's duties and destinies; it cannot produce those systematic observations of mass phenomena which the social scientist and the social worker need as data to work with and as tests of their results. It is true that we have made but a beginning in applying science to the understanding of human behavior and the attainment of social control. But modest as our present results are, we believe that our best hope of dealing with the perplexities which confront society is to push farther along the trail which has led to such remarkable achievements in our dealings with physical problems.

This example of success suggests that there should be a closer working alliance than now obtains between social science and social work. If modern engineering builds upon physical science, physical science likewise builds upon engineering. How much less we should know about the world if the physicist, the chemist, the astronomer were limited to the apparatus which the era of handicraft could provide! Just so, if economics, sociology, and political science are of use to social work, social work will be put

under contribution in a hundred ways by these sciences, as their devotees gain skill and competence in planning researches. Social workers have long made a practice of asking professional representatives of the social sciences to share in your councils. I hope the time is at hand when the social science associations may see how much they can profit by inviting social workers to participate in their investigations. If a scientific spirit animates us all, we can all gain by the freest give and take in the field and in the study.

What, then, can economics tell about the material basis for social progress? How can we conceive the economic basis for social progress? How can we measure it? What results do our measurements yield?

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The most useful single gauge of a nation's economic progress or decline over a period of years is the net annual income of all the inhabitants, expressed in money of constant purchasing power, and reduced to a per-capita basis. Ideally, one would like to include in this income the value of all the commodities produced for satisfying human wants and all the services rendered to people during the year, plus or minus the net change in the value of the natural resources, industrial equipment, and knowledge of how to produce income between the beginning and the end of the year. It is not possible to attain this ideally complete statement with the statistical data now available. We must measure what we can and be thankful for that much, while asking for more in the future.

What we can best approximate is the income realized annually by individuals.

Realized income consists, in the main, of the amounts received by individuals in the form of wages, salaries, pensions, compensation for injuries, interest, dividends, rents, royalties, services of durable consumers' goods [such as household furnishings], and profits withdrawn from business. All except the last two categories may be estimated with a reasonable degree of precision.<sup>1</sup>

Limited as such figures are in their scope, they nevertheless give us most valuable indications of the trend of changes in the economic basis of social welfare.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Willford I. King, *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*, National Bureau of Economic Research (New York, 1930), pp. 42, 43.

Ever since its establishment in 1920, the National Bureau of Economic Research has been making and improving estimates of national income in the United States along the lines of the definition I have quoted. Five months ago Dr. Willford I. King, the investigator in charge, published the latest results in a report called *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*. His figures cover the years 1890 to 1928, though the estimates for the last three years are preliminary. Let me give you certain results

significant for the present occasion.

The total realized income of individuals as estimated by King tripled between 1909 and 1928. That is, the total rose from less than thirty billion dollars in 1909 to nearly ninety billion dollars in 1928. But the major part of this increase was due merely to the rise of prices. Reducing all the figures to the pre-war price level of 1913, King gets thirty-one billions in 1909 and fifty-four billions in 1928. That is an increase, not of 200 per cent, but of 73 per cent. And of the latter increase, more than half can be ascribed to the growth of the population. Putting the figures on a per capita basis cuts the percentage gain to 31 per cent. That is the figure to be carried in mind, when thinking about the economic basis of social welfare. The average income realized by an individual American, expressed in dollars of constant purchasing power, according to the best estimates so far made, shows a net increase of over 30 per cent in the nineteen years from 1909 to 1928.

Now a 30 per cent gain in average real income within a fifth of a century is very large. Unless the estimates are quite misleading, this gain means that a most substantial rise in the standard of living has been made possible for American families. If that rate of gain can be maintained, the economic basis for social progress is assured.

What about the distribution of these gains? Who has obtained them? Mainly the rich and the well-to-do? Our information about the distribution of income is scanty. But Dr. King gives us estimates of the average per capita earnings of salaried employees and of wage workers. These estimates show a net increase of 18

per cent in the average real income of salaried employees, and a net increase of 27 per cent in the average real income of wage workers between 1909 and 1927—the last year for which these data are available. The corresponding gain in average realized income from all sources between 1909 and 1927 was 29 per cent. Thus the average salaried employee gained decidedly less than the average American, and the average wage worker gained a trifle less than this mythical person—27 per cent for the wage worker against 29 per cent for all members of the population.

Even 27 per cent in eighteen years is a notable gain in economic status. A continuation of that rate for several generations would produce a veritable revolution in living standards among the most numerous class in the community. But are Dr. King's estimates trustworthy?

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There are two ways of trying to form an opinion upon that difficult question. One way is to study critically the materials King has used and the methods he has adopted. That is a long and laborious process. Though our data leave much to be desired, yet we have in the aggregate a large and varied volume of reports from the Bureau of the Census, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, other federal offices, and numerous state, municipal, and private sources concerning factors which bear upon real earnings—such as numbers of workers, rates of pay, regularity of employment, wage disbursements, and retail prices of consumers' goods. It is possible at many points to check conclusions drawn from one sample of data against conclusions drawn from other samples. In some industries the reports are of a character to inspire much confidence in the results; in other industries the investigator must build on slender samples, and admit that his conclusions are bordered by wide margins of uncertainty. It is not possible to compute the probable error of the final figures. But I think anyone who would spend the laborious weeks required for a thorough canvass of the data and the methods used by Dr. King would find himself coming out about where Dr. King arrived, and entertaining about the temperate confidence in

the trustworthiness of the leading results which Dr. King expresses.

A second and much easier way to test King's results is to compare them with the results obtained by other investigators. Fortunately for us, only a month or two after King's latest report appeared, Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago published a book on Real Wages in the United States: 1890-1926. Douglas has spent the major portion of his energies for six years upon an effort "to measure the material progress which the American workers have obtained during the last generation." Douglas' energies approach the titanic, and he has been aided by a staff of devoted assistants. The published results show that he and his staff have utilized the mass of available materials with much ingenuity. Of course these materials are in large part those which King used; but Douglas has worked over the sources for himself from start to finish, and applied methods which differ from King's in many respects. In short, we have two independent attempts to find out as definitely as possible what the American data show about recent changes in real wages. Both attempts are thorough pieces of work, conducted by competent men. The comparison between the two sets of results is a significant test of the confidence merited by each set.

Douglas begins by measuring the movement of money costs of living. Then he treats wage rates and hours of work, building up estimates of full time weekly earnings in industry as a whole. He adds what data are to be had concerning annual earnings in various branches of employment. He takes account of the increase in average earnings produced by the shifting of men away from the more poorly paid toward the better paid occupations. Thus he arrives at estimates of the average annual earnings in all industries of the men and women who have had jobs year by year. This grand average rises from \$438 in 1890 to \$1,376 in 1926. Dividing these averages by his index of the cost of living he finds a net gain of 35 per cent in real earnings during his thirty-six year period. But these figures refer only to the people at work. Therefore Douglas makes index numbers of unemploy-

ment for those branches of trade for which he can get data. These indexes enable him to construct estimates of average annual real earnings for all the workers who depend for a living upon manufacturing, transportation, coal mining, the building trades, and unskilled labor. Of course the allowance for unemployment decreases the estimates of actual earnings; but it tends on the whole to increase the relative gain in real earnings, because unemployment was rather less in 1923–26 than in the 1890's.

Now for the comparison of Douglas' results with King's results. The widest difference I have found between them, concerning fluctuations in real wages between 1909 and 1926, is 6 points in the percentage scale, and that the various differences I find run now one way, now the other. Broadly speaking the two investigations confirm one another. Yet the substantial measure of agreement between the two does not prove that real wages in the United States increased by some 25 or 30 per cent during these seventeen years; all it proves is that somewhat different methods applied independently by two thorough investigators to the best data they could collect yield approximately similar results. This much, however, we can add. The burden of disproof must be assumed by a critic of the results, and that critic must go back to the original sources, as King and Douglas have done. Unless it can be shown that the underlying data misrepresent the trends of money wages, employment, and living costs, we seem bound to accept the figures which King and Douglas give us as probable approximations to changes in real income. Of course scientific results are open to revision as new data are obtained and new methods of analysis are developed. Perhaps Dr. Leo Wolman, who is now making critical studies of wage data for the National Bureau, will suggest important modifications. But as matters stand, I know no other estimates of changes in the economic welfare of wage workers' families comparable in scope and significance with those I have discussed.

If you are willing to accept the findings of King and Douglas as probably valid, you must be eager for a fuller statement of them. Percentages of increase in the real earnings of large groups of wage workers between 1909 and 1926 are convenient means of testing agreement; but they give a most inadequate picture of changes in economic conditions. Let me fill in some of the omis-

sions, one at a time.

First, Douglas points out that wage workers' families have enjoyed other gains besides those produced by an advance in wages exceeding the advance in living expenses. For one thing, the average wage earner has fewer dependents to support than formerly. Douglas puts the economic gain from this source between 1890 and 1926 at 5 per cent. Also, he finds that there has been a 7 per cent increase in the amount of free income provided by government in the way of better schools, better roads, and the like, and provided by both public and private agencies in the way of welfare work, compensation for accidents, pensions, etc. Adding these items to a 35 per cent increase in the real income of wage earners who have jobs, and an 8 per cent gain from reduction in unemployment, he gets a total increase of real income of all persons dependent upon manual labor amounting to 55 per cent between 1890 and 1926. Further, he shows that this larger income is obtained by working fewer hours per week. His index of standard hours per week in all industries shows a decline from 58.4 hours in 1890 to 49.8 hours in 1926. That is a reduction of 15 per cent. On the other hand, Douglas grants that the shifting of population from country and villages to large towns and cities has probably increased living expenses in a way which his index of cost of living does not reveal. On the whole, however, it seems clear that the economic basis for social welfare among wage workers has improved much more than a comparison between money income and money cost of living would indicate.

Second, comparisons between any two years may give seriously misleading impressions of social gains and losses. I have kept this matter in mind and made the previous comparisons either between 1909 and 1926, or between 1890 and 1926. All of the years mentioned were years of at least moderately good employment. Much larger gains in real income would be shown if we took 1894, 1908, or 1914 as our starting point. On the contrary

we should get lower results if we took 1892, 1906, or 1910 as 100. Of course the terminal date is equally important. Nineteen hundred and twenty-four gives lower figures than 1926, and doubtless 1930 will show another relapse in real earnings. The decline from the peak to the trough of a business cycle is sometimes precipitous. Thus Douglas' estimates of average per capita real earnings in manufacturing, transportation, and coal mining, with allowance for unemployment, shows a drop of 22 per cent on the 1914 base between 1892 and 1894; another drop of 13 per cent in 1907-8, and one of 18 per cent in 1920-21. If the current depression has about the same amplitude as that of 1924, there will be something like a 7 per cent drop on the 1914 base in the real earnings of Douglas' groups between 1929 and 1930.

The proper way to allow for these cyclical fluctuations is to base comparisons, not on figures for single years, but on averages for whole business cycles, including the good years with the bad. That is a bit difficult to accomplish when the data do not run by months, or at least by quarters. But let us compare the three years 1890–92 with the three years 1924–26. Then Douglas' per capita real earnings in manufacturing, transportation and coal mining, on the 1914 base, show a gain of 26 per cent, instead of the 29 per cent gain shown by comparing 1890 with 1926. My previous comparisons have been a bit too favorable; but only a bit.

Not less important, but less commonly realized is the fact that real earnings have been subject to swings covering periods much longer than a business cycle. From the great depression of the middle 1890's Douglas' figures allowing for unemployment show a trend that rises very slowly for some twenty years. The highest point touched in any of the cyclical fluctuations about this trend came in 1910, when Douglas made real wages just equal to what they had been eighteen years earlier. Then came the war, bringing first heavy losses in real earnings, but presently a sudden jump to higher levels. The post-war collapse in 1921 was exceedingly violent; but it left real earnings still some fifteen points higher than in the worst year of the 1890's. And there was a quick recovery which by 1923 carried real earnings well above the peak of 1920. Since that year there have been ups and downs about a high level. Douglas makes the last year in his table, 1926, the best of all. King's preliminary estimates make 1927 a little better than 1926, and suggest that 1928 was a trifle better than 1927. From fragmentary figures published in the May number of the American Journal of Sociology by Douglas and Coe concerning earnings, and by Berridge concerning unemployment, I infer that 1929 was at least as good a year for wage earners' families as 1928. But we have all too much evidence

that 1930 will mark a decided turn for the worse.

In short, the rapid gains in real earnings above the level of 1890 shown by Douglas' investigations have occurred since 1915. His most comprehensive figures, allowing for unemployment, yield an average for 1910–13 just about equal to the average for 1890–92. That is, the gains after the middle nineties up to the war did no more than to offset the preceding losses. But the last fifteen years have shown a sudden spurt. If the figures for 1927–29 turn out to be a little better than those for 1926, and the indications are that they will do so, then the full decade 1920–29 will show a 29 or 30 per cent gain over the full decade 1890–99. A summary by decades, starting with 1890–99 as 100, gives 106 in 1900–1909, 110 in 1910–19, and perhaps its continuation will show 130 in 1920–29. We see how variable the rate of gain in real wages has been: a 6 per cent gain in 1900–1909, a 4 per cent gain in 1910–19, and a 20 per cent gain in 1920–29.

Granted these gains in real earnings, how well off were working class families at the apex of the post-war spurt? Substantially that question was raised at your San Francisco conference last year by Mrs. Daisy Lee Worthington Worcester. In reviewing the report on Recent Economic Changes in the United States, prepared by the National Bureau of Economic Research, Mrs. Worcester called attention to the wide gap between average earnings as estimated by the National Bureau and what it costs to provide a family with "bare necessities, in quantity merely sufficient to sustain life at maximum physical efficiency." The

family budget figures which she used called for a minimum annual outlay of \$2,057 in San Francisco in 1927, and a minimum annual outlay of \$2,100 in Los Angeles and San Diego in 1929.<sup>2</sup>

None of the latest averages for per capita earnings which take account of unemployment approach \$2,100 per annum. King's figure for "all industries" in 1927 is \$1,205. Douglas' figure for manufacturing, transportation, and coal mining in 1926 is \$1,304. There is a gap of \$900 in the one case and of \$800 in the other case between estimated average earnings per capita and the California family budgets which provide merely for sustaining life "at maximum physical efficiency."

Just what this gap between average per capita earnings and minimum family budgets means in terms of social welfare, no one knows with any precision at the present time. Let me mention two or three of the most important holes in our information.

First, the family budgets which Mrs. Worcester uses allow for a family of five. Now the average size of the American family as a consuming unit is unknown. All that our ultimate authority in such matters, the Census, tells us is the size of the household; that is, all groups of persons living together "as one household and usually sharing the same table." Thus the Census household includes not only families in the ordinary sense of the word, but also the groups residing in boarding houses, hotels, and all sorts of "institutions," some of which have over a thousand inmates. On the other hand, the Census counts one person living alone as constituting a household. Of course, the practice of treating boarding houses and hotels as households tends to make the Census family larger than the family which interests us, while the practice of treating individuals living alone as households tends to make the Census family too small for our purposes. The official view expressed in the Census reports is that these two departures from the usual conception of a family about offset each other. For large populations, the text says, ". . . . there is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "The Standard of Living," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, Fifty-Sixth Annual Meeting (1930), pp. 337-53.

probably no great difference between the average size of private families and the average size of all Census families."

The census family, or household, no longer averages five members. It has been declining steadily ever since 1850 when the first data were collected. In that year there were 5.6 persons per family on the average. By 1890 the average had declined to 4.9 persons. By 1920 it was down to 4.3 persons. Presumably

the decline did not stop in that year.

In view of these well known facts, the National Industrial Conference Board recently began drawing up its budget figures for a family of four, not for a family of five. Dropping one child reduces quite appreciably the gap between average per capita earnings and the cost of keeping a family. We may not like a rise in the standard of living procured by dropping children. We should prefer to see all families able to maintain a wholesome standard of living and have three children, or more if the parents want them. Yet the fact that families have been declining in size while real earnings have been rising must mean that the pressure of living costs upon incomes is less severe than it once was.

Second, when we are considering the standard of living we draw too dark a picture by contrasting a budget of \$2,100 with average earnings of \$1,200. This figure of King's for all wage workers includes the earnings of children, of young people, and of women, as well as the earnings of adult men. Most heads of families with young children doubtless make decidedly more than the average of all wage earners; for they are typically men in the most robust period of life. If we take the Census age group of 25 to 44 years, we find 15,600,000 occupied men belonging to it in 1920. That is only 37.5 per cent of all the breadwinners reported. Add all the women breadwinners in the same age group, 3,400,000 in number, and we still have only 46 per cent of all breadwinners. We don't know how to tie these figures in with our estimates of average earnings. But let me try the roughest sort of a conjectural calculation to show how our comparison

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, Population 1920, p. 1265. The results given here are to be found on p. 1266.

between a family budget of \$2,100 and average earnings of \$1,200 might be modified, if we had data for the earnings of heads of families. Say that half the breadwinners are the sole providers for families. Also say that these family men and women make on the average 50 per cent more than the other half of the wage workers—the children, the young people, the adults without dependents, and the elderly folk. Then, a bit of algebra shows that on the basis of King's \$1,200 for all wage workers, the family breadwinners would get an average income of \$1,440. That narrows the gap between average earnings and the \$2,100 budget from \$900 to \$660—still a wide margin. If we credit the family mainstays with making on the average twice as much as those who merely supplement family income or support only themselves, we still have left a gap of \$500. That is bad, but not so bad as a \$900 gap. Please mark well that I do not offer these computations under the delusion that they represent average conditions in fact. All I claim is that the original comparison between the average earnings of all classes of wage earners and the cost of supporting a family makes conditions appear worse than they probably are.

Third, whatever figure we take to represent the average earnings of family mainstays, we should note that there is more than one breadwinner in the average wage earning family. We don't know how many there are; but we have a reasonable basis for guessing. The Census of 1920 found 41,600,000 persons having gainful occupations in the country, and only 24,400,000 households. That makes 1.7 breadwinners per household. If we accept the official view that Census households average about the same number of persons as private families, the figure 1.7 breadwinners per family probably errs on the low side for the wage earning masses. For supplemental breadwinners are probably more common among wage working families than among families which are better off. Let us raise the figure to 1.8 breadwinners per family. If we multiply King's average wage of \$1,200 by 1.8 we get \$2,160—or a little more than the \$2,100 minimum budget. So even the family of five seems to be provided for by

average earnings on a physical efficiency basis. I do not suppose that any family has 1.8 breadwinners; but it is not absurd to suppose that the average family dependent upon wages has wage earners who bring in 1.8 times the average earnings.

I am keenly aware how hazardous this computation is. Some of you may consider it wrongheaded. At your Conference last summer, Mrs. Worcester protested vigorously against just such

a suggestion as I have offered.

The family wage [she urged] always means a scale too low to permit any individual worker to earn enough to maintain a family in decency. And yet every family begins with dependent children, needing the whole of a mother's care, needing the father's living wage. All of our ideals of social progress are away from the conception of the family as the economic unit.

I am not arguing for or against the family wage. Like Mrs. Worcester, I heartily wish that not only the average father of a family, but every single head of a family in the United States had an assured income well over \$2,100 per annum. All I am contending is that what indications we can get from lamentably imperfect data are that, on the average, wage earning families in a passable year like 1927 do find a way to cover the physical

efficiency budget.

No one can feel satisfied with the state of our knowledge about these basic conditions of social welfare, or with what these conditions seem to be. In a civilized state we should not have to rely on doubtful, indirect approximations to real wages. We should have as good statistics of earnings, employment, retail prices, and consumption as we now have of stock exchange quotations. That day will come when as citizens we take as keen an interest in social welfare as we now take in our speculative ventures. More emphatically still, we assert that present earnings are not adequate, and wish that the recent rise of real wages might continue indefinitely, giving each generation a higher standard of living than that upon which its predecessor congratulated itself. But what is the chance that these gains will continue unabated?

If we take past experience as the guide to future expectations, we cannot anticipate that real earnings will move upward steadily. The record as we have it for the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in England as well as in the United States is one of alternating gains and losses. Though the gains have predominated in the long run, the average rate of gain has not approximated the cheerful American record of late years. If we do not have better fortune, or manage better in the future than we have managed in the past, the recent spurt in real wages will trail off, and after a time give way to a slow relapse, later to be followed by a fresh advance.

But must history repeat itself? Can we not use experience as an aid to future planning rather than as a guide to future expectations? Can we not learn from analysis of the past what factors are of most significance in determining real wages, and then manage things better?

The fundamental reason for the checkered rise in standards of living since say 1800 is found in the progress of natural science and the application of its discoveries to the work of making a living. That commonplace remark suggests the wisdom of doing all that can be done to promote scientific research. In any rational plan for increasing social welfare, this fundamental item would take first place. In the long run, the fate of mankind hangs on science and the use we make of its discoveries.

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So far, the practical applications of scientific discoveries have been made primarily by private business enterprises. The powerful incentive of prospective profits promises a continuation of that process. Indeed, we may expect that the effort to improve industrial methods by utilizing science will become increasingly systematic in the future. One of the encouraging signs of the times is that great corporations have discovered that it is profitable to maintain research laboratories of their own.

What business initiative can do to increase the production of real income is very much; but it has limits. A corporation can build a highly efficient plant; it can train an efficient staff; it can develop skilful marketing methods. But the best plant, the best working force, the best marketing methods will not enable the corporation to produce goods unless customers can buy them.

This very summer we might easily be enjoying a far larger average per capita income than we now enjoy, if we could make full use of our existing labor, industrial equipment, and technical knowledge. What keeps our income down is not inability or unwillingness to produce more goods, but inability to market what we can make.

This inability arises from imperfections in our economic organization. Millions of families are eager to increase their purchases; millions of business enterprises are eager to increase their sales. But the would-be buyers cannot pay. Therefore retail merchants cannot sell; therefore retailers cannot order freely; therefore factories cannot run full time; therefore wage disbursements and dividends are not large; therefore family incomes are restricted; therefore would-be consumers cannot pay for what they would like to buy. Thus we swing round a vicious

circle back to our starting point.

We can raise the standard of living just as rapidly as we can remedy the defects of our economic organization which prevent us from doing what we all wish to do. Improvement of the economic organization depends upon keener scientific insight, quite as much as improvement of industrial practice depends upon the advance of physics and chemistry. Some of the economic problems to be solved have already been defined. We must master the complicated interactions of economic forces which produce business cycles, with their recurrent recessions and depressions. We must develop further the economy of high wages. We must find out how to deal with technological unemployment. We must learn how to cure sick industries more promptly. We must raise our standard of personnel work in all its ramifications. We must find out more about the interrelations of money, credit, and prices, and determine what "price level," if any, needs to be stabilized. We must study international economic relations, and develop measures less crude than our blundering tariffs for maintaining the relatively high standard of living which prevails in this country.

I might extend this list of obvious problems, and I might elab-

orate upon any or all of the items mentioned. But to social workers the point is clear. In any rational plan for raising the economic basis of social welfare, the promotion of economic research and the practical application of its findings has as definite a place as the promotion of natural science. Good will is an admirable quality and must be cultivated. Fighting zeal to combat abuses will play its part in the future as it has in the past. But our chief dependence for bettering human lives lies in clearer understanding. That I take to be your guiding philosophy. All I have done is to indicate what little we know at present about the economic position of wage earning families, and how much more we need to learn before we can reach a level of welfare that seems to us tolerable.

## SOCIAL WORKERS AND THE OTHER PROFESSIONS

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago

It is perhaps all too customary for social workers to count up their achievements and to call upon the community for due appreciation. Such a custom has been in fact inherent in the situation itself, for while the doctor and the lawyer quietly and unobtrusively collect their fees from the individual upon whom their services have been bestowed, the social worker from necessity must collect his fees not from the people he has served, whose pockets are perforce empty, but from the prosperous members of the community who are convinced that those services in the first place were necessary and in the second place have been well performed. Sometimes the social worker has to insist that the given services were both necessary to the social good and were well done as individual cases, against the very denials and shrill outcries of the recipients themselves.

It is astonishing, in the face of such difficulties, that the social worker ever attained either the scientific detachment or the disinterested poise of a proper student; in fact, that he should drop all those activities so close to advertising which seemed necessary to his existence and yet are so associated with quackery that no real profession tolerates them. It was not unlike the difficulties which we encountered even in our own ranks. At first, the young person had to be eager to serve his fellow men or he would not come to us at all; and then, while he was still ardent and anxious to set to work at once, he had to be shown that the hoary abominations of society could only be done away with through the "steady impinging of fact on fact, of interest on interest, and of will on will." He also had to be taught the rudiments of a technique, while at the same time no cold water could be thrown upon his desire to go into social work, or we would lose him altogether.

In spite of the fact that you may detect traces of boastfulness

superinduced by these early dilemmas—habits we have not yet outgrown in spite of our acknowledged professional standard—I should like to point out that social workers were the pioneers in certain movements afterwards taken over by medicine and law.

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Let us take as our first example that astonishing achievement of our own time, that brilliant success in social engineering, the campaign against the spread of tuberculosis. It inevitably came at last into the hands of physicians and from the first they gave help and advice, but the investigation into the "lung block" of New York, the discovery that successive inhabitants of certain tenements inevitably developed tuberculosis, the piling up of the grisly percentage of tuberculosis connected with certain industries, the insistence that tuberculosis is especially a disease of poverty, so that a tuberculosis map of a given city superimposed upon a poverty map of the same city will almost exactly coincide, was done in large part by social workers, if I may be permitted to make an exception of Dr. Theodore Sachs of Chicago. Even now the executive officers in the various local organizations for the prevention of tuberculosis are laymen. The physician of course treats the patient while he is in the sanitarium, but the cured patient is assisted to readjust himself upon his return to community life and it is the social worker to whom he sometimes clings desperately.

The National Safety Council for Prevention of Accidents and Diseases in Industry is an organization of laymen which antedates by some years the organization of Industrial Physicians and Surgeons. In fact, the entrance of medical science in industry has been a very late development in this country and the prevention of occupational diseases is still largely in the hands of laymen. Illinois, which was the first state to appoint a commission for the study of occupational diseases, was indebted to Professor Charles R. Henderson for initiating the movement, and the commission was composed of laymen as well as physicians. Because of the findings of this commission Illinois was one of the first states to pass a law compensating for those diseases. Perhaps I have no right to claim this movement for social workers, but certainly

they have been prominently identified with the effort from the first.

The campaign for the prevention of venereal diseases, certainly on its educational side, has been very largely in lay hands, and even the actual treatment of the disease in Chicago is promoted on the largest scale by an institution which was founded by laymen. The bitter opposition of the medical profession to the Public Health Institute in Chicago has been difficult for a layman to respect. The opposition came to a head when a physician connected with the Social Hygiene Council allied with the Institute, was expelled from the city and state medical societies because of that alliance. To the lay mind it seemed that here was a situation which, had it been properly met by the profession, no layman would have dreamed of touching, but the very success of the Institute, with its thousands of cases, shows that a dire situation had not been met by the organized medical profession and that lay initiative was needed.

A similar situation, which the doctors had more or less ignored, but in which they resented what they considered lay interference, is presented by the present effort of the American Medical Association to take away from the Federal Children's Bureau the administration of the Maternity and Child Welfare Act, better known perhaps as the Sheppard-Towner Act. It was a physician acting for the Children's Bureau who first revealed to the public the extent of the maternity death rate in the United States. Compared to other nations, whose statistics are trustworthy, the United States in this regard was nineteenth on the list, comparable to Chile and Spain. No medical body had ever troubled itself to discover these facts and the American Medical Association bitterly resented their publication by a lay organization, even a governmental one. Since that time, obstetricians the country over have accepted these figures and constantly quote them, but the opposition of organized medicine to the work of the Children's Bureau does not abate.

It is true the Sheppard-Towner Act is administered in the states by physicians, but the fact remains that the movement is organe

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ized by the Children's Bureau. The suggestion to transfer these activities to the Federal Public Health Service seems, on the face of it logical, until we remember that the Public Health Service had never entered this field even to the extent of finding out the facts during its existence of more than a century and also that the administration of the Act calls not only for medical care but for constant social service. A well known child specialist has said that it really is the field of the social worker under the guidance of physicians, but if the social worker steps out there is no guarantee that physicians will carry on the work which is so largely educational.

We will all admit that the founding of mental hygiene societies was due more to Clifford Beers, a layman, than to anyone else. There is perhaps no organization to which the perplexed social worker appeals with a greater sense of relief. If the mental hygiene nurse can adjust a border line case to a family situation, the achievement is certainly one in which every good citizen rejoices.

In a sense these early efforts were the pioneers, as it were, of the widespread work in psychiatry, although the very first formal effort to apply careful study to the delinquent child was proposed and financed by a woman who through long service on the board of an organization dealing with delinquent children had been much distressed by the lack of careful appraisal of their physical and mental possibilities. It was a typical case of the social worker fumbling for modes of prevention not yet fully established as a recognized part of the social structure. It was a case in which the experimenter speedily became the recognized and necessary functionary, which is not always the result of social experimentation.

Let us turn to the legal profession for some illustrations: The social workers may, I think, claim the juvenile court, if we regard the one in Chicago as the first one although the one in Denver followed so closely after. The probation officer of the juvenile court is still considered a social worker, and the court itself, while conducted by a judge, has to a considerable extent that coordinating and organizing function, that mobilizing of the curative and

preventive services provided in astonishing variety for the assistance of those in distress, which we have come to define as social work.

May I also instance in relation to the law, the establishment of legal aid societies, which are so important in the lives of the poor and those most easily discriminated against. In many cities these societies are being utilized for clinical practice to law students, somewhat analogous to the clinical training of young physicians. And yet everywhere this attempt to extend the benefits of the legal profession has been urged and organized by those outside of the profession. The largest one I know is connected with a family welfare society.

It would be easy to give many instances in the field of educa-

tion, such as vocational guidance.

I do not claim any special perspicacity on the part of the social worker. I should say that if he has at times seen the need, before the profession involved saw it, it may be due to the fact that, when we face a social situation in which certain values are but dimly emergent, a socially unified group may fail to tap its resources simply because they all see alike. By the same token it may be possible for the social worker, living in the midst of divers groups whose history, language and customs show the tremendous variability of human nature, to find clues to a new life pattern in such a situation because each group sees it differently although all feel alike that something should be done about it.

A state of tension when old values are at hazard may be the very moment when the groups realize that the whole situation calls for new adjustments and are driven to utilize half formed purposes for experimental action. If I may be permitted to use a mixed metaphor, in the midst of a storm they scramble out of a welter of broken boats and cling together to a new safety device which the passengers in sounder boats profoundly distrust. But the device itself may be the beginning of a new method of transportation destined to replace and to transcend the comfortable boat in which the careful passengers sit tight.

## VOICES OF THE TIMES

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Rev. Francis J. McConnell, President, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City

T TE ARE moving today through a time whose characteristics have pretty clearly declared themselves, to the vast dismay of many of us. To begin with, when have any of us ever seen a time so thoroughly set on "expressing itself"? I do not wish to blame the great war for all that has happened in the last decade, but I think that the war did remove many inhibitions, among them the inhibitions on speaking out anything that might flash, or leap, or crawl into our minds. The old notion was that speech was intended for the communication of thought, but we got away from that limitation long ago. Speech today does not inevitably have to do with thought, or even with communication. Some of it is in the nature of ejaculations obviously intended for the self-relief of the speaker. It is as if the roofs were taken off of millions of intellectual dwelling places and we could see everything that is, and is not, within. The age is indeed making a revelation of itself, and at first glance we feel almost buried under craziness and nonsense.

When, now, we once pull ourselves together we begin to see that an age, like an individual, finds itself by talking itself out. If we insisted that a baby talk sense, or not talk at all, he would not and could not talk. The truth is, once we get used to the deluge of speech pouring forth today, we are struck with certain almost childishly naïve traits about the time in which we are living. We say of the present generation—whichever one that is—that it is disillusioned and sophisticated. These characterizations are singularly inept. The age is charmingly childish. It is a good deal as if phrases had been uttered so long in the ears of men that the hearers had forgotten that the words ever had a meaning.

Now men are beginning to use the phrases as if they meant something. The first results are almost embarrassing in their freshness. The age is talking of human love, for example, as if this generation were the first to discover it, and as if the family were a contrivance invented not earlier than the Civil War. The problems of evil in the universe, the general seaminess of human nature, all these are set out as if they were news. But that is no reason for pessimism. Somebody sneeringly said concerning Theodore Roosevelt that he acted as if he had discovered the ten commandments; to which a Rooseveltian made the crushing rejoinder: "He has-for some people." This age is not doing much with the ten commandments, but it is discovering a good deal for itself. Moreover, it is far enough along now in its speech to enable us to see some of the vitality back of all the current utterance. Most of the utterance is nonsense, but most of any utterance is nonsense. After a while the tares can be sifted out, and we shall find quite a measure of good wheat which we never could have had if almost everything in men's minds had not got out. By the way, I fancy that if we all told the truth we should admit that we have ourselves thought a good many of the "silly" thinks now being uttered aloud. What a fine thing it is to discover in these days, when the most intimate self-revelations are spread out to the light, that a great man had confided to his diary the same kind of silliness that comes into your mind and mine! It makes us feel that we are not the only silly persons in the world, or perhaps that the great man was not the only wise person who ever lived.

Again, the times in which we live are too much under the sway of intellectual and moral fashions, we are told. This charge is pretty well founded. Propaganda won the war, we are reminded, and all sorts of institutions today have the propaganda habit. With centralized control of the public press, and with like control of the radio, it is not impossible to make an intellectual fashion in very short order. We believe things because everybody else believes them, because it is the fashion to believe them. This refers

not merely to matters of theory, but to matters of fact as well. Beliefs get into the air and we breathe them in as we do the air.

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It has always been so, however. When I was a boy of eight or ten years, my grandfather used to tell me of a hoop snake in the early days when the pioneers came into western Pennsylvania, and what is now eastern Ohio. The hoop snake, according to my grandfather, could take its tail between its fangs, make a hoop of itself, and roll after a man with deadly precision. It had a needlepoint filled with poison on the end of its tail which struck the victim as the snake let go. If the snake missed a man and struck a tree, said my grandfather, the tree would die before sundown. A good deal of which, even as a boy, I attributed to my grandfather's capacity as an entertainer. The other day I picked up a reprint of an important source book in American history, Tome's narrative of pioneer life, describing conditions in the same general section of the frontier as that in which my grandfather lived; and there, in between matter of fact narratives of dealings with Indians, was the hoop snake, deadly effect on the trees, and all. So my grandfather was not just spinning a varn to amuse a boy. He was telling something he actually believed to be true, but something which could not have been true. He believed the story, because everybody in pioneer days believed it. So the hoop snake rolled through pioneer life and their equivalents roll through our lives today—statements of alleged truth which never could be true, but which appear true because everybody believes them.

They, however, indicate an aroused public interest which can be used for good. At a time when a fashion in thinking lays hold of the public mind, the church has presented to it outright a social and psychological atmosphere which can be utilized for good. At the moment when men by the millions are interested in evolution, or democracy, or newer methods in social study, or fresh scientific discoveries, we should use to the utmost the new fashions in thinking, instead of waiting until the next generation, and of boasting that the "church" has survived all these things! Much of the talk about "surviving" these fashions of thinking is about

as twisted as if a community should talk about the way it may have "survived" a glorious wheat harvest. Why, even in the styles of garments which cause us so much horror and amusement, the total results in a season or two are good. If the reader does not believe that, let him just look at a picture of his mother, or of his father, or of himself, clad in the fashions of a half cen-

tury, or even a quarter century ago.

Once more, it is said, and with truth, that the utterances of our time in voice and deed seldom mean what they say on their own account, but are symptoms of something deeper than themselves. The "signs" of the times are symptomatic. Well, what of it? The only way to study a disease is through its symptoms. The fatal mistake is in doctoring the symptoms rather than the underlying causes. Here again the psychologists, in spite of the excuses of the extremists of the newer schools, have helped us. They have shown us that if we are trying to straighten out minds which are in disorder—or which we think are in disorder—the only true method is to listen to the utterances of those minds as symptoms, encouraging them to express all that is in them. The alienist knows that the old "force" methods in dealing with mental disorder are worse than nothing, and that direct argument also is worse than useless.

There are many good people today who think that socialism, for example, is a lunacy of the first order. I do not happen to be a socialist myself, nor do I happen to belong to the group who think socialism is lunacy. Socialism of the more serious types is a well reasoned diagnosis of the evils of the present capitalistic system and a thoroughly thought out alternative to that system. But suppose that I believed socialism to be a set of crazy ravings. What would be the best way for me to quiet the ravings? Suppose I considered socialism to be a symptom of social aberration. If I were myself as stark mad as some capitalists seem to be whenever socialism is mentioned, I should of course begin to talk about repressive measures. If I were a little less than stark mad, I should try to argue socialism out of existence. In which case I might get the worst of it; or if I got the best of it I should dis-

cover to my bewilderment that I had done little to socialism beyond advertising it. Socialism has been demolished many times by argument. No, we are dealing with a symptom merely, as long as we give ourselves to argument. The disease is not in socialism but in the present order. There are injustices and inequities which must be corrected before we can say that we have honestly met socialism.

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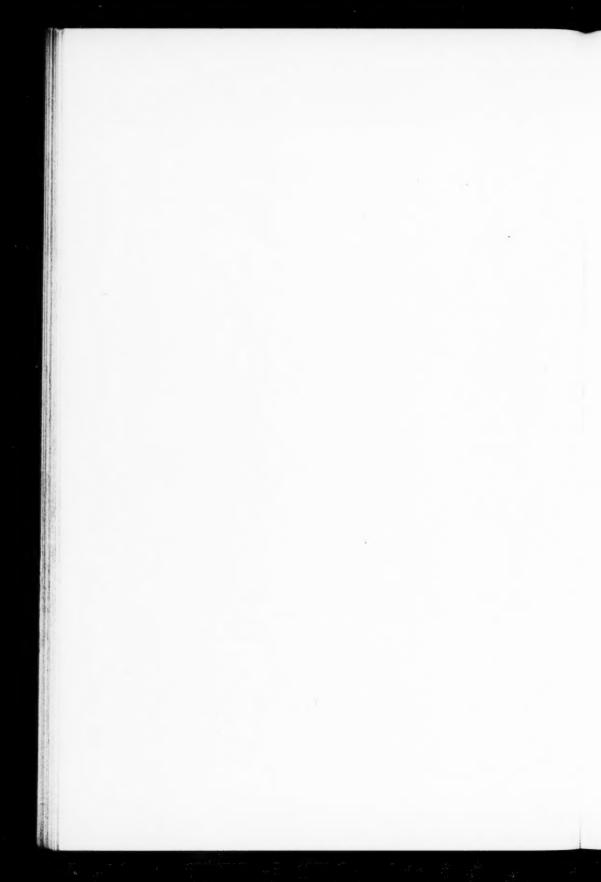
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We live in a questioning age, to be sure, and with some of the questions we can do little, for they are part of a clamor and tumult of a noisy generation. Nevertheless, the church can develop a sort of selective listening for the calls to which she alone can adequately respond. I once lived in a village on a stern bit of New England seacoast. It was said of a patrolman who walked the beach on stormy nights that he had trained himself to a marvelous form of selective hearing. He would tramp his beat through the storm, apparently oblivious to the uproar of sea and air. Wind and wave seemed to call for no response from him, but he knew scores of sounds to which he did respond on the instant all of them sounds of ships or persons in distress. Calls that a companion walker on the beach might not catch at all, he caught unerringly, and moreover he knew how to respond. We are likewise moving through a deal of uproar of wind and wave. Happy indeed is the lot of all of us if we train ourselves to discriminating precision—precision of selective hearing, which knows the genuinely human calls, the sincere human questions in the midst of the uproar—and show ourselves willing to try to answer. The very willingness to try may, to many questions, be answer enough.



DIVISION MEETINGS



## SURVEYS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Notes of an Address by Felix Frankfurter, Harvard Law School, Cambridge<sup>1</sup>

PREVIOUS to the Cleveland survey of criminal justice in 1922, there was, of course, a vast quantity of literature on the subject. Books, periodicals, reports of bar associations, of legislative commissions, of penal administrators, were legion. But until this study was undertaken, nothing had developed which would be called a technique for ascertaining the facts concerning the actual operations and results of the machinery of law. The Cleveland survey marked the introduction of the research method into the field of the practical administration of our system of dealing with crime.

The Cleveland survey was precipitated by the occurrence of a peculiarly sordid crime in the spring of 1920, implicating the chief judge of the city's municipal courts. The community had the insight to realize that this sensational case was but symptomatic of deeper causes. The following winter, a number of civic organizations, headed by the Cleveland Bar Association, requested the Cleveland Foundation to undertake a survey of the administration of criminal justice. Cleveland had previously made studies of its educational and recreational needs; the crime sur-

vey was to go deeper into the city's social life.

What we attempted to do in the Cleveland survey was to render an accounting of the function of the system, to the fullest extent that social institutions were then adapted to statistical appraisal; and secondly, to trace to their controlling sources whatever defects in the system the inquiry disclosed. No doubt, to a large extent, the survey only proved what some already knew. But the point is that the survey proved it. Instead of speculation,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Professor Frankfurter delivered an extempore address. These notes indicate the general trend of the subject matter dealt with.

there was demonstration. Against a background of facts patiently and objectively compiled, the sensational crime had its perspective, and attention was focused on the inadequacies of the system rather than on its occasional victims. Any effort to find out what is wrong in our complicated social scene, must reach such objectivity, and the Cleveland survey has been widely recognized as a pioneer attempt to become objective in a field which lends itself with peculiar ease to the distortions of feeling and "hunch," and for that reason requires the steadying effect of scientific detachment.

The Missouri survey, begun in 1925, published its results the following year. The Baumes Commission was created in 1926; the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice was formed in the same year, and in 1929, the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania appointed a commission to study the laws and procedure of that state, relating to crime and criminals.

Out of these surveys have come several important contributions to what must always be regarded as a continuing inquiry into the causes of crime in this country. Besides the statistics and factual data which indicate some of the weak spots in the organization and practices of the administration of criminal justice, there was developed a knowledge of the statistical records and material which should form part of that administration. There can be no doubt that the efforts now afoot for effective police and judicial records and statistics have been due to the surveys. The later surveys, Missouri and Illinois and New York, of course built upon and improved the statistical methods of the Cleveland survey. We may now definitely look forward to the beginning of all scientific standards in dealing with social problems—reliable statistics. There is still a long road to go. Thus, there are maladjustments between the classifications of our statistics and the penal and procedural codes. But the surveys undoubtedly have driven home the indispensable need for criminal statistics, and have advanced the methods of statistical record keeping in this country.

Another service has been rendered in what may be called a

change of emphasis. The great dramatic appeal of the jury trial to the public, together with the attractions which forensic problems have for the lawyer, had caused most of the discussion to be centered on procedural questions, such as the right of the court to comment on the evidence, the number of challenges, and the like. The statistics developed by the surveys brought out forcibly that, however important the jury trial must remain, it constitutes but one part of a very elaborate and complicated machinery and not the part which is giving most of the trouble. These statistics show that the number of cases reaching jury trial is small, from 7 to 15 per cent, and that the percentage of dismissals of cases or escapes from punishment attributable to acquittals by juries is very small indeed. This seems to show that the center of gravity is not the trial but administrative practices out of court, and has fortunately tended to throw the emphasis of incuiry, research, and reform where most needed, namely, on problems of administration as distinguished from problems of court procedure.

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The training of policemen, the selection of members of the police, the record system of the police, the direction of the police, the coordination of police and prosecution, the organization of their offices and business methods, their appropriate function, their relationship to police, to detective, to disposition of offenders, and to courts, the organization of the judiciary, the classification and specialization of judicial functions—these and similar problems now appear as those most needing attention. The realization has come that the quality of the product is more dependent upon administration than upon provisions of law relating to procedure.

In another direction and an even more fundamental one, the surveys have brought about a needed change of emphasis. The surveys have made it apparent that many maladjustments have developed by reason of these inconsistent assumptions as to the objectives of the criminal law. The theory of the criminal code is abstract treatment of crime, while the probation system emphasizes the personality of the criminal. Many of the surveys have contained descriptions of individual criminal careers which dem-

onstrate the relative futility of any system of applying tariffs of punishment based upon the nature of the offense, as distinguished from a disposition adjusted to the history and nature of the offender. Consequently, the surveys have shown the need of a more effective application of the growing body of knowledge

concerning human behavior.

It is in this aspect of the inquiry into the causes of crime that all the surveys thus far undertaken have been singularly lacking. In the Cleveland survey we made no attempt to study the individual criminal. It is doubtful whether the survey method, requiring fairly rapid results and the brigading of a large group of specialists, will ever give us a really scientific contribution to the subject. It is the function of the individual experimenter, using probation and the penal institution as his laboratory, to look for some light on the causes of crime in the individual. It is the function of the children's clinic, painfully and carefully collecting observations and following up after histories, to throw some light on crime and its therapy. Humanitarian impulses, the demand for practical results, the necessity of meeting some crucial need immediately have all conspired to bring it about that in this domain we live from hand to mouth. Under the influence of philosophies and movements transitory in their applicability, society has embodied in codes and legislation, relatively simple notions of how the complex problems of human motivation and habit should be solved. In not one of our institutions—juvenile court, probation, industrial school, reformatory, parole—has the solution frankly been regarded as experimental. In not one of them, so far as I know, has the machinery been set up and the personnel definitely assigned to keep track of the experiment and make scientific reports on its strength and its weaknesses. In not one existing system of correction and punishment has a long-time plan been fully recorded, and a report thereon returned to the legislature which set them up. The lesson of all these surveys is that we ought to have, alongside of the machinery which cares for the practical problems of the day, continuous scientific research and experimentation, from which the routine business might hope to

receive stimulation and which would be adding daily to our store of knowledge on these ever present problems.

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A further gain from these numerous surveys is a realization of the need of integrating their various results. To too great an extent past surveys have been collections of surveys of individual parts of the field. The division of the work of surveying into compartments results simply from the necessity of a division of labor and not from a difference in subject matter. Each of these functional fields is but a part of a whole. Whatever affects one of the parts affects every other part and should be absorbed by them. There need to be developed principles of administration internally consistent.

The National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement established by President Hoover May 29, 1929, presents by its very inclusiveness a very different set of problems. For the first time in the history of the national government, the President of the United States has made it the government's concern to find out why we have crime and what society should do about it.

It must be remembered that there are in the United States fifty systems administering criminal justice, the forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, and the federal judicial system covering the country at large. The Commission therefore is charged with the duty of inquiring into the work of these fifty systems with their separate machinery for law making and law enforcement. The field of investigation thus thrown open is unparalleled in the history of the investigation of the relation of law to conduct. What this means can be understood only by seeing it in the perspective of similar investigations entrusted to other bodies in the past.

Therefore a few historic instances taken from law and legal administration should be recalled. Today everyone points to the English judicial system as a model. It was not always so. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century that system was under fire of criticism as obsolete and inadequate. After years of agitation, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1867, containing among its members the ablest men of Great Britain. This

Commission was reinforced from time to time by other distinguished judges and lawyers. Its first provisional report was made about a year and a half after its appointment, and not until 1875 was its work concluded. But this long inquiry resulted in the complete overhauling of an outworn scheme of legal administration and the establishment of a modern system of legal administration and procedure. It is because the British built thoroughly and so well when they began to grapple with their defects of legal administration, that England now enjoys a system of legal administration which is the envy of the civilized world.

Another example is furnished by Germany. For decades Germany, composed of several states with diverse and conflicting systems of local procedure, fashioned a code fit for a great modern state. The work of preparing such a code was begun in 1874, and not until 1896 was the final draft laid before the Reichstag. That code finally came into force on January 1, 1900, after the most thoroughgoing discussion that any code has received in modern times. It has survived the cataclysm of a world war and is still recognized by legal scholars as the finest code of its kind.

Finally, an illustration nearer home. Five years ago the American Law Institute sponsored the drafting of a modern code of criminal procedure. That work has been under way for five years and has enlisted the labor of specialists in criminal procedure—law professors, judges, prosecutors, and defense lawyers. Their draft has been subjected to the scrutiny from time to time of leaders of the bar and bench of the entire country. Probably another

year will be required for the completion of this work.

All these efforts represent only a small fraction of the problems with which the President has charged the Commission on Law Enforcement. Real scientific inquiry, such as the Commission has embarked upon, requires two things above all others. The first is time. Quick results must be eschewed. None of the problems investigated is simple; and reform, whether through legislation or a slow change in public opinion, will take years. The other requirement is quite as much of the essence of things —it is a scientific atmosphere free from contention. It will not be 1-

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difficult for you to see whither I am tending. The atmosphere in which the Commission has moved since its beginning has been as far removed as possible from that isolated calm in which alone the patient work of scientific inquiry can flourish. Complete isolation may be impossible for a governmental inquiry. The public feels that it is entitled to know from time to time what is being done, and public men feed that curiosity. Some concession must be made to our customary American ways. But there are particular reasons in the case of the President's Crime Commission for this insistent public interest, and they lead us to the core of most of the difficulties that body has to face. If the Commission had been limited in its endeavors to crime and law enforcement, apart from prohibition, it would soon have been forgotten in the press by more exciting things, and allowed to carry on its work in oblivion. But prohibition is one of the most exciting subjects under public discussion today, and by its inclusion in the program undertaken, the applecart has been upset. For Congress and the public, caring little for scientific purposes and inquiries, have kept their eyes on the prohibition question from the first and have leaped upon every pronouncement, ready to drag it and all the Commission stands for into the maelstrom that surrounds that contentious issuc.

It is greatly to be deplored that the Commission should be threatened by these quicksands. President Hoover did not exaggerate the seriousness of the situation we are facing, and the establishment of the Commission was the act of a statesman. The success of the Commission, however, is absolutely dependent on one thing: it must maintain itself rigorously as a scientific body, functioning completely outside the aura of politics.

## NEW LIGHT ON JUVENILE COURTS AND PROBATION

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HREE decades ago the interest of socially minded men and women of the country was aroused to the necessity of separating children who offended against the law from adult offenders, and for changing the formal legal procedure and the accepted concept that a child who committed an unsocial act had offended against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth and must be punished for his offense. It is not easy to say where the idea of a juvenile or children's court first originated, but the establishment of such a court was advocated in a book published anonymously in England in 1873. But the first practical application of the idea occurred, as this audience is well aware, when in 1899 the Illinois legislature passed a law authorizing the establishment of a special kind of a court for the hearing and disposition of children's cases. This law, in accordance with which a juvenile court was established in the city of Chicago, marked the beginning of the juvenile or children's court movement in this country. Since then a great body of legislation affecting the children who come before the courts has been enacted, and in communities representing every section of the country special courts have been created or special divisions of courts have been established; and in contrast to the old and repressive methods employed, new methods have been introduced for the treatment of the thousands of children who annually appear before the courts.

The juvenile court is America's most notable contribution to the field of criminology and penology. It is responsible for the revolutionary changes not only in society's attitude toward children who have offended against the laws, but toward adults as well. It is responsible for the development of probation and for whatever progress has been made in socializing procedure in courts dealing with adult offenders. Today the vanguard of thought is recognizing that many of the principles of socialized treatment which the juvenile court inaugurated, such as the study of characteristics of the individual and the environment in which he lives, are applicable and should be extended gradually to the whole field of criminal justice.

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Rumblings of discontent with the actual operations of juvenile courts, however, are being heard from all parts of the country and from all types of persons having contact with these courts. What is wrong with the juvenile courts, and why have they failed to keep pace with modern standards of social work, are questions that are frequently asked. It is the contention of many that the failure of so large a percentage of the courts to function effectively is due to a misconception, wilful or otherwise, of the purposes of these courts not only on the part of laymen, but of lawyers and judges as well, and that the greatest part of the responsibility for the present condition of affairs rests with the legalists. Social workers are critical, not only regarding the formal, legalistic attitude of a number of judges of these courts, but of the failure of the courts to understand and treat the needs of the individual child. It is charged by many social workers and with considerable justice that these courts neither understand nor accept the fundamentals of social case work. The psychiatrists are critical because in their opinion children's courts during the past thirty years have had an unparalleled opportunity to deal with a vast army of delinquent and neglected children and disturbed family relationships, yet with few notable exceptions little has been added to the general knowledge of human behavior from the experiences of these courts. They are critical because of the unintelligent approach to the whole field of behavior and human relationships. The more sympathetic psychiatrists, however, frankly state that the community expects an impossible task of a judge of a children's court in that it expects him to be a psychiatrist, a psychologist, a social worker, and a lawyer. Because of

their lack of knowledge of the complex problems which the courts are asked to solve fiscal authorities are of the opinion that juvenile courts are unnecessary and indicate their lack of sympathy and understanding by their niggardly appropriations. The sentimental backing responsible for the creation of many of these courts has disappeared. Other panaceas for the salvation of children now occupy the attention of former leaders in the children's court movement. Evidently recalling Julia Lathrop's remark that a child's welfare is best served by keeping everything normal about him, keeping him a school child even if he diverges from the straight and narrow paths, in recent years there has been increasing emphasis upon the assumption by educational authorities of responsibility for the treatment of problem children as essentially an educational and not a judicial function. Juvenile courts are criticized because they are mainly city institutions and have failed to render services to the rural sections or communities. The staffs of the courts are flaved because of their general lack of educational qualifications and their failure to appreciate or accept modern standards of social work.

"The constant strain of self-criticism that arises from the vocal and more thinking part of the American people, morbid as it may seem, indicates a deep dissatisfaction with life and is the hopeful sign for the future. . . . ." Certainly this statement might be applied to the criticisms made regarding juvenile courts. If these diverse criticisms were carefully analyzed, it would be found that they do not relate fundamentally to the theories underlying the creation of these courts, but to their administration.

In the beginning juvenile courts were put forth as a panacea that would solve all the social ills of childhood. The emotional stage responsible for the overenthusiastic and frequently extravagant statements of what juvenile courts would be able to accomplish has long since passed. The interest of the groups responsible for the creation of these courts has, unfortunately for the courts, been transferred to other fields of social action. The struggle to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> James Truslow Adams, "Sweetness and Light-Sixty Years After," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. CXLIV, No. 5.

make juvenile courts effective agencies in the treatment of children has been left to a limited few. Certainly few people who have knowledge of more than one court visualize juvenile courts as social case working agencies having standards of social case work as high as those of any private agency. In an age notorious for its lack of faith, it is pathetic to witness the childlike simplicity that most of us still have in the enactment of laws to solve social problems. This same faith in legislation evidently existed at the beginning of the present century, for throughout the country laws creating juvenile courts were enacted and the individuals responsible for them apparently lost interest in the difficult problems of administration that with wisdom might be expected to follow their establishment.

In practically every field of social service theory is far ahead of practice. This is true of the juvenile court, and yet if one maintains an evolutionary point of view, it is exactly what one with wisdom would expect. During the last three decades, life in America has undergone many changes. The persons responsible for juvenile court legislation could not visualize the revolutionary changes that were to occur either in American life or in the child caring field.

Even the last decade there has been a tremendous advance in the scientific study and treatment of children with behavior problems. In fact, our whole point of view has been revolutionized. In this age of progress, the understanding and treatment of the underprivileged or handicapped child has developed *almost* into a science. The creation of juvenile courts brought new and unexpected problems to the groups interested in delinquent and neglected children. Before these courts could possibly adjust themselves to any constructive solution of the problems of neglect and delinquency, through the enactment of additional laws, they were overwhelmed with jurisdiction over problems as widely divergent as mothers' pensions and divorce; and, unfortunately, each year new responsibilities were added to these courts.

It would, however, be futile if not intellectually dishonest to give the impression that there is no reason for the critical attitude

of many thoughtful people toward juvenile courts. There is little doubt that the criticisms are in a great measure justifiable. Unfortunately there still exists, strangely enough, a number of juvenile courts, in which practically every detail is contrary to the thought underlying the movement which created them, that continue to be mere criminal courts in which the primary inquiry is directed to the evidence bearing upon the commission of a crime. The social side of the inquiry which has for its object the consideration of the child's needs so as to make him a useful member of society is a secondary consideration.

The basis of the charge of the legalistic attitude of a number of juvenile court judges is understandable if the history of the movement is considered. Comparatively speaking, there are still few judges who devote their full time to the work of a juvenile court. Frequently they are judges of county courts, surrogate courts, and courts of special sessions. In the enactment of juvenile court laws legislators desiring to economize placed the duties of these new courts upon a branch of the judicial system already established. The personal qualifications of the individuals selected for this vital work were never considered. Practically the only qualification for a judge of a children's court was and is that he be trained in the law. It should have been expected that it would take time to socialize the thinking and the attitudes of the "legal minds" selected for this work.

The legalistic attitude charged against the juvenile court is in a large measure due to false notions of economy. As long as we expect judges of juvenile courts to act as judges of courts dealing with adult offenders where legal evidence is still of major importance, society cannot expect informal court procedure and individual treatment for children appearing in court. The juvenile court should be a separate and independent court and the judge of the court should be allowed to devote his full time to it.

It is in the actual treatment of the child that most juvenile courts have signally failed in their efforts to adjust the child to the normal forces in the community. The factors responsible for this failure are many and complex. If the judge of the juvenile court is well qualified through personality, training, and experience for his responsible task, in his efforts to make wise decisions, he may have utilized all the facilities available to throw light on the conditions responsible for the child's appearance in court. And yet the plan of treatment formulated may result in failure. If the decision is to place the child on probation, the staff of probation officers may not only be inadequate in number but be made up of individuals who previously have been undertakers, instalment collectors, insurance agents, court attendants, or sign

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If a child needs institutional care, it is quite possible that the local community or the state lacks the type of institution needed. When institutions are available, frequently normal children are detained too long because the limited probation staffs attached to the courts have no opportunity to reconstruct the home and children have to be returned to conditions similar to those from which they were removed. If the child is feebleminded and the decision is that for a period at least the child should receive care and intensive training in an institution for defective children, it is exceedingly likely that the judge will be informed that the institution is overcrowded and for this reason the child cannot be accepted for an indefinite period. If it is the earnest desire of the judge to utilize social agencies, too frequently those with acceptable standards of work are not to be found, or if they do exist, their lack of understanding of the proper function of a juvenile court and the part the social agency should play in a program of treatment may result in conflict and failure of the social agency to render the necessary service and cooperation that the court has a legitimate right to expect.

Certainly one of the objectives of those interested in the creation of juvenile courts was a certain uniformity of treatment; yet, even in adjoining counties in states operating under the same Act, one may find a juvenile court that in a large measure adheres to the old quasi criminal procedure, and a court that is at least attempting to interpret the children's lives in terms of heredity and environment and using every means from surgical operations to

friendship to repress whatever is abnormal in the life of the child and to bring out the normal. In one county few if any children are ever committed to institutions, while in another county practically all the children who are either unfortunate or unlucky enough to appear before the court are sent away. Some juvenile courts have adopted the dangerous policy of acting as relief giving agencies and parents and children are being supplied with food, clothing, and shelter when there exist in the counties agencies whose primary responsibility is the giving of material relief. In some counties persons have been appointed to serve the court, not because they are qualified through training, personality, and experience as probation officers but under strange and mysterious titles, responsible to no one but the appointing officer for adhering to acceptable standards of work. Too many communities apparently are either uninterested or unaware of the qualifications needed for those who work with delinquent, dependent, and neglected children and their families.

In a number of the smaller counties of some states no adequate provisions have been made for probation service and practically every method of volunteer service that has been tried in the past and has proved a failure is again being used. Instances have occurred where children appearing before the courts for juvenile delinquency or as ungovernable children have been placed on probation to their own parents. Apparently it is overlooked that if these parents were proper guardians their children would not

be in court.

It would be unfair to imply that judges of children's courts have not in many instances realized the lack of uniformity existing and have made no efforts to bring about needed improvements. In fact, it is because occasionally interested judges have revolutionized the methods employed that is apt to convince one that juvenile courts can be made effective instruments for the handling of children's cases.

It is high time that it be realized that juvenile courts are not strange and mysterious institutions. None of these courts possess an Aladdin's lamp that can be rubbed to change children from delinquents into those presenting no behavior problems. Outside of actual commitments to institutions there are no functions that these courts perform that could not be performed as well if not better by any social case working agency with acceptable standards of work. In June, 1930, citizens are still assuming that when children appear before the courts no disposition is made of their cases without an adequate understanding of the problems presented. It is being accepted, without knowledge of the facts, that every effort will be made to keep children in their own homes. The fact that a court has a probation officer seems to be responsible for the delusion that when a child is placed on probation the probation officer understands that his efforts cannot be limited to the child, that he must reconstruct the whole family, that the treatment given must be intensive, and that if the probation officer is to do a good job he must have the cooperation and help of diversified social agencies. What constructive work can even an ideal probation officer do, overburdened as so many of them are with cases, lacking clerical assistance and too frequently means of transportation? Over and over again the need for crime prevention is being stressed. Thousands of dollars are being spent each year studying the causes of crime, and millions of dollars are expended on bricks and mortar to confine adults in jails or prisons. It is high time that the states realized that with wisdom they might expend some money on preventive work—and the practical place to begin is with children appearing before the courts. If, as most juvenile court Acts indicate, the state takes in particular cases the place of the parent, it might, if it is to assume the rôle of a wise parent, make it possible to secure enough probation officers to insure intensive study, care, and treatment. If states do not, we simply have proud words that in reality mean nothing.

Juvenile courts have been and are handicapped by their failure to secure properly qualified probation officers with experience in social case working agencies having acceptable standards of work. The concept that good probation work, to quote Joanna Colcord, is simply good case work with the punch of the law behind it is still comparatively new. This idea, if we are to have effective

juvenile courts, must be accepted by all leaders in juvenile court and probation work. Effective treatment can be carried on only by men and women fitted by personality, training, and experience for the work, and who are selected on the basis of fitness and merit only and given systematic, well planned direction by a chief probation officer or other supervisor. Unless in the future these courts become case agencies having acceptable standards of work, they are doomed to failure. Juvenile courts must be enabled to do social case work, and this means an adequate staff of trained

probation officers.

Most juvenile courts are proud of their so-called unofficial work. It is not claimed that the unofficial disposition of cases is provided for under juvenile court laws. It is frankly admitted that there is no part of these laws that authorizes it. The practice is justified on the ground that it enables the court to perform a most valuable social function in accomplishing all that a proceeding in court could do and at the same time protects the child. But the bald fact remains that the juvenile courts are responsible for the mushroom development of unofficial work. The court in the future cannot be all things to all men. Too many juvenile court judges and most probation officers have become literally fanatic regarding their unofficial work. Unofficial work has been overemphasized. If its quality measures up with the standards of good official work juvenile courts can be justly proud of the quality of it, but the fact that it is recognized that these cases do not need judicial action should indicate that it could be better carried on under non-court auspices. Within a short time if every juvenile court judge attempted to analyze the intake of his court he would realize that because of the trivial nature of the charges children should be protected from undergoing a court experience. Issues that can be solved by voluntary adjustment obviously should not be brought to the attention of the court.

One needs a glossary if he is to visit many probation departments doing unofficial work, and understands that "book cases" mean cases of children born out of wedlock, or how cases are selected for "straight probation," "unofficial probation," or "pro-

bation supervision." In some probation departments if a person ventures into a probation office and asks for the location of the morgue he is listed as an unofficial case. May I again repeat that unofficial probation work has been overstressed. Obviously probation departments spending a major portion of their time doing it are attempting to render services that private social agencies are or should be better equipped to give.

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It needs to be emphasized over and over again that the failure of communities to provide adequate budgets for juvenile courts is responsible for many of the existing defects of these courts. Sooner or later communities must face the fact that it will cost money to prevent crime. Enough studies have been made to indicate that delinquent careers begin in childhood and if criminal careers are to be prevented intensive work must be done with the families as well as the children presenting behavior problems. By providing juvenile courts with trained investigators and supervising officers society will make an intelligent approach to this outstanding social problem. An idea of how seriously the work of juvenile courts throughout the country is handicapped by the failure of communities to make adequate provision for the work of these important social agencies may perhaps be gained by citing the budgets of forty-two "up-state" juvenile courts in New York. Only in five of the forty-two counties were the budgets more than \$20,000 and these courts are located in the most populous counties of the state. The budgets of thirty-seven other children's courts range from \$500 to less than \$10,000. Such figures tell graphically why the juvenile courts do not have the services of properly trained probation officers, why physical and psychiatric examinations are not made, and in general why the treatment outlined to correct conditions responsible for a child's appearance in court is not followed.

For fifteen years or more we have been deluged with literature and speeches shedding sweetness and light upon our juvenile courts. What is needed at the present time is another Thomas Eliot to critically evaluate the work of these courts. If more than 50 per cent of the children appearing before them, as the Na-

tional Probation Association informs us, are not given the help they need because of lack of good probation service, is it irrational to ask why the attempt is not made to do an effective job with children under sixteen before assuming the additional burden of coping with the group between sixteen and twenty-one? Are neglected, dependent, and physically handicapped children still to appear in juvenile courts with delinquents up to twenty-one, or is the court of the future to be limited to work with delinquents? Just what is to be done with the group sixteen to twenty-one who fail to make good on probation and must be sent to an institution? Are they to be sent to institutions whose programs have been established for boys or girls up to sixteen, or are they to be sent to reformatories whose programs were formulated in the dim past to meet the needs of offenders from sixteen to thirty years of age?

Before any additional propaganda is put forth regarding raising the age limit in juvenile court, the leaders responsible for spreading this idea should realize the necessity for formulating a definite program to meet the problems such a change would

create.

The juvenile court is a specialized court. Its socialized methods of treatment should be extended to the whole field of criminal justice. But is there any logical reason why another specialized court cannot be established to deal with delinquents in the age group between sixteen and twenty-one? Juvenile courts need critical study and evaluation before any additional burdens are placed upon them. For since their establishment courts have been the graveyards for the moral gestures made by those who have faith in the magic of laws to solve social problems.

# THE RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT DELINQUENCY

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HERE appears to be a definite drift toward the concentration of attention by those interested in the problem of crime in the direction of a study of juvenile delinquency. This seems to be based upon the widespread hope and faith that by doing something about juvenile delinquency we are going to contribute toward the solution of adult delinquency. The relationship seems to be assumed, and it may be a perfectly legitimate assumption. There is, however, the need for certain types of research in this connection which will not only make certain the extent to which this assumption is correct but the character and significance of the connection.

Closely related to this question is the further one of whether the average age of those who commit certain types of crime, particularly organized crime, is becoming lower. This again seems to be a commonly assumed factor in the crime situation. There is no particularly conclusive evidence of this, although it seems to be an assumption which has the merit of being at least a workable hypothesis.

In the study of the relationship between adult and juvenile delinquency, there seem to be at least three lines of influence: first, the growth of the juvenile offender into an adult offender; second, the influence of the adult offender on the juvenile; and third, the attitude of the juvenile as it is determined by the adult world of social relationships in which he lives.

The most interesting types of studies which we have had are those which involve the careers of juvenile delinquents subsequent to their release from the juvenile institutions. Only four years ago, Healy and Bronner said:

We can find very few attempts at evaluation of success and failure under these procedures, certainly none whatever according to critical scientific method. There are, to be sure, the New York, Chicago and Philadelphia Juvenile Court publications, mines of statistical information; the Chicago reports are exceptional in that they honestly give juvenile recidivism for the year. And one institution, the New York House of Refuge, tells frankly what is superficially known of the after-careers of its inmates. But we look in vain for any study by any judge or court or institutional official of outcomes of considerable numbers over sufficient years and as classified according to conditions of the individual and of his life situation. Such studies would offer the only valid means of estimating the efficacy (a) of the definite prescriptions of the law or those uttered under authority of law and (b) of special forms of treatment developed under legal sanction—either of these as punitive, deterrent, or reformative.

Since Healy wrote this statement we have had a number of significant studies which do not need comment—particularly that of Professor and Mrs. Sheldon Glueck, certain studies of Healy himself, and the various reports of the New York State Crime Commission. The conclusion of these reports is that there has been a shocking degree of failure on the part of our institutions in the correction of delinquency. Because the reports of the New York State Crime Commission have not been widely known, and, moreover, because I am somewhat more familiar with them than with others, it may be useful to summarize their principal findings. In the first place, the Sub-Commission on Causes, of the New York State Crime Commission, found, in a study of the careers of 145 major offenders, conducted by Mr. Frederick Moran, that at least 42 per cent of the cases had appeared at least once in children's courts during their former years. On account of the fact that adequate records are not always available, it is probable that the total percentage is much higher. Another study, conducted for the New York State Crime Commission by Mr. Shulman, of 251 adolescents whose average age was twenty-one years and who had been released from a truant school from six to eight years prior to the study, shows that 36 per cent had been subsequently arraigned for major and minor offenses and 14 per cent were arraigned as major offenders. Except for problems of r

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calculation, the oft repeated statement that the apprehended criminal represents I per cent of the population of the United States is true. These statistics of Mr. Shulman would seem to indicate that the juvenile offender will, according to the law of probability, become a major criminal fourteen times as frequently as the normally behaving child. There is, moreover, in the same study indicated a family influence either of the parents or of elder brothers. Quoting from the report: "The proportion of families, one or more of whose members had police records, ranged upward from .43 for those boys who had no record subsequent to truancy and to .83 for those who became felons." Mr. Shulman's study further showed that the truant group constituted a more prolific source of adult criminals than the juvenile court group in general. This indicates the probability that the chronic truant group represents a more important group of potential offenders than does a cross section of juvenile court cases generally. If this is true, it would seem that preventive measures among truants would, indeed, be valuable to combat adult crime. The same studies indicate that work among chronic truants can be begun as early as eight or nine years of age because truancy becomes chronic in the third grade. The general conclusion of the New York State Crime Commission as expressed in a consolidated summary of their four years' work, which is shortly to appear under the title of "Crime and the Community," says that: "Within the limits of its inquiry, the Sub-Commission on Causes has found that the adult offender is ordinarily not an accidental but an habitual offender whose nonconformity showed itself even in early childhood." It found, moreover, that children's court records of recidivism are no index to subsequent criminal careers, because most children's court arraignments come close to the end of its period of jurisdiction. In New York City, for example, in the period 1925–28, of 23,500 boys from seven to sixteen years of age who were arraigned as juvenile delinquents, 15,000—or nearly two-thirds—were between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. This is probably, in some degree, due to the fact that at this particular age the boys break away more easily from paternal control. They have passed the age when they can be corrected easily by their parents and are on the threshold of a much more free life.

It is unnecessary to continue with a synopsis of the conclusions of research, which are fairly well known to all of you. Nevertheless, it seems desirable that at this point the caution be interposed that we should frankly recognize in most of our studies of this sort the quite unscientific nature of the studies and of the conclusions—with the exception of the Gluecks' study of Five Hundred Criminal Careers, which is brilliantly suggestive in the way of methodology, and Mr. Shulman's studies already referred to. Most of the conclusions made in studies of this kind are about the same as would have been made by the authors, had they conducted no research at all. In other words, the piling up of case records and the interpretation of these case records without the use of control groups is insufficient to justify strongly stated conclusions. It may be that casual and empirical conclusions can be made, but they should at all times be labeled as such, and no one should be encouraged to accept such research as conclusive scientific procedure. Most of our study in this field, as well as in the other social sciences, is still in a pre-Darwinian stage of collecting specimens which a subsequent age may use to develop sound scientific conclusions.

Another caution ought to be added at this point. Have our studies of juvenile and adult delinquency given sufficient attention to the fact that adult crime may, in many instances, result from some type of conduct or from states of mind that are not delinquency and that do not even closely resemble delinquency? If so, what are these types of mind and of conduct? The question has not been explored to any degree at all, because most of our students of the subject assume that adult crime results from juvenile crime in the way that a seed of corn produces a stalk of corn; when, in fact, crime among adults may frequently result from something that in childhood would not involve antisocial activity at all.

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What I have said up to this point has largely to do with personal aspects of crime causation. At all times, the social worker should bear in mind the two-fold implication of criminal conduct. The first is what we may call personal and harks back to the question why the criminal so conducts himself as to violate the criminal code. The second pertains to the conflict in group loyalties, so often characteristic of criminal acts. A gangster violates the law of the state, which in a sense is the code of the larger group, without considering his action immoral, but he will go to his death rather than violate the code of his own gang. Criminal conduct, therefore, from the sociological aspect, has to do with conflicts in group loyalties. To a large extent, organized crime and the method of curing it has to do with group anatomy and group hygiene rather than individual adjustments. The boys' gang has its special modes and forms of association. The attitude of a member of this gang toward the group of which he is a member and toward the state of which he is a citizen comes down, in the last analysis, to a choice between two claims of loyalty. If, from continued observation, he decides that the values involved in his own gang are more important than those which pertain to the larger group, he may ultimately grow into an adult law breaker.

It ought to be pointed out at this time that this sense of preference for the group as against the state is probably profoundly affected by current attitudes toward those who are in official position in the state itself. It is of great significance, therefore, that in any attempt to cure crime the question of the attitude of children toward the state in which they live and the political organizations which dominate the state should be considered, also the economic structure so profoundly important to the state. If the current attitude which they accept is true, then the method by which the state is administered should be changed. If the cynicism which may prevail with regard to the importance or the rectitude of the larger economic or political group is wrong, it should be changed, and the efforts of those who are attempting to deal

with crime should, in part at least, be directed to a sound public opinion on this subject. I know this latter will sound like "one hundred per cent Americanism," but if it is taken in its setting and if it is considered not as a large and important aspect of crime prevention but as a necessary factor, it will carry with it a great deal of conviction. It is perhaps just as true that we ought to improve the quality of the state in order to improve the quality of the individuals who compose it, as it is that we ought to improve the qualities of the individuals in order to improve the state.

## PUNISHMENT VERSUS TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

### THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM

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HE recent tragic developments in half a dozen of our great prisons have raised grave questions which far transcend the prison problem, questions which go to the root of our whole penal policy. What are the aims of that policy?

We of this Conference of social welfare are not doctrinaires, spinning tenuous webs of speculation as to the forces at work in the social structure. Our success in dealing with the social evils that confront us, our every effort, depends upon a correct understanding of those forces. If at any point, we find ourselves baffled and helpless, it must be due to the fact that we have failed to understand those forces or that they are so alien to the social aims which we represent that they cannot be molded to its purpose. In the Book of Proverbs we find this admonition: "Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom; and with all thy getting, get understanding." Let us try to get an understanding of the forces that determine the penal policy of our country.

Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, formerly chief commissioner of prisons in England and Wales, declares that the aims of the penal system of his country are three: first, retribution; second, deterrence; third, reformation. Plato, writing some twenty-four hundred years earlier, enunciates the same doctrine and in his philosophy, as in that of Ruggles-Brise, the reformation of the offender is assumed as a mystical operation of the retributive principle. Plato in his famous dialogue, the *Gorgias*, says that punitive justice operates as "a moral medicine, delivering from that evil

(criminality) the soul corrupted with it." This was, as well, the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas, of Kent, of Hegel, and is the philosophy of an influential school of thinkers in Europe today, who accept Schopenhauer's vision of criminals expiating their crimes under the axe: "To them in the extremity of their anguish the last secret of life has revealed itself; they obtain purification through suffering."

It is not easy to say to what extent this principle of retribution, so deeply rooted in our human nature, is actually operative in our penal legislation and in judicial and prison practice today but I cannot help believing that it is still the dominant element in penal policy. Usually we may believe, it operates below the level of consciousness, but it sometimes finds frank expression. An able and distinguished member of the court of general sessions in the city of New York once told me that in imposing sentence on a convicted criminal he had no other aim but that of balancing the scales of justice; if you made the punishment fit the crime, deterrence would take care of itself; and he was satisfied to leave the reformation of the offender to God. I suggested leaving the retribution to God, quoting the words "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." His answer was that it was his business, as a judge of the court, to help the Lord all he could in that matter.

But, of course, the matter is not so simple as all that. My friend the judge was not the direct agent of the Almighty which his language implied that he probably believed himself to be. He was far more the agent of a public opinion, which certainly has its vindictive side, but which, far less stable than any philosophy of life, embodies ever new attitudes and modes of feeling. It has, indeed, insisted that its policy is not that of retribution but of deterrence, but this in practice has come to much the same thing. The crime is still the measure of the punishment inflicted and this is determined not by the philosophical theories of spokesmen and apologists for the established order but by the mood and temper of the time. The penal policies of the last two centuries are the reflection of the shifting tides of a public opinion which has, in

the western world, become the dominant factor in the administration of the penal law as well as in the legislation in which that law is embodied. The voice of the people is the voice of God.

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In the light of the problem that I have put before you, we first become aware of the new rôle of public opinion in what has been. perhaps, its most dramatic expression, when, some two centuries ago, Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot, and their collaborators, in their revolt against the mediaeval darkness into which they were born, ushered in the new age, known as the era of enlightenment. This was a revolt against the cruelties as well as superstitions of the time and thus gave birth to an intense and contagious humanitarian sentiment, which quickly spread over Western Europe. The Italian, Beccaria, produced his epoch-making treatise On Crimes and Punishments under its influence and this, in its turn, rapidly modified the current attitude of the public mind with respect to the treatment of the criminal. The practice of torture was discredited and, within the brief span of a single generation, almost everywhere in Europe abolished by law, and the death penalty received its death wound.

Of all the countries of Western Europe, England, from which we derived our law and, in great measure, our attitude toward life, was least affected by this tide of humanitarian sentiment, but even that "right little, tight little island" could not long resist the contagion and, by the middle of the last century, forced by the public opinion represented by the House of Commons, it too had completely—or all but completely—modernized its penal law. During most of that period of British lag, the American people, lawless and rough in their justice as became a race of pioneers, but far more susceptible to continental influences than were those of the mother country, had upon the whole maintained a far milder and humaner system of criminal justice.

We are now in the nineteenth century an intensely democratic popular community, legislating privilege out of existence, with no aristocracy whether of wealth or birth, a people whose motto is "live and let live," a race of adventurers, who are not afraid to experiment, to take a chance, who will try anything once. Our

heritage is no longer purely English, but largely and increasingly Irish, Scandinavian, German. It is now that we lead in penal reform. We know Beccaria and John Howard; the names of Bentham, Romilly, MacIntosh, the intrepid leaders of penal reform in England, are household words. Prison societies spring up, in Boston, in Philadelphia, in New York. Out of the chaos of the old jail, inherited from the mother-country, we invent, create a new type of prison which excites the enthusiasm of DeTocqueville and many other foreign visitors of distinction and which is rapidly adopted in Western Europe; we take our delinquent children out of the common jails and segregate them in houses of refuge; we create the reformatory as an alternative to the prison for youthful first offenders; we invent the indeterminate sentence with parole; we set up a system of probation without punishment, for increasing numbers of older as well as for young offenders, and at the very end of the century we manifest the originality and the daring to set up the juvenile court, a court for the safeguarding, not for the punishment, of our delinquent children and youth.

When one reads today the proceedings of the first American Prison Congress, held in 1870, with its forward looking program and its confidence in the future, and then notes that in the following year its leaders were invited to meet in London to help organize an International Prison Congress on the same model and under the same inspiration, it is impossible not to have a feeling of pride in the leadership in penal reform which our country had at that time achieved. Is it any wonder that foreign students, statesmen, criminologists, social workers, continue, as in the days of DeTocqueville, to visit our shores, to wonder and admire and imitate?

Now we are in the twentieth century and such visitors still come and admire, but, with the admiration, there creeps in a new note of doubt and bewilderment. The admiration today is for the ardor with which we have, here and there, thrown ourselves into the immense task of criminological research and into the development of psychiatric and social clinics for the diagnosis of

delinquents in the courts and prisons—matters in which our adventurous spirit has again put us far ahead of our European compeers. There is admiration also for our juvenile courts and for some of our institutions for delinquent children and women; but there is only dismay at the spectacle presented by our prisons and reformatories and at the penal policy manifested in legislation and in judicial practice.

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As for our prisons, they have recently spoken for themselves in no uncertain terms. The inhumanity, the careless indifference to the most elementary human rights to which they bear witness need no emphasis from words of mine. One of the most distinguished of recent visitors, Dr. M. Leipmann, professor of criminal law and criminology in the University of Hamburg, in his report made to the Hamburg Senate in 1927, speaks of the enormous aggregates of men herded into the gigantic piles of masonry and steel which compose our prisons, of the stern militarized mass discipline which this involves, of the "antiquated, inside cell blocks" still being constructed, of the undeveloped state of our prison industries with the lack of compensation for the workers, of the absence of any uniform governing principles in prison administration and much else "which in Europe has long since been outgrown."

Now, an ancient evil is neither condoned nor explained by dismissing it as an old story, particularly where that evil has grown persistently worse. The accelerating rate of overcrowding, the increasing idleness, the aggravated unrest—all call for explanation. Even the callous indifference which has permitted these evils to accumulate to a menacing degree is a fact which, in a community with our tradition of humanity and resourcefulness, demands explanation. Perhaps an attempt to account for the condition of the prisons will help us to understand the state of mind which has tolerated that condition.

Let me say, then, that the congestion of population in our prisons is not due primarily to an increase in crime nor to increasing commitments but mainly to a persistent increase in the length of sentences imposed by the courts on the usual type of malefactor.

Legislation of the type of the Baumes laws of New York State has been a potent factor in developing this tendency but these laws themselves are a symptom of something that lies deeper in the body politic. I was at Sing Sing prison before this "orgy of drastic penal legislation" (the phrase is Dean Pound's) had gained headway and was struck by the appalling sentences which the men coming in were saddled with. I had been accustomed to think of a prison sentence of one to five years, or of five to ten years, or even, in aggravated cases, of ten to twenty years, but already in Sing Sing there were scores of men who were serving sentences of twenty years and upwards, many of them first offenders who in many cases carried sentences of thirty and forty years. I looked up the records of past commitments and found that this had been going on for a dozen or fifteen years, from the very beginning of this twentieth century of ours. In the first week of my administration two middle-aged men, partners in business who had been convicted of a commercial arson, both first offenders, presented themselves in the warden's office, one bearing a sentence of 34 and the other of 43 years. I know of a man in another prison who is under an indeterminate sentence of 80 to 104 years for robbery. I wondered at the four years, which were obviously added for good measure. I know of a boy of sixteen, just over juvenile court age, with no previous delinquency of any kind, who tried his prentice hand at a street robbery and foozled it, and is now serving a sentence of 30 to 39 years in Sing Sing prison. I talked over this case with the district attorney who prosecuted and with the judge who imposed the sentence and was told that public opinion demanded the exemplary punishment of malefactors of that type. Professor Leipmann, to whose report I have already referred, was even more shocked by what he called "the barbarous punishments" inflicted by the courts than he was by the prisons, and he adds that "offenses which in England and Germany are punished by a maximum sentence of from one to five years in America result in terms of from thirty to forty years." But this is not the whole story. At the same time that our legislatures and judicial officers have vied with one another

in devising and imposing more aggravated penalties, the administrative authorities, under the same pressure of public opinion, have, in many states, greatly restricted, in some states have almost suspended, the exercise of the parole and pardoning power. The recent desperate outbreaks in half a dozen of our prisons should be sufficient notice that there is a limit fixed by human nature to such a policy as this.

The pendulum of time has swung forward from the nineteenth century to the twentieth, but the pendulum of penal policy in America has swung backward from the nineteenth century to the eighteenth.

More than anything else that engages my interest in these latter days, I crave an explanation of this curious phenomenon. It is not the aftermath of the war. It started here well before the war and it has not happened in any of the European countries, even in the countries that were most terribly plowed up by the war. While we in the United States are, with machine guns and military power suppressing prison riots provoked by our ruthless penal policy, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Russia, and even our neighbor Mexico are actively engaged in experiments aimed to ameliorate still further the treatment of the offender. It is only in this blessed America of ours, this land of the brave and the free, the land of prosperity and of general well being, that the swing of public opinion has been in the opposite direction—back from salvage to retribution. And, as I reflect on this situation, I am led to wonder whether there is not a relation of cause and effect between this state of material and increasing well being and the war psychology with respect to crime which has come to prevail among us. I wonder if national prosperity is not incompatible with commiseration for those who present themselves as a menace to law and order.

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This is a black picture of penal policy in America that I have painted, but, as I envisage the scene, the darkness is shot through with gleams of light. If we have come to the end of our era there are significant indications that a new era is preparing. Dean Pound, with his far ranging vision, sees something cosmic in

these alternations of public opinion. To him it seems, as it has been in the past, a matter of a very long time, perhaps of centuries. But we in these days of change have seen public opinion change in a lifetime, in a decade. With the resistless influence of the new organs of publicity, of propaganda, we believe that we can change it. This Conference in which we are assembled is here to change it, to make it over into an instrument of social ameliora-

tion and general well being.

But I have still another ground for the faith that is in me. Public opinion, whose swing from light into darkness I have described, may not be the only factor in the determination of a nation's penal policy. I, too, like our foreign visitors, see much, even in the present situation, to admire—yes, even in the prison field—as exemplified in developments now in the making, in Massachusetts, in New Jersey and even in New York, as in Dr. Thayer's creation at Napanoch—developments not due to a sensitive public opinion but to enlightened individuals or groups. Something new has come in—the scientific study of human nature. The disciplines that we group under the description of the new psychology, the social aim which finds expression in social work—that social work which has supplanted the old practice of charity, however discriminating, and has given us the enlarged vision of our task as one of social engineering.

Perhaps what is happening is the shifting of power from sentiment to trained intelligence and that the achievements of the future will for this reason have a reality and a stability far greater than those that rest on the shifting sands of public opinion.

#### THE VISION OF THE FUTURE

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Albert Warren Stearns, M.D., Commissioner, State Department of Correction, Boston

BEFORE I indulge in my vision of the future I would like to take up briefly some of the past, in order to give our vision a little better setting.

Attempts to get people to conform are not peculiar to our age. We have seen in the past a series of efforts to induce people to behave themselves. Behavior, for the most part, consists in following the particular customs of the people with whom we are living. A man the other day told me he had seen a woman killed because she had left off her veil, thus becoming a criminal. In the early days of society the rule of might was followed. If strong enough, a man could have his own way. Often it was necessary for him to kill his opponent in order to accomplish this. The same rule we now see in the barnyard—the rule of the flock, which operates wherever savage instincts prevail.

As society grew older public opinion began expressing itself in one way or another. Naturally its first expression was according to the rules which the individual had set up. These rules advocated retribution. So in the Old Testament days we find society setting forth such rules as "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." This required no particular reasoning. It is important to recognize that it was treatment without diagnosis, and wherever treatment is carried forward, wherever theories of treatment are elaborated, without adequate diagnosis, treatment itself becomes dangerous. It is as if a surgeon learned to cut skilfully but had no idea as to disease processes. The history of medicine shows the danger of empirical treatment in advance of diagnosis. So this old theory of primitive society, the theory of retribution, was an attempt to treat the ills of society without adequate diagnosis. It was a generalization in the field of therapy, and generalizations

are always dangerous when you are called upon to treat individuals, whether their ills are medical or social.

The next development in the field of therapy came under the Roman Empire. It was based upon the theory of abstract justice. We have the classical figure of justice, represented as a female holding scales aloft. The most striking thing about this female is the fact that she is blindfolded. This shows that if we adopt the theory of abstract justice we must regard diagnosis as dangerous. In other words, she was blindfolded so that she would not be swayed by emotional appeal or by the actual facts of the case. Here again treatment was formulated without diagnosis.

The next development in therapy came to a peak during the Middle Ages, the so called "Dark Ages," abounding in witch-craft and superstitions. One of the most terrible of these superstitions was the one upon which was formulated the theory of the deterrent effect of punishment. That theory held that the only way to have conformity on the part of the mass of people was to keep them constantly aware of the horrible punishment which would be inflicted upon them in case they did not conform, so we entered the era of corporal punishment. I need not discuss its forms or disgust you with the atrocities to which it led human beings. We boast of the accomplishments of civilization and yet we must realize that civilization is a thin veneer which covers a substrata of savagery.

So this theory of the deterrent effect of punishment, a theory teaching that in order to have socialized conduct it was necessary to terrify humanity by horrible examples, had its sway. Though its success so disgusted human beings that they revolted, it still is perhaps the predominating influence back of our criminal procedure. I believe that within the last few years it would have been possible to burn victims on Boston Common if there had been adequate leadership, so thoroughly has the herd instinct been aroused of late.

Of course if this theory of deterrent punishment were true, if it would be possible to make a community law abiding by hanging, and drawing and quartering its criminals, then undoubtedly this would be the thing to do, no matter how revolting. But the theory didn't work very well. It led to atrocities which shocked society so that its gradual modification came about. In England, instead of branding persons, they carried out the ceremony, but put a piece of fat pork into the hand of the person sentenced to be branded, so that the mob might still smell the flesh and see the smoke. Also the branding iron was dipped into hot water so that the person would perhaps feel that he was being burned. At any rate, the idea of corporal punishment has gradually decayed until now its one relic is electrocution. This is also gradually dying out.

The next attempt at therapy was the house of correction or jail, another generalization. This also was treatment not based upon diagnosis. It was an attempt to reason in a metaphysical way and decide what one should do in the face of a general, rather than a particular, situation. But here again, horrors and atrocities followed. Jails became dens of vice and sources of disease. One has but to read John Howard's descriptions and experiences. Society could no longer tolerate such spectacles, and

once again recognized the futility of its plan.

Following this came the theory of reformation. This developed the reformatory. Once again there was an attempt at therapy without diagnosis, an attempt to poultice the disease without knowing where to place the poultice. The swelling might be on the foot and the poultice on the neck. The reformatory idea was part of the general educational wave. This theory inferred that you could take any sort of a person, send him to college, subject him to a certain discipline for a definite period of time, give him a degree and then send him out into the world as a wise man and leader. The reformatory idea was an altruistic one. It taught that you should apply a certain formula to a human being if he was bad, whereupon, as if by magic, he would be good. Young men were sent to reformatories for definite lengths of time. There they were shaved, washed, dressed in uniform, their personal hygiene and daily lives regulated, and certain educational formulae were applied to them. Then they were released without preparation and were supposed to be reformed. We were looking for a miracle; and we are still trusting in magic. Dr. Sheldon S. Glueck's study of *Five Hundred Criminal Careers* would appear to be an adequate last chapter to the reformatory narrative.

During the last generation a number of persons have been studying human conduct. I wish to review some of their work briefly. These persons have hardly been related in their scientific activity. The archaeologist, delving in the ground, finds evidences of a previous civilization, and is able to study its customs and habits. The anthropologist has studied primitive people. One just back from Central Africa tells me that the most striking thing about the Aborigines whom he had studied is that they had no law and no government, but they did have customs which were never violated. This is something on which our highly civilized community should ponder.

Then there have been the child guidance and child psychologist groups. They have been studying children and have found evidences of nature asserting herself and not the total depravity of previous generations. A great many of the "crimes" of the child have represented perfectly natural and normal conduct, although a state of nonconformity, requiring education and training. Children are looked upon as nonconformists because civilization has gone away from purely instinctive reactions, and nor-

mal adult conduct necessitates reconditioned reflexes.

Again, psychiatrists have studied the brain. They have also studied abnormal mental states, unusual emotional uprisings, the ways of peculiar and defective people. So they have had an opportunity to look behind the scenes and to get insight into a great many conduct patterns which were not diseased, but normal, reactions to unusual situations. For instance, formerly all domestic relations were as if in a cloud of dense fog, but psychiatrists have had an opportunity to penetrate a little into that cloud and so to understand better.

Now, all of these persons who have been studying in these different disciplines have gradually come to realize that there was a common ground, a mother substance, with which they were all dealing, and so we are gradually developing a naturalistic attitude toward conduct, which clarifies our perspective of the criminal.

One particular point I would like to emphasize. If I could really make this point, it would perhaps make my address worth while. It is this, that the case history, the life history, of the organism is the common property of a great many disciplines. It is improper for the social worker to claim it; it is highly improper for the psychiatrist to claim it as his monopoly. It properly belongs to all of us. The specialist is one who has learned to interpret the life history. The school teacher, the lawyer, the clergyman, the wise man of any profession use the same life history. It means different things, however, to persons of different experiences. Lately the study of human conduct has become a fad or fashion. If one were to characterize our age he might properly call it the age of psychology. Here for the first time we have been promised a diagnosis. Here for the first time a hypothesis has been set up, namely, the proper way to handle the problems of human beings is first of all to find out what is the matter with them. This often necessitates finding out what is the matter with society, but first of all we must have a diagnosis. It has always been dangerous to elaborate therapy without diagnosis.

Fifteen years ago we were using probation in this state much more widely than at present. At one time there was a threat to take it away from us. The reason why probation was attacked was because that it was a therapeutic procedure being used without diagnosis. It was often an emotional affair; it offered a judge a way to sustain the majesty of the law and do no harm to the individual. If the offender at the bar could create the right atmosphere, if his wife was sick or could sob enough, if he had enough children, or if some powerful person came to his rescue, he was often put on probation, regardless of the condition for which this treatment was applied.

The same is true of parole. It has been attacked almost everywhere. Every few days we read in the headlines of men who were on parole being arrested. The reason parole is criticized is because it is being applied without adequate diagnosis. I say this

without criticism of anybody, because legislative enactments have narrowed the powers of boards of parole to an extent which

makes them unable to apply diagnosis wisely.

So I believe the vision of the future to consist in applying a new hypothesis. We have tried the theory of retribution. There is possibly something in it; there are times when the mob must be satisfied and a victim seems necessary. We have tried the hypothesis of abstract justice; here again I suppose it worked fairly well when it was well administered; I suppose one was about as safe in the streets of ancient Rome as in Boston today. We have tried the hypothesis of the deterrent effect of punishment; still we are not entirely satisfied with its good effects and are shocked by its evils. Lastly, we have tried the hypothesis of reformation, indiscriminately applied.

The new hypothesis which I wish to set forth today is as follows: Let us assume that the best way to treat a criminal, or any other sort of a social problem, is first of all to make an adequate diagnosis, such diagnosis depending quite largely upon an adequate case history. This case history should be as complete as it is possible to make it. It is a dispassionate sort of thing. Mendoza, who drew up the Mexican criminal code, naïvely says, "After all, one should not be angry at criminals, but should rather have the attitude of the surgeon who cuts and cures." In the use of this new hypothesis we should be temperate and hold ourselves back to some extent. The emotional experiences and emotional impulses of the scientist are just as dangerous and unreliable as those of one who is not a scientist.

We must build up a new therapy, based upon diagnosis. We cannot say what this therapy will be because our diagnosis is not thoroughly enough formulated and has not been in operation long enough. We must not go ahead with plans for treatment until we have spent more time on the diagnostic side. It is just as wrong to say that everyone should be put on probation as it is to say that every fourth offender should have a life sentence. It is just as wrong to be too sympathetic with one as it is to be too harsh with another. Again, we must be temperate; we must not

give way to our tendency to doctor people until we have more data upon which to base our procedure. This is not an easy program to popularize, even though we have had prison riots and fires. However, we have a great deal of data which we may take en masse from other fields of social welfare and apply immediately to the criminal problem. The immediate effect of using it would be to cut down the criminal group. For instance, children are already being taken out; so are the aged and insane. To less extent also the sick and infirm, as well as those suffering certain domestic disorders, are being eliminated gradually. This will occupy our effort for some little time to come. Meanwhile we must learn more about the others and experiment.

Let us consider the agencies which attempt to control the criminal, and apply the social service idea to the various departments having to do with criminal careers. After all, the prison has a relatively unimportant place in the treatment of crime. Prisons are necessary evils; they are places of detention where we must hold individuals whom society says are dangerous. We must hold them securely, but we should so conduct our holding that it will do as little damage as possible. I doubt if any mother would feel comfortable with her sixteen-year-old boy in one of our boys' reformatories. She would be afraid of contamination. How absurd, then, to expect that we can make a bad boy good by subjecting him to an experience which we fear will make a good boy bad.

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The first official contact of the criminal is with the policeman. He is in the most strategic position of all. We customarily criticize the policemen freely and yet we do not insist that they be efficient. Think for a moment of the tremendous opportunity which the policemen have for social service. I have been working for many years in a clinic to which have come school teachers, doctors, mothers, even lawyers, to consult over their problems, but no policeman! A little rift is being made, however, due to the recent growth of the policewoman movement. Here we see leadership along the lines of turning the police officer into a social worker. Picture August Vollmer, of Berkeley, California, not pretending to be a scientist, but running his whole police depart-

ment on social service lines, studying every complaint in terms of family, neighborhood, employment, often going to the court and talking it over informally with the judge. I was in touch with him for two years, and found his procedure is very little different from that of the best regulated social service department. If social service departments are doing anything that he is not, it is because he has not heard of it. Policemen should not be merely military creatures; neither should they be technical departments, only, to catch clever offenders; they should seize the opportunity to tie up with the departments of social welfare. I think the average police officer would be glad to cooperate. The stage is set. The police should be the first to start the case history. Here is where first impressions are met, and not in the finger print departments.

Next, the courts are also in a strategic position. This morning a member of the Bar Association asked me to read the program of the American Psychiatric Association, providing that: First, there be available to every criminal and juvenile court a psychiatric service to assist the court in the disposition of offenders; second, no criminal be sentenced for any felony in any case in which the judge has any discretion as to the sentence until there be filed as a part of the record a psychiatric report; third, there be a psychiatric service available to every penal institution; fourth, there be a psychiatric report on every prisoner convicted of a felony before he is released; fifth, there be established in each state a complete system of administrative transfer and parole, and that there be no decision for or against any parole or any transfer from one institution to another without a psychiatric report.

This lawyer is wise and kindly. He suggests that we have no right to ask psychiatrists to assume such an arduous burden. He does not criticize the psychiatrists; he very politely refrains from saying that they are not up to the job. However, he does say that "no step should be taken to increase the call upon the time of the psychiatrists materially beyond the supply of those really skilled by reason of education, experience and wisdom," etc.

Now there is a provision in our law that every "probation offi-

cer shall, as the court may direct, inquire into the nature of every criminal case brought before the court. This is not done. There is not time, neither are there probation officers enough. We need not create new positions nor enact new laws. All we need is to get behind the probation officer. When wise and experienced judges are advised by wise and experienced probation officers, having all the facts concerning their cases, we can trust in the discretion of the courts. Then trial by combat will be replaced by a rational act.

Our Massachusetts courts today have ample authority to use psychiatrists when necessary, or to use any other expert. The fact that the law is not carried out is merely evidence of the imperfection of human institutions. Let us stop for a moment and consider the intemperate efforts which are being made to change all our laws, to reverse the tendencies of civilization, to turn judges and lawyers and everybody out of court and put others in with different names. If we apply and properly administer the laws already written we shall do very well.

So I see in my vision of the future a court acting properly upon every case, sufficient data being supplied by existing, but elaborated and extended, machinery. I shall not welcome a debating or discussing committee of experts. Let us have wise and experienced judges availing themselves of every procedure which the social forces can develop to help them. In other words, this must be a specialty in itself and we must take data from all sources and interpret it in terms which will enable us to apply it to our own problem. I have no concern but that in the next twenty-five or fifty years wise judges, having all the facts, will do wise things.

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I have had ample experience myself with the elasticity of the judicial mind, with their responsiveness to public opinion. When public opinion is aroused and demands a victim, demands retribution, sentences lengthen.

Recently I have been reviewing a large number of psychiatric case reports. They are excellent reports upon which one might base a very definite opinion. They have been made by a number of different doctors. I have been much impressed with the difference in their recommendations. For instance, one recommends

that alcoholics be segregated; another that they be put to work. One recommends the segregation of psychopathic personalities; another has no recommendation. From this it is evident that we cannot formulate sharply our therapeutic procedures until we have a more general agreement. We must not criticize the courts too freely for they simply move along according to the traditions of the past. Once we present them with a diagnostic system from which they can draw deductions, allowing them to remain on safe ground so that the ends of justice will not be entirely perverted, then we can generalize in our vision of future improvement.

Let us picture the case of a man before the court, where the judge is in doubt as to whether to yield to the plea for probation on the grounds that a mother and child need his support. Then picture the judge turning to a probation officer and saying, "How many cases have you?" The answer may be fifty. "Can you take one more? Here is a case particularly adapted for probation. It is not necessary for this person to go to jail and so destroy his whole family, but it is necessary for him to have proper employment and supervision." The probation officer may say, "Yes, I can take this case," or "No, my case load is too heavy." This procedure would necessitate a good deal of flexibility. No new legislative enactment would be required, no overturning of the laws. All that is necessary is that individuals having to do with the administration of the law should be well informed and should take advantage of the opportunities offered them from the other fields of the social sciences.

Then we have the prison population. I have already said that the prison is for the most part a necessary evil. I do not believe it is ever going to be possible to arrest a man and lock him up in anything resembling the jail of today and not do him harm. Even if you sentenced him to be confined in one of our Boston hotels you would do him harm. The disgrace and humiliation is the real punishment. These are the things which destroy self-respect. I am intimate at the present time with a man who was once a proud, prominent citizen of this state, and who spent a short time in jail. Since his release I have tried to break down his cringing attitude

toward me, but his personality has disintegrated following the exploitation of his case in the newspapers. Every time society sends a man to jail it acknowledges defeat, it admits that it has not the resourcefulness and the facilities to adequately handle this type of social problem on a higher level.

But the jail offers an excellent place for the study of cases. Here we have leisure and plenty of time. Here we may glean information to be passed back to the court so that they may handle the next case better. Now, by studying a case I do not mean intelligence tests or any other formal procedure, but an adequate study of the history of the man's life, of his family, his native equipment and his opportunities, and the conditions under which he has lived. This should not be put off until he is about to be released. It is futile, indeed it is almost a sin, to discharge boys from a reformatory without adequate preparation. It is like sending a man out into a gas attack without a mask, so helpless are these individuals in the face of the same situations which resulted in their being "sent up" in the first place. So when each man goes to jail he will go there as part of a general plan. Further studies will be made in the jail, the plans will be elaborated, and immediately upon his arrival in prison other plans will be formulated looking toward his discharge.

Lastly, parole should be carried out on the same basis. It should not be a question of what crime has been committed, nor who are the friends working for his release. The question of his release should depend upon the character of the man, his preparation for discharge, as well as the preparation on the part of society to receive him. All this will be based upon an adequate case history.

Now, then, in conclusion, my belief is that we have outworn and outgrown certain instinctive reactions to these social situations of which we have been speaking. Conduct is the particular reaction of the particular individual to the particular experiences of his life and we cannot handle all individuals by a rule governing all situations. We must know all about the individuals and the situations in which they have been placed. So my real vision of

the future is of a person well equipped, well informed, experienced, wise (I do not care whether he is a psychiatrist, a social worker, a clergyman, or what not), symbolizing science, knocking at the door leading to the field of criminology, asking to be let in.

My belief is that Science is about to be allowed to come in and that as soon as she can identify herself as true science, not some particular cult trying to take this job from its present incumbents, then she will be let in. I believe that we can trust Science, for in every field which she has entered she has led the human race to achievements. She has built up structures which, though not perfect, are certainly a vision of a better future, and I look forward to seeing her enter this new field, taking the place of leadership and building up a diagnostic system from which we may expect a better therapy.

# THE PRISON IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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#### PRISON TENDENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Walter N. Thayer, Jr., State Superintendent of Prisons, Baltimore

EXCLUDING the Eighteenth Amendment, probably no one subject occupies so much space in the newspapers or is a more prevalent topic of conversation than is crime. On no other subject does one find the average citizen so positive

in his opinions or so ready to express them.

There are two vociferous groups of people who loudly proclaim their views as to the proper methods of treatment. The first group is in favor of stern measures. The other group, usually made up of well intentioned but impractical people, ascribes all crime to the fact that the individual has never had a "square deal," and hence society should do all in its power to make amends. When riots occur, the one group will say the occurrence is due to relaxed discipline and coddling; the other that the brutalizing influence of the rigorous confinement and discipline have made the prisoner desperate. Under these circumstances is it surprising if at times the officials, to whom are delegated the care of the criminal and the protection of the law abiding public, appear to be a bit confused as to just what constitutes the best course to pursue?

That there is a middle course which more nearly approaches a rational solution of the problem, seems, to one who has practically spent his life in contact with the prisoner, to be not only reasonable but obvious. My first contact with the problem dates back to 1892, and my recollection of the prison régime of that time convinces me we have gone a long way in the amelioration

of our treatment of the prisoner. I have only to recall the striped suit, the lock step, the shaved head, and the silent system in vogue in those days, to appreciate the startling contrast afforded by modern prison methods. Today, except in the chain gangs of certain southern states, or in rare instances in the punishment grade of certain prisons, stripes are nowhere in evidence. The prisoner, within certain limits, wears his hair at any length he desires. Conversation is not limited unless it interferes with the work at hand. The lock step has vanished. Instead of one letter a month or a week, in most prisons the inmates are encouraged to correspond with friends, some states furnishing postage. Instead of the day being a round of mess hall, shop, and cell, the routine is broken by periods of play and relaxation in the open air. These measures have affected the mental and physical health of the prisoner and have brought him to the date of his discharge more capable than formerly for resuming free life. Tuberculosis and insanity have been diminished in frequency and no longer is it possible to identify the ex-prisoner by his pallor and cringing manner. If we concede that the primary object of criminal law is the protection of the law abiding public, we must then determine what best constitutes protection to society and how best to arrive at it. The majority of us fail to realize that whenever the prison door opens to receive a new prisoner, unless we would go on forever enlarging our facilities for the segregation of the criminal, another door must swing outward for the release of one who has been imprisoned. If we concede that society will be best protected against the criminal by his establishment in society on a basis on which he will no longer constitute a menace, then it is self-evident that we should endeavor to return him to freedom a better man than when we locked him up. It may even be best not to imprison him at all but to put him on probation and apply our method of reclamation outside prison walls. However, if we conclude it to be best to segregate him for a time it would seem equally self-evident that an effort be made during his imprisonment to learn just why he became a criminal, if possible overcome the positive factors tending to criminality, and develop other attributes that will

make for a social rather than antisocial character. Until the present time we have been satisfied to try to determine the amount of damage the criminal has done and to assess a penalty that has seemed to us proportionate.

Under these conditions and with very little of what one could claim to be positively reconstructive, the prisoner goes on from day to day and year to year until a certain date rolls around on the calendar and he is released, regardless of whether we have accomplished anything in the way of correcting his character deviation, and equally regardless of the fact that all evidence tends to show that his attitude toward society remains unchanged. True, he is probably in better physical condition than when he came to prison, due to regular habits and a wholesome diet. In addition the medical department has corrected some of his physical ailments, but we have done little to fit him for the competition he has to meet in this day of complex living. This is due to a number of reasons. In the first place, just as no two finger prints are exactly alike, so no two individuals are exactly similar and the factors going into the formation of no two lives are the same. The crime for which the man was convicted is but the result—a culmination—of a set of circumstances, and to make the penalty fit the crime is about as sensible as it would be to prescribe quinine for malaria and ignore the swamps which breed the mosquito carriers of the germ. The crime committed represents what the individual was capable of accomplishing under the existing circumstances or the lengths to which he had to go to accomplish his purpose. Witness, for instance, the degree of larceny. The difference between petit and grand larceny is fixed by the amount stolen, and this amount is not limited by the desire or motive of the criminal but by the opportunity. By the infliction of a lesser penalty for petit larceny, the law gives the criminal credit for circumstances over which he had no control. In some states an entire lack of success, again for reasons beyond the control of the criminal, limits the prosecution to a charge of "attempted" crime, and the penalty to half that of the successful crime. This attempt to "make the punishment fit the crime" falls woefully short of an adequate conception of what constitutes rational treatment of the criminal. It would seem obvious that such a procedure must depend for its success upon the belief that relative degrees of crime are conclusive evidence of the degree of criminality involved and can be corrected only by a similar severity of punishment. If this were the case it would be only necessary to arrive at the true estimate of the gravity of the offence and assess it accordingly in order to arrive at reformation in every case. Again, however, we forget that the crime is not the cause but the

result, not the disease but the symptom.

The average professional criminal, in the pursuit of his calling, is not greatly violating the ethical principles of the social level in which he moves. As viewed by his associates, the disgrace lies not in the criminal act but in being caught, and success is measured by ability to get a living by his wits and keep outside the toils of the law. He will not make an effort to obtain a livelihood honestly. Any pretense of so doing is only a cover for other law breaking and should not be taken seriously. His history, if investigated, will reveal early deviation from the paths of rectitude, beginning as a rule with truancy in his early adolescence and gradually becoming definitely antisocial, until he lands in early manhood in a reformatory or prison. He has usually been under consideration and treatment by the juvenile court, and has experienced one or more periods of probation and of commitment to institutions for juvenile delinquents. When he arrives at the major institution, therefore, he is a finished product and not a novice in crime, although he may be young in years and serving his first sentence as an adult offender. The habits of life have made deep grooves in his character which cannot be eradicated by treatment suitable to the genuine first offender. Some of these young criminals are capable of contaminating men many years their senior, but less ingrained in criminal ways. The man who commits his first offense after having arrived at maturity is often the victim of impulse or adverse circumstances, and one experience is ordinarily enough to convince him of the futility of a life of crime. The youngster, however, who has progressed gradually from minor criminal acts to the more serious crimes, is so fixed in his antisocial habits as not only to make his rehabilitation difficult but exceedingly doubtful. The rational treatment of the criminal therefore is to be arrived at by no simple "rule of thumb," but by understanding the problem in each case and by

modifying the criminal law.

In the first place let us determine what type of men constitutes the average criminal. As a rule he is in his early twenties. His education ceased short of the sixth grade and his intelligence level averages that of a twelve- to fourteen-year-old child. In fact about 25 per cent average lower by formal tests. We are dealing with a distinctly inferior individual, with one whose ethical and social concepts are not higher than his intellectual level. He is probably the product of a like heredity and an environment that such a heredity would create. As labor goes, he is unskilled and has never learned to do any one thing well. He has no real economic basis on which to sell his efforts, and by repeated lack of success, has developed a failure complex that causes him to enter any undertaking with a degree of doubt that foreordains him to failure. Therefore he lacks self-respect and self-confidence.

By way of compensation he tries to bluff his way through life. He is a moral coward. He dares not pit his honest efforts against those of his neighbor, so he tries the easier way and preys upon him. The first thing to do, in order to reestablish this type of criminal in society, is to try to build up a feeling of confidence based upon a re-created self-respect. He lacks education and manual skill. The former, provided he has sufficient inherent intelligence, can be remedied by resuming his neglected formal instruction in academic subjects; the latter, provided he has sufficient manual adeptness, by training in the arts and trades. His employment heretofore has depended upon the demand for unskilled labor, and his chance to sustain himself by honest effort has depended upon the demand for that type of work. Such a demand is largely seasonal, and he finds periods of each year when it is exceedingly difficult to obtain employment. One cannot expect him to placidly accept such a situation which means great

privation if not actual starvation, particularly if he has others dependent upon him. In order to fit him for the battle of life. we should avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by his incarceration to remedy these defects. By the application of certain psychological and efficiency tests we should be able to arrive at an approximately correct estimate of the possibilities in each case. and then to set up a system of education and training that will develop latent abilities. Our attitude toward him should be such as to convince him that the program outlined has his real welfare as its object. These efforts will be foreordained to failure unless prior to their application a thorough study has been made of the individual's life history. In other words, it will be futile to endeavor to make him into a social type unless we know the factors that were instrumental in creating the antisocial type. This means careful, intensive understanding, and painstaking work by the sociologist, psychologist, and in many instances, the psychiatrist. After each has made his contribution, it may still be impossible to salvage the person studied, but the data acquired will be valuable in pointing the way to preventive measures in the field of juvenile delinquency. Modern science, applied to the field of penology, does not claim to be infallible, but it should be able to determine the factors entering into the making of a criminal and to outline a plan for the application of reformative treatment and preventive measures. Personnel must be trained and means supplied to carry out the treatment. Without these it would be as well and less expensive to continue the hitherto slipshod methods.

A difficulty encountered in training prisoners in skilled trades is the opposition of organized labor. In very few, if any, of the states do we find labor willing to cooperate ever so little in the rehabilitation of the men behind the bars. Labor does not seem to realize that the criminal problem is as much its problem as anyone's and that it cannot justly claim exemption from responsibility for its solution. Without attempting to defend open market sales of prison made goods, it would seem difficult to deny any state the right to make and use that portion of its necessary products possible of manufacture in its correctional institutions. Fur-

thermore it would be the height of folly to use hand labor or antiquated machinery. The shops in the prison of the twentieth century should be modern in construction and equipment, and the task and hours of employment should be similar to those of free labor. Prison labor should receive compensation. Deduction having been made to reimburse the state for maintenance cost, the prisoner should receive recompense for good work and to encourage honest effort. Modern facilities and competent instructors are absolutely essential to insure good results both in

product and skilled workmen.

The best plans for the prisoner's rehabilitation will fail, however, if the institution neglects training in habits of obedience to authority and the development of a sense of personal responsibility. So much has been said in deprecation of "discipline" that one hardly expects to mention it without being accused of favoring "repressive measures." We are told that in order to learn to live in society, the prisoner must be granted large measures of personal liberty, and some would even have us turn over to him the management and control of the institution in which he is confined. They seem to forget that his present predicament is probably due in a large measure to lack of parental discipline and training. They seem to believe that, from passing through the court, from being tried for and convicted of a crime, from having disregarded the right of others, he has suddenly been endowed with ability to not only govern himself, but others as well. I am a firm believer in self-government, but would limit the individual to that measure of self-government which he had shown himself capable of exercising. Discipline has never made cringing pitiful objects of well trained soldiers, and rightfully and reasonably applied will not have that effect on prisoners. They have repeatedly told me they preferred a reasonably strict discipline evenly dispensed, that they found it much easier to make a creditable record if a clean cut system of rules and regulations was laid down and intelligently enforced. The official personnel should be of high grade and while sympathy and understanding of the prisoner and his problems should be required of its members, familiarity with the prisoner and his assumption of such an

attitude toward officers, should be sternly reproved.

One difficulty in reclaiming the prisoner is that society expects the institution to uproot the habits of years by a few months' sojourn behind walls. His knowledge that he may be restrained only for a definite period is in many instances the rock on which our plans split. "The judge gave me ten years. I can do that standing on my head," a prisoner once said to me. If the judge had been able to say "Not less than ten years and as much longer as seems necessary," we should have witnessed a different reaction. The fixing of a definite period of confinement for a definite offense is a legacy of old time procedure, handed down through the centuries, and when the court is required to do this, it is to all intents and purposes asked to prophesy when the prisoner will be fit for release. This is a responsibility which it is reasonable to assume will sooner or later arouse objection from the thoughtful judiciary as they will realize that such data as they have acquired through simply presiding over a trial, the occasion for which is based upon but one act in the prisoner's life, is insufficient to enable them to make such a prediction with any degree of accuracy. The average citizen experiences a feeling of sympathy for the insane person, who through no fault of his own must, for his own welfare as well as for that of society, be committed to an institution. If interrogated he would express the hope that the individual be segregated until he recovered from his malady and could be permitted with safety to again mingle with society. Where the criminal is concerned, we have been taught to think in terms of punishment alone and to consider it quite right that our lawmakers should attempt to guess as to the length of term to be imposed for specific acts, after serving which the criminal must be released and be free to go and sin some more. How much better it would be for society and for the criminal himself if, at least after he had demonstrated his inability to profit by one or two experiences, he be considered a ward of the state and committed indefinitely, as is the insane person. If, with this type of commitment, it were legally possible to grant parole when it seemed probable that the prisoner's attitude toward society had changed, the prisoner could then be treated on the basis of what made him commit the crime rather than upon what crime he committed. This type of commitment not only would have all the deterrence of the so called "fourth offender" acts, concerning which we hear so much, but would be more easily enforced. Juries would not rebel at bringing in a verdict of guilty. And while no prisoner would feel sure he would not be imprisoned for life, he would still have a ray of hope that good conduct and evidence of a change in his attitude would restore him to liberty. Release, however, should only be granted on a parole basis and after a thorough study of all the factors entering into the formation of his character, as well as of his institutional record and of the environment to which he is to be released.

Parole having been determined upon, the matter of his supervision during the parole period must be provided for. Here the average parole system is seriously lacking. Practically anyone seems suitable for parole supervisor and each parole officer is required to supervise (?) from fifty to two hundred parolees. That existing conditions are wrong is apparent to anyone who gives the matter a moment's thought. The parolee is experiencing the most critical period of his career. He needs the best of helpful advice and guidance. The amount and kind of supervision will vary in different cases. Too much supervision will be as fatal to the success of some men as will too little supervision to that of others. The parole officer should have judgment, tact, and discretion; know when to commend and when to warn; when to continue on parole and when to return for violation. He should know intimately the lives of men under his supervision, and therefore should not be required to carry too many cases. Fifty parolees should be the maximum for a parole officer who is expected to give adequate supervision.

Objection may be made to the expense of so great a number of parole officers as such a system would require. Such an objection should not be taken seriously, however, when one remembers that the annual per capita cost of maintaining a prisoner in an in-

stitution is rarely less than \$400. And on this basis the state would spend \$20,000 per year for the maintenance of fifty prisoners, and that parole officers' salaries vary from \$1,200 to \$2,500 per annum. In a parole system coming under my observation, for the expenditure of between \$5,000 and \$6,000 for salaries and necessary traveling expenses, two hundred parolees were supervised. These men, in one month, reported earnings of \$17,000. The cost of their maintenance in the institution, at state expense, would have totaled more than \$80,000 per year. Surely the expenditure required for supervision, in this instance, can be justified from the economic angle alone, to say nothing of the humanitarian side of the case. In the system under discussion, over a period of seven years between 65 and 70 per cent of the men paroled have not been again in serious conflict with the law.

When one considers the comparatively few arrests in proportion to the number of crimes committed, the relatively few suspects brought to trial and the small number of convictions among those tried, together with the delays in trying, convicting, and committing those few, should we wonder that there exists among criminals a feeling of optimism in so far as detection and final punishment are concerned? When a reasonable percentage of crimes is followed by detection and a reasonable proportion of arrests by prompt trial, conviction, and punishment, we may look for a larger degree of the so called deterrent effect of the criminal law. When lawyers rid themselves of the idea that in accepting a retainer in a criminal case, they are absolved of all obligation to society and are justified in using any legal subterfuge to secure, not justice for their clients but verdicts of acquittal, then the penalties prescribed by law may become really deterrent.

The practice of criminal law in many communities has become a contest of wits between the legal talent representing society and that representing the defendant. Too often the contestants may be thinking in terms of percentage of convictions or acquittals and its effect upon their careers. The prosecuting attorney is usually poorly paid, elected for a short term, and too often young and inexperienced. Opposed to him in important cases are older, ex-

perienced, and infinitely better paid lawyers. He may have been selected because he is favorably known to political leaders, is popular, and will be a strong candidate. He accepts usually because it will bring him into prominence and afford him wider experience in a shorter period of time than will private practice. He is not actuated by a keen desire to serve society but by a natural wish to seek fame in public office and so prepare himself for success at an early age in private practice. Occasionally because he develops a liking for the work and possesses a sense of duty, he continues after he becomes an experienced trial lawyer. As a rule, however, when he arrives at this point in his career, the emolument offered by society is so pitifully small in comparison to that offered by private practice, that he turns to the more lucrative occupation. Society has trained a man to protect its interests but will not pay him enough to retain his services and furthermore requires him to campaign every few years to keep an underpaid job. Let us hope that sometime we will select our state's attorneys from among the experienced, successful members of the bar, appoint them for an indefinite period and compensate them sufficiently to enable them to make this their life work. Society would gain doubly by retaining the well trained man in its service and keeping him out of the service of its enemy, the criminal.

#### PRISON TENDENCIES IN EUROPE

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MERICA has for a long time held the distinction of conspicuous leadership in penal reform. Her Pennsylvania system conquered the world, her reformatories were imitated, her experiments with self-government received an attention which in late years has been translated into concrete performance in Europe. Her eagerness to experiment, based on a disregard for tradition, led to the origination, or the progressive adaptation, of such institutions as the indeterminate sentence, parole, probation, and the juvenile court.

Today leadership in penal reform is no longer confined to this country, and if we think of prison reform in a more restricted sense, the rapid theoretical and practical progress of Europe in

late years bids fair to make the pupil master.

Of the numerous trends in prison reform which are discernible abroad only two will be considered here. The first is the development of clinical study of the adult offender as basis for his prison treatment. The second is the organization of this treatment in the light of such study. In connection with the latter, special emphasis will be placed on the efforts being made to secure a well selected and trained prison staff.

The study of the criminal.—The idea that in order to prevent crime it is necessary to study the criminal himself is not of recent date. The phrenologists of a hundred years ago stoutly advocated the individualization of penal treatment based on such study. In the seventies, Lombroso definitely placed the problem before the scientific world. The controversy which raged around his theories resulted in the development of a vast literature and a considerable amount of clinical work. For almost the first time, psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, and here and there

a sociologist, entered prisons and jails to study the lawbreaker. In some places laboratories were established to give continuity to this study. Their establishment had been urged in resolutions passed at the International Congresses of Criminal Anthropology from 1885 to 1912. In 1907, in Brussels, Dr. Louis Vervaeck opened what appears to have been the first European laboratory or clinic of its kind.

The war and the demobilization period caused a tremendous increase in criminality, particularly among adolescents. This alarming fact focused public attention on the whole crime problem, especially since in some of the central European countries the inflation period caused a complete breakdown in law observance and law enforcement. Political realignments brought into power radical groups with a traditional interest in criminology, and, finally, a great impetus was lent by the spreading belief that in science and its methods of approach lay the hope for the future.

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The post-war development in the clinical study of the criminal has had a strong biological bias. In Germany, Ernst Kretschmer¹ began to study biological types in order to throw light on the physical basis of mental disorders. In 1924, a crimino-biological laboratory or clinic was opened by the Bavarian government in the central prison of Straubing, near Munich, with Dr. Theodor Viernstein in charge.² The same year Professor Ferdinand von Neureiter, of the Criminological Institute of the University of Riga, opened a laboratory at the prison of that city.³ In 1923,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Das Konstitutionsproblem in der Psychiatrie," Klin. Wochens., I (1922), 609-11. Körperbau und Kharakter (Berlin: Springer, 1921; pp. v+214). English translation, Physique and Character (London: Paul Kegan, 1925; pp. xiv+266).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The history and the work of this clinic are described in numerous articles written by Dr. Viernstein, among them "Der kriminalbiologische Dienst in den bayerischen Strafanstalten," Monats. f. Kriminalpsychol., XVII (1926), 1-21; and Archiv. f. Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiol., XIX (February, 1927), 34-53. The three volumes (Munich, 1926, 1928, 1930), published by the Bayarian Ministry of Justice, and entitled Der Stufenstrafvollzug und die kriminalbiologische Untersuchungen der Gefangenen in den bayerischen Strafanstalten, form a rich source of documentation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ferdinand von Neureiter, "Der kriminalbiologische Dienst in Belgien und Lettland," pp. 19-25 of Mitteilungen der Kriminalbiologischen Gesellschaft—Tagung in Wien zu Pfingsten 1927 (Gruz: U. Moser, 1928; pp. 84). (In later footnotes this volume will be referred to as Mitteil. der Kriminalbiol. Gesells., I, 1927.)

Dr. R. Fetscher was permitted by the Ministry of Justice of Saxony to begin the biological study of criminals in the prisons of that state, and in 1925 he was placed in charge of a small laboratory instituted by the government. In Graz, Professor Lenz developed a scheme for the examination of the criminal, based largely on Kretschmer's work, and on ideas later expounded in his own Grundriss der Kriminalbiologie (1927). Due to his efforts, in the main, the Kriminalbiologische Gesellschaft was founded in 1927. The three international congresses which this society has so far held are evidence of its vitality.

The demand for clinical knowledge of the prisoner led the police department of Vienna to establish, in 1928, a "Criminobiological Research Station" where competent scientists secure information which will be of value to the court in imposing sentence, and to the institution in prescribing treatment. Mention should also be made of the work of Di Tullio at the Regina Coeli

prison in Rome.7

Dr. Vervaeck, of Brussels, has continued to play a leading rôle in this field. In 1920, when the Belgian prison system was reorganized to permit greater individualization of treatment, he was made chief of the Penitentiary Anthropological Service, which in addition to the central laboratory includes nine others located in the principal penal institutions of the country. In these laboratories all recidivists, together with first offenders sentenced for more than three months, are studied from medical, psychiatric, psychological, and sociological points of view. The results are entered in detailed and uniform case reports for deposit in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> R. Fetscher, "Die Organisation der erbbiologischen Erforschung der Strafgefangenen in Sachsen," Bl. f. Gefängniskunde, LVII (1926), 69-75; "Aufgaben und Organisation einer Kartei der Minderwertigen," Mitteil. der Kriminalbiol. Gesells., I (1927), 55-62, and "Aus der Praxis einer Kartei," ibid., II (1929), 161-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See also his "Probleme der Kriminalbiologie," Mitteil. der Kriminalbiol. Gesells., I (1927), 11–18; and "Der kriminalbiologische Untersuchungsbogan des Grazer Institutes und der Wiener Polizeidirektion," ibid., II (1929), 125–142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Franz Brandl, "Die kriminalbiologische Untersuchungsstelle der Wiener Polizeidirektion," Mitteil. der Kriminalbiol. Gesells., II (1929), 143-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See in particular his La constituzione delinquenziale nella etiologia e terapie del delitto (Rome: Anon. Romana Edit., 1929; pp. 204); and "Anlage und Kriminalität," Zeits. f. die ges. Strafrechtswiss., L (1929), 492-98.

archives of the Service, and are summarized for the director of the prison, to whom the Service recommends the treatment to be followed in the individual case. Weekly staff conferences are held, and if the prisoner is recommended for conditional release, the Service presents a new report on his chances of social readjustment. About 18,000 of these case reports have so far been deposited in the archives of the Forest prison.8

A reference has already been made to the relationship between universities and prison clinics. In 1927, for instance, the Austrian government gave official sanction to a plan whereby a criminobiological clinic under the supervision of the Criminological Institute of the University of Graz, was opened at the Karlau

prison.9

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Interesting work in this field seems to be going on in Soviet Russia. A dozen or more criminological institutes exist in various parts of the Union, the two most important of which are in Moscow—the State Institute for the Study of Criminality and Criminals founded in 1925, and the Moscow Bureau for the Investigation of the Personality of the Criminal and of Crime founded in 1923. The former is well supplied with facilities and personnel. A small prison has been assigned to it for clinical and experimental purposes. At its head is a board consisting of the director. who is vice-director of the Russian prison system, a sociologist, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, and a penologist. Instead of the typical guards, internes are employed, most of whom are women who have finished their university training, having specialized in the mental and the social sciences. They are under the general direction of a woman psychologist. Every prisoner is under the direct observation of an interne who prepares daily reports, which, with data secured in special studies, are presented at staff

<sup>&</sup>quot;See "Service anthropologique," on pp. 1052-53 of "Notice sur l'organisation des prisons en Belgique," in Rev. de droit penal et de crimin. 9, II (November, 1929), 1041-71; also Thorsten Sellin, "Prison Reform in Belgium," Jour. of Am. Inst. of Crim. Law and Criminology, XVII (August, 1926), 264-77; L. Belym, "Strafvollzugsreformen in Belgien," Monats. f. Kriminalpsychol., XVIII (May, 1927), 225-30; and pp. 277-290 of M. Ruiz-Funes, Endocrinologia y Criminalidad (Madrid: J. Morata, 1929; pp. 352).

Adolph Lenz, op. cit.

meetings and used in treatment. The internes are also the teachers and the leaders of study circles among the prisoners. A couple of years ago there were about 180 prisoners housed in this clinic, half of them sentenced for murder.<sup>10</sup>

The Bureau mentioned grew out of a cooperative study of two thousand inmates of detention houses in Moscow, carried on by lawyers, psychiatrists, and anthropologists. A laboratory was opened in connection with the police department and a psychologist and a biochemist were added to the staff. The results were so encouraging that a criminological clinic, with a capacity of thirty "patients" was organized in a reconditioned old jail. The clinical material, so to speak, was received from the police. Lately, the Bureau has been transferred from the municipality to the state, and the research work has been extended to all the Moscow prisons where the Bureau at present has eleven staff psychiatrists at work.<sup>11</sup>

Prison reform.—About a dozen European states have since the war reformed, or are now in process of reforming, their penal codes. In general, these reforms stress the protection of society against crime by a scientific study of the criminal, which makes it possible to render him harmless by cure or by a more or less per-

<sup>10</sup> M. Hornett, "Das Staatsinstitut zur Erforschung der Krimioalität und des Verbrechers in Moskau," Monats. f. Kriminalpsychol., XIX (February, 1928), 112–17. This institute is the largest in Russia and has branches in Leningrad, Rostow, and Saratow. The main institute is organized into four divisions: the socio-economic, the bio-psychological, the crimino-political and the criminalistic. The statutes governing its work give its aims as the study of crime causation and penal methods, the formulation of practical preventive programs and the development of research methods in studying and treating prisoners. It is directed by a committee of five, four of whom represent the people's commissariats of health, justice, education, and the interior. In addition to the experimental prison, the institute has a fully equipped psychological laboratory, a criminological museum, a library, and a statistical bureau. The four volumes on Problemi Prestupnosti (Problems of Crime) published so far by the institute contain not only research papers of its staff members, but extensive reports of the work of the branch institutes.

<sup>11</sup> The work of the Bureau is described in the following papers: Leo Orchansky, "Die kriminalbiologische Forschung in Russland," Mitteil. der Kriminalbiol. Gesells., I (1927), 63-66; Eugene Krassnuschkin, "Das Moskauer Kabinett für die Erforschung der Persönlichkeit des Verbrechers und der Kriminalität und einige Ergebnisse seiner 5-jährigen Existenz und Forschungsarbeit," ibid., II (1929), 186-211; and P. Kamenetski, "Über die Tätigkeit des Psychiaters im Moskauer Gefängniswesen," Monats. f. Kriminalpsychol., XXI (April, 1930), 193-97.

manent removal from society. To secure these ends, several countries have reorganized their prison systems. Among them, Belgium, Germany, and Russia have made conspicuous progress.

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Before the war European prisons were in no great degree different from those in America except that the Pennsylvania, not the Auburn, system was used. The indeterminate sentence was unknown. The sentence was usually begun in strict solitary confinement, which in some countries, such as Holland and Belgium, was but slightly modified as the years passed; while in others privileges were more generously granted as the result of good behavior, sometimes leading to conditional release, usually under the supervision of private aid associations, frequently working on government subsidies. Beyond the separation of felons and misdemeanants, and segregation on the basis of sex, age, and sanity, little or no classification was used. The prisons were usually in charge of legally trained directors and a staff more or less governed by the ideals of military discipline.

In Germany these conditions varied from state to state, due to the fact that the individual states of the union were in complete control of their respective prison systems. The need for uniformity and centralized inspection was felt after the war, and in 1923 a set of "Principles of Prison Treatment" was accepted by the state and made the basis for a draft correctional code now before the German Parliament, having been introduced there in 1927. 13

Prussia has anticipated the passage of this code, and has begun a reorganization of its prison service, based upon the study of the prisoners and their classification into fairly uniform groups, with specialized treatment, in order that as many prisoners as possible may be returned to society cured of criminal tendencies. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "Grundsätze für den Vollzug von Freiheitsstrafen vom 7. Juni 1923." Reprinted in Erwin Bumke (ed.), Deutsches Gefängniszeesen: Ein Handbuch (Berlin: Franz Vahlen, 1928; pp. x+537), pp. 511-29.

<sup>11 &</sup>quot;Amtlicher Entwurf eines Strafvollzugesetzes," Nr. 3628 der Drucksachen des Reichstags, III. Wahlperiode 1924/1927. The most important discussions on the provisions of this Draft Code are found in Bumke's manual already referred to, and in Lothar Frede, and Max Crünhut (editors), Reform des Strafvollzuges (Berlin: W. de Cruyteer & Co., 1927; pp. viii+264).

watchword of the new plan is education, a dynamic and socializ-

ing education.

The first step will be the segregation of the educable from the noneducable prisoners. Since this can be done only after a scientific study of the offender, crimino-biological research clinics are to be established. The confirmed criminals, so called, and the professional criminals, who because they frequently possess intelligence, energy, and qualities of leadership are especially dangerous to society, are to be placed in a separate institution. As a safety measure, the Draft Code of 1927 proposes life internment for these groups. A special institution is also planned for the psychopathic criminal, with trained psychiatrists in charge. Young offenders are to be grouped by themselves and short-termers, sentenced to less than nine months in prison, will be given treatment in a special institution.

There remain the adult prisoners sentenced for more than nine months and possessed of normal mentality. They are to be subjected to an intensive program of reformatory training based on modern psychological and pedagogical knowledge, under a progressive system which will lead the prisoner gradually to a life in liberty. Experiments have already been made with this system in Germany, inspired by the success of similar methods used in the United States, Great Britain, and Switzerland. Just before the war, it was introduced at the Wittlich Reformatory, and in 1921–22, in Bavaria, Thuringia and Hamburg.

<sup>36</sup> The European penological literature of late years has been filled with discussions concerning the method of dealing with the habitual criminals. The indeterminate sentence has not found sufficient support, and the tendency now observable in the United States of lengthening the sentences for recidivists has not been consistently employed abroad. In many European countries preventive detention has, on the other hand, been used to take care of the dangerous classes, and similar "measures of safety" are being proposed in the various draft criminal codes now in preparation, or recently passed into law, in Italy, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, etc.

<sup>15</sup> The most recent legislation of this type is reported from Belgium. See "Projet de loi de défense sociale a l'égard des anormaux et des délinquants d'habitude," Rev. de droit pénal et de crimin., X (April, 1930), 408-14. This bill was signed by the King, April 9, 1930, and was published in the Moniteur Belge, May 11, 1930.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> J. Lüdicke, "Gedanken zum Strafvollzug an Jugendlichen im Sinne der Verordnung über den Strafvollzug in Stufen vom 7.6.29," *Der Strafvollzug*, XX (January-February, 1930), 5-12.

In Prussia, three distinct institutions are planned through which the prisoner of the educable group must pass: the receiving prison, the intermediate or advanced prison, and the discharge prison. All these institutions, as well as the one for confirmed criminals, will be separated, and two sets of each are planned, one for those sentenced to hard labor—our state prison group—and one for those sentenced without hard labor—our house of correction group.

## The Receiving Prison.—

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The task of the receiving prison is a double one. It is to provide opportunity for the personnel to learn to know the prisoners intimately. The decree specifically enjoins the institutional authorities to gather at the beginning of the prisoner's term all available data concerning his past life, and to study his character with the aid of the psychological and psychiatric data secured by the crimino-biological research laboratory. Furthermore this prison is to serve as a sieve which retains in it those who do not prove amenable to educational treatment, permitting the others to pass through to the intermediate prison. The responsibility of the receiving prison is thus very great, and there is no doubt but that the success or the failure of the whole plan will rest on the effectiveness of its work.<sup>17</sup>

In the receiving prison<sup>18</sup> the first offenders are, for obvious reasons, to be kept separated from the recidivists, in this case persons who have previously served a sentence of at least six months. The prison régime is the same for the two groups. To begin with no privileges are to be permitted, but it is definitely stated that educational measures are not to be considered as mitigations of imprisonment. From the very start, therefore, physical exercises, religious services, lectures, school instruction, etc., are permitted, and after a few months of good behavior and industry, the prisoner is given the right to purchase extra food, books, tobacco, a daily paper, and so on.

The Advanced Prison.—When a given minimum period has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Werner Gentz, "Der Ausbau des Strafvollzuges in Stufen in Preussen," Monatsbl. des Deuts. Reichszusammenschlusses für Gerichtshilfe, etc., V (January-February, 1930), 12-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> In the description of the progressive system in Prussia I have drawn heavily on an article by Dr. Preuss in the *Deutsche Richterzeitung*, XXI (November 15, 1929), 376-78, entitled, "Die Neuordnung des Strafvollzuges in Stufen in Preussen." For description in English see Winthrop D. Lane, "Science in Pursuit of Crime," *Nation*, CXXIX (December 25, 1929), 770-72; E. Kampmann, "Prison Reform in Prussia," *Island Lantern*, VI (March, 1930), 4-6, 37-39, 83-98; and Schmidt, "Prison Administration in Prussia," *ibid.*, VII (May, 1930), 23-60.

passed and the staff conference has decided that the prisoner realizes the nature of his antisocial conduct and is receptive to educational influences, he is transferred to the advanced prison. Here the recidivists and the first offenders are not to be segregated, for it is assumed that the rigorous selective process in the receiving prison will have removed the dangers of contagion. Certain additional privileges are granted the prisoners in this stage, such as more letters and visits. More important still, self-government<sup>19</sup> is now introduced to a limited extent. The prisoners may elect representatives who maintain order during the periods when the prisoners are left to their own devices. These representatives are then commissioned by the director, and may also be removed by him for cause. Common rooms are also to be established where the prisoners may spend their time together outside working hours. Here radios will be installed, papers and magazines made available, and even meals served to groups of prisoners. The staff is urged to visit these rooms not for the purpose of control, but to give guards and officials the opportunity to learn to know the prisoners more intimately. When six months at least have been spent here and the prisoner has served at least one-half of his full sentence, he may be given a furlough if there is no danger that he will abuse the privilege, and if it is assumed that his rehabilitation will be aided thereby. The cost must be borne by the prisoner, and his leave cannot exceed one week a year, although it may be taken in parts.

The Discharge Prison.—When a certain minimum period has elapsed and the staff conference is convinced that the prisoner is ready for it, the last transfer is effected. Here he has greater opportunities for the exercise of self-control, for here the final test will be made of his ability to use liberty properly. His leisure time becomes his own. He may visit other prisoners in their cells, and may receive visits from them, or from relatives or friends, without supervision. His correspondence is unlimited. He may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The best treatment of self-government abroad will be found in Clara Maria Liepmann, Die Selbsverwaltung der Gefangenen (Mannheim: Bensheimer, 1928). The self-government plan at the Merxplas Reformatory in Belgium is discussed in Sellin, op. cit.

use his own clothes and bed linen, and furnish his own room more elaborately. No barred windows will be necessary, there will be no wall around the yard and cells are not to be locked. Direct supervision by the staff shall be avoided as much as possible. Order will be maintained by representatives of the prisoners, who will sit in on staff meetings as advisers when questions which affect the prisoners are discussed. Those not sentenced to hard labor may even be permitted, after a certain period, to accept employment outside. In such cases the employer must pay to the prison the standard wage for such labor, a fourth of which is given to the prisoner for his own use. During holidays or Sundays he must remain in the institution. But when certain residence requirements have been fulfilled he may receive a two weeks' furlough a year, and may make Sunday excursions with other prisoners so long as these excursion groups do not exceed fifteen. On these walks one member of the prison staff is to accompany the group.

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For many a prisoner the real punishment begins when he is discharged and must return to his community with the brand of the ex-convict. Friendly aid during the transition period is absolutely necessary. The realization of this fact led to the development of the parole systems in this country. In Europe, however, it has been assumed that when the prisoner walks out into liberty his debt to the state has been paid and no state supervision is justified. Aid to discharged prisoners therefore has been a matter for private enterprise in the form of prisoners' aid societies, Comités de patronage, etc. The German Draft Code, paragraph 232, however, reads: "Prisoners' aid is of common interest to both state and society," so that in the future the state may be expected, through its public welfare agencies, to take this problem in hand. Beginnings have already been made in this direction in Hamburg, in Bavaria, and in Saxony.<sup>20</sup>

These are far reaching innovations. They rest not only on the conviction that a sense of responsibility, self-control, and initia-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> A convenient summary of the conditions under which the prisoner is set at liberty and the provisions which exist for his care is found in J. A. Roux, "La crise de la libération," Rev. int. de droit pénal, VII (1930), 15-27, immediately followed by specific reports from thirteen European countries, pp. 28-116.

tive can be developed only through the active participation of the prisoner and by means of a pedagogically sound system of training, but they require the establishment of functional, not regional, institutions in charge of highly specialized staffs. Finally, they envisage the development of state aid for discharged prisoners.

Did space permit it would be instructive to examine the Russian reforms in detail, for while they do not, on the whole, greatly depart from Prussia's plans just outlined, they possess features which are novel. The life sentence, for instance, is unknown, the longest term prescribed by the Soviet Penal Code being ten years. For the normal prisoners, at least, a distinct trend is observable away from the prison to agricultural labor colonies where the pu-

nitive element has practically disappeared.21

The Personnel Problem.—Emerson says that an institution is but the lengthened shadow of a man; in other words, it is not systems that count so much as the men who run them. Transformation from a place of detention into a training school requires the development of a new type of prison personnel. This must be a gradual process, but for the present it requires training of the existing staff. Promotional examinations are being more and more required, while here and there entrance examinations are necessary. To supply the training needed to pass these tests universities, schools of municipal administration, and most frequently the prison administration itself, have instituted courses. As an example, the training school of the Ministry of Justice at Warsaw, Poland, may be mentioned. According to Mr. Stanislaw Car, Minister of Justice, the administration of the prison system on modern lines

has necessitated the provision of a special staff instructed in humanitarian methods of treating the prisoners, and for this purpose a central school for prison officials and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Non-Russian literature on Soviet prison systems is very scarce. A recent informative article by K. Beringer appeared in the *Monatsschrift für Kriminalpsychologie und Strafrechtsreform*, XX (March, 1929), 137–51, entitled "Strafgesetz und Strafvollzuggesetz in der Sowjetunion." The author points to the great improvement in prison labor conditions and the tendency to develop agricultural labor colonies instead of prisons. The progressive system is found in certain institutions. The rules governing the furlough are similar to the Prussian rules except that imprisoned farmers may be given two months' furlough during the summer to attend to the harvest. This labor is considered as a substitute for a period of imprisonment of equal length.

warders has been established by the Ministry of Justice. At this school are taught the theory and practice of penitentiary science, criminal etiology, criminal psychology, law and penal procedure, state and administrative law, law relating to state employees, knowledge of fuels and foods, principles of political economy, financial and budgetary law, principles of economic administration, and lastly the study of Poland. The general tendency of the instruction is to lay stress on the humanitarian treatment of prisoners in considering them as future citizens. Since 1924, two hundred and ten governors and higher prison officials, and two hundred and eighty head warders and warders have passed through this school. The more able pupils in the latter classes are selected for appointment as assistants to prison governors in the smaller prisons. In addition to these general courses there are also special local courses for the subordinate members of the staff.<sup>22</sup>

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The nature of these local courses may be inferred from an examination of the training course held in Frankfurt am Main last winter, under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice. It was composed of ten lectures on the following topics: the "progressive system" in Prussia, according to the decree of June 7, 1929; pedagogical practice; the study of the personality of the prisoner in the receiving prison; introduction to child welfare; juvenile court work; the "progressive system" in Switzerland; introduction to public welfare; the psychology of evidence in sex crimes, especially in regard to juveniles; social diagnosis; clinical psychiatric demonstrations and visits to the local asylum.<sup>23</sup>

Great stress is being laid in Germany today on the need for professional social service in the prisons. These social workers are to

<sup>22</sup> Page 70 of "Ten Years of the Polish Prison System," Rev. pénitentiare de Pologne, IV (January-April, 1929), 59-73. A similar school was organized in Athens in 1923 by the Ministry of Justice, under the supervision of the prison service. The course lasts from three to six months and is designed for the candidates for guard positions. See P. Scouriotis, "L'organisation pénitentiare en Gréce," ibid., IV (1929), 199-208.

<sup>28</sup> See Der Strafvollzug, XX (January-February, 1930), 31-32. Also Stumpf, "Stand der Ausbildungsfrage in Hessen," Bl. f. Gefängniskunde, LX (1929), 38-45. Brucks, in an article in the same volume entitled "Fortbildungslehrgänge für Strafanstaltsbeamte in Preussen," refers to two courses, four weeks each, held in Berlin in 1929 for prison guards chosen for their special abilities. About ninety took part all told, and the curriculum included the history of penal institutions, penal procedure, causes of crime and preventive measures, prison law, the execution of the penalty according to the progressive system, the education of prisoners, criminal biology, relations with prisoners, the guard as a teacher, rights and duties of prison staff, public health, pedagogical technique, administrative practice, etc.

Excellent work for the training of police personnel is also being done by the so-called Verwaltungsakademien, or schools of public administration, in Berlin, Boehum, Breslau, Hanover, and Munich.

In 1925 a special course in criminology for prison physicians was given at the University of Munich, sponsored by the Bavarian Ministry of Justice, and in July, 1927, higher officials

be the friends and counsellors of the prisoner in his rehabilitation process, not only in the institution but afterwards. In 1923 Saxony began to employ university trained persons for this task, and in 1928 a decree carefully defined the selection, training, and examination of these social workers. Age limits of twenty-six and forty-two have been set. The decree requires of these applicants university study of four years finished by a doctorate or an equivalent civil service examination. It does not state what type of university study is most valuable, but explains that preference will be given to those with good sociological and pedagogical training, and with practical experience in social work. These social workers will replace the resident chaplains. If accepted, the applicant is given two years of practical training in a prison under the supervision of a professional social worker, during which period the theoretical preparation for the examination for permanent appointment must take place. No special provision is made to give the recruit this training. It is assumed that it will have to be gained largely by self study. The decree, however, states that it should cover

all fields of knowledge necessary for prison social work, particularly criminal law, criminal procedure; penology and its auxiliary sciences, such as criminal politics, criminalistics, criminal psychology, criminal psychiatry, criminal pedagogy and criminal therapy; as well as principles of social work; adult education; and essential parts of economics, such as labor and housing questions; and of law, such as family and guardianship legislation.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the recruit period the social worker in charge shall pay special attention to the suitability of the candidate, from the point of view of character, ability to deal with men, etc. The suc-

of the Bavarian prisons were given a series of lectures of a similar nature. See Der Stufenstrafvollzug, 1926, pp. 127-41, and 1928, pp. 78-182.

In Belgium, Dr. Vervaeck gives a regular course in criminal anthropology to the prison personnel. See Syllabus du cours d'anthropologic criminelle donné à la prison de Forest (Brussels, 1926), p. 96.

Bumke's manual already cited and the interesting little volume Strafvollzug in Preussen, published by the Prussian Ministry of Justice in 1928 (Mannheim: Bensheimer; pp. xii+293), contain special articles on prison personnel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> O. Weissenrieder, "Ausbildung und Prüfung der sächsischen Gefängnisfürsorger," Bl. f. Gefängniskunde, LIX (1928), 96-102. The whole question of Fürsorge is well treated in Heinrich Seyfarth, Probleme des Strafwesens (Berlin: Heymann, 1928; pp. xvi+188).

cessful completion of the recruit period admits the candidate to a final examination, both written and oral, before a special committee appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

Since the higher officials are drawn so largely from the law school graduates, it is fortunate that in many countries there is a tendency to give in law schools courses in criminology, which frequently include visits to penal institutions.<sup>25</sup> In Thuringia a decree of 1929 even requires that all those who are preparing for the bench examinations shall spend two weeks in training in a penal institution, where every phase of the prison's work is carefully studied and actual service in various capacities required.<sup>26</sup>

General conclusions.—An effort has been made to show that the prison problem is being intelligently met in Europe. Certain obvious differences between the European and American methods of approach are noticeable. In spite of the powerful influence of the United States on penological theory and practice abroad, the indeterminate sentence has not been adopted. This fact has strongly conditioned the development of prison reform, for Europe has been forced to make place within the institution

<sup>25</sup> The European law schools have in late years become increasingly conscious of the need for criminological training for their students. Courses in criminology have frequently grown into more or less complete "institutes of criminal law and criminology" with, in some instances, special certificates of graduation. These institutes are occasionally research institutes or teaching institutes, but usually both functions are combined in varying proportions. Many of them have clinical facilities provided for them by local prisons. A mere list of the most important—not all—of these institutes, will give an idea of the extent to which this tendency has been expressed.

Austria: The Institute for Penal Science and Criminalistics of the University of Vienna, Professor W. Gleispach, director; the Criminological Institute of the University of Graz, Professor A. Lenz.

Czechoslovakia: Criminological Institute, University of Prague, Professor A. Mirička; Criminological Institute, University of Bratislawa, Professor A. Miloti; Criminological Institute, University of Brno, Professor J. Kallab.

France: Institute of Criminology, University of Paris, Professor Donnedicu de Vabres.

Germany: Criminalistic Institute, University of Berlin, Professor J. Goldschmidt; Criminal Science Institute, University of Cologne, Professor G. Aschaffenburg.

Italy: School of Juridical-Criminal Practice, University of Rome, Professor Silvio Longhi; Seminar in Criminal Anthropology and Criminal Law, University of Turin, Professor M. Carrara.

Besides, there are medico-legal institutes and institutes of police science, which frequently offer facilities for law students.

<sup>28</sup> Page 14 of Becker, "Thuringen," Jurist. Wochens., LIX (January 4, 1930), 11-14.

for the most important of the elements of our parole idea. The whole progressive system, and particularly the discharge prison,

testify to this development.

Another effect of this policy is a tendency to place the responsibility for work with discharged prisoners squarely on the state. Finally, it is evident that in the professionalization of prison work, particularly social service, Europe is outdistancing us. More evidence than has been given for this claim is easy to secure by a study of the professional organizations among prison guards and officials, and a reading of their journals and the proceedings of their meetings.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Such as the Verband der Deutschen Gefängnis- und Strafanstalts-Oberbeamten und -beamtinnen e.V., which publishes a monthly, Der Strafvollzug, each issue of which runs to about thirty pages, and contains articles, abstracts, official decrees, book reviews, personal notes, etc.; the Verein der Deutschen Strafanstaltsbeamten e.V., publisher of Blätter für Gefängniskunde, issued a couple of times a year in pamphlets of one hundred or more pages, which contain proceedings of the association's meetings, numerous articles, book reviews, notes, etc. These are undoubtedly the two best journals in the world today published by professional associations of prison personnel. They have only one close competitor outside of Germany, L'Écrou, a bimonthly published by the Fédération des Fonctionnaires et Employés des Prisons of Belgium.

### NATIONALITY AND DELINQUENCY: THE MEXICANS IN TEXAS

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HEN one attempts to establish any relation between national traits and delinquent behavior it is incumbent upon him, as a matter of scientific integrity, to state with precision what is meant by both of these expressions: national traits and delinquent behavior. Both of them are surrounded by a vagueness akin to chaos and one is almost compelled to construct his concepts as he goes along. Often national traits and racial traits are confused in the minds of those who use them and one struggles in vain to get some reasonableness out of such notions as a Latin race, an Anglo-Saxon race, or similar blanket terms.

As used here today the concept nationality will denote a group of persons who are living under certain cultural patterns and with certain definite attitudes. A person is said to belong to a nation when with regard to forms of behavior, such as the making of a living, or the bearing and rearing of children, or the willingness to put forth effort to stay with his own kind, or the willingness to submit to the authority of elders or of others who for one reason or another speak with authority, or with regard to the utilization of leisure time, or with regard to the aged, women, and children, his relationships to other people are different in kind from the similar relationships of another person, placed in the same circumstances. The attitude of a Frenchman toward woman is different from that of an American, that of a Chinese toward the aged is different from that of an Englishman, that of a German toward authority is different from that of an Italian (or was so before the war), the attitude of a Spaniard or Mexican toward work and leisure is supposed to be radically different from that of an American or German and so on. These reactions may be

different because the community has certain different social institutions requiring conformance and hence in the different nations the action of conforming will be different. Or the reactions may be different because persons of different nationality have different ways of looking at the same thing, or as we would say today different attitudes. Every person who has reached a certain degree of civilization is interested in having money, but an American and a Mexican are interested in it in different ways and to different degrees. It is human to want to have children but a Chinese and a Frenchman look upon that in two entirely different ways or they want to have children with different degrees of intensity. The list of examples could be lengthened to include all forms of human behavior. Looked at in this way the notion of national traits seems to me to assume a certain degree of concreteness and intelligibility. The moment we throw the notion of national traits into the realm of biological determination we are confronted with the statement that a Frenchman does not wish to have children because his parental instinct is not as strong as the parental instinct of a Chinese and that in turn this difference in the intensity of the instinct is due to the fact that the Frenchman has certain chromosomes which differ in size or mobility from the chromosomes of the Chinese all of which, if it were true, would amount to the tautological statement that the Frenchman does not have as many children as the Chinese because he does not want to have them and the reason why he does not want to have them is because he is a Frenchman and not a Chinese! A national trait then in so far as it has any meaning is simply the manner in which a certain person looks at certain things when he meets them and the way he behaves when he is confronted with the necessity of doing something in a given situation, this manner of seeing and acting being shared by him with a large number of other people who see and act more or less alike under the same circumstances: Such people are called a nation and their ways of acting are called national traits.

And now as to delinquent tendencies. It is plain enough that in the main delinquency is a function of time, place, and person1

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ality. A delinquent tendency would therefore be a tendency which makes it difficult or impossible for a person to react or refrain from reacting in ways which the group among whom he lives approves or disapproves. But delinquency being also a timeplace phenomenon, the reactions approved or disapproved in one place may be reversed in another. All this is elementary and is familiar to anyone who has had to deal with or think about delinquents, but unfortunately the simple and elementary truths are forgotten when it comes to dealing with the problem of nationality and delinquency. If any connection is to be established between the two it must run in terms of the culture patterns and attitudes discussed above. When we say that a certain nationality has a delinquent tendency we mean a number of things. We may mean that the members of that nationality find it impossible to do certain things and abstain from doing certain other things no matter in what time-place situation they happen to be. This is absurd because there is a situation, namely their own, in which they do certain things and abstain from doing certain other things, and in the main they do and abstain from doing the things which are conducive to the life process, otherwise the nation would destroy itself and there would be an end to the nation and to sociologizing about it. The decline of certain civilizations is said to be due to such an inability to distinguish good from bad; it is obvious that we cannot discuss this notion at this place. Or we may mean that in a certain time-place situation a nation engages more in doing things destructive to the life process than another nation in its own time and place. Homicide, for example, is said to be more common among Americans than any other nation living more or less under the same time-place situation. Or we may mean that accepting certain standards current in modern civilization, and the sort of things which modern civilization demands that they shall be done or shall be left undone, a certain nation finds it more difficult to do them or to leave them undone. In that case we may be confronted with the fact that an effort is being made to impose upon that nation a standard of civilization which is not related to the other attitudes and cultural patterns in that nation. An effort, for example to make gambling a crime in Mexico or to institute Sunday closing in Turkey might result in piling up huge statistics of crime in these places so that one could very easily point to the fact that statistically more people are brought before court in Mexico and in Turkey than in England and in America. And finally we may mean that the members of a certain nation when they are transplanted permanently or temporarily among the members of another nation, find it difficult to do or to refrain from doing what that other nation approves or disapproves. It is this latter which primarily interests us in a discussion of national-

ity and delinquency in the United States.

Here there are two aspects of the problem. Taking two nations, if we were to exchange a similar number of persons between them, would each group transported show the same inability to conform to the standards of the nation in the midst of whom they are transported? Transporting 100,000 Americans to Mexico and 100,000 Mexicans to America, would we find that the Americans in Mexico committed an equal number of similar crimes as the Mexicans in America? The experiment has not been tried, but the answer will at once run in these terms: What kind of Americans are you transporting, and where are you putting them after you transport them? It is not enough to say that they are Americans. We want to know what social, economic, and educational group they come from, what occupations they are engaged in, are they from the metropolitan area or from the rural districts, from what region in the United States do they come, what age distribution do they show, are they single or married, are they literate or illiterate, and finally what are the proportions among the sexes and what is their economic status.

Bearing these facts in mind let us now look at the case of Mexican delinquency. The information upon which I base the statements which I am about to make was gathered from the records of justices of the peace, county, municipal, and district courts, as well as from the records and reports of the Texas Penitentiary System. The area covered includes the largest Mexican center in Texas, two middle-sized border towns, regions of an old and set-

tled Mexican population, and regions where the Mexican is a newcomer. The period covered is in the main from December, 1929, to April or May, 1930, according to the month in which the record was copied. I am confident that it gives a fair view of Mexican delinquency because it includes the months of December, January, and February when the nomadic Mexican is usually less nomadic than at any other time. In some instances the records extend over a period of from five to seven years. They cover petty offenses of the police court as well as felonies of the district court. My statements are based, in addition, upon conversation with police magistrates, judges, and county and district attorneys recorded half an hour after the conversation. Owing to the shortness of time between the collection of these figures and the presentation of them to you here, I have decided not to include all the information in my possession, but to select what I think will prove to be samples of sufficient accuracy to indicate what is taking place. For that purpose I have selected San Antonio, the largest Mexican center in Texas; Eagle Pass, a border town, with a population of between 60 and 75 per cent Mexican; and Mac-Lennan County with its capital, Waco, a middle-sized city in central Texas with an overwhelming American population, the Mexican population forming only about 3 per cent of the total. The total number of Mexicans in these three centers is around 110,000; the total population of the three counties, according to the last census, is almost 400,000 people; the Mexicans, therefore, represent a fourth of the population in these three centers. Counting the total number of charges we find that those against the Mexicans represent a little more than a fifth of the total, while in population they represent something between a fourth and a fifth, indicating that the Mexicans show delinquent tendencies less than their proportion of the population would entitle them to show.

A slightly different result is achieved when we take each county separately. Let us begin with Eagle Pass and Maverick County, on the border, across the river from Piedras Negras in Mexico. According to records of charges brought before the county

court for the last seven years Mexican delinquency forms 71 per cent of the total county delinquency. The Mexican population is estimated at 75 per cent of the total. The records of the two justices of the peace, however, give different results. One justice whose records for a period of two years I examined, yields a Mexican percentage of 84, while another whose records extended over a period of six months yields a percentage of 56. The same justice informed me that most of the cases tried before his court were not Texas Mexicans but transients from across the border. In the main, then, the experience of this border county is to the effect that the Mexicans show no greater delinquent tendencies as judged by the number of charges brought against them in comparison with the number of charges brought against the non-Mexicans, than the general population in the midst of whom they live.

Turning now to Waco and MacLennan County, whose Mexican population is around 3 per cent of the total, we find this to be the case. In the corporation court from January to April there were 2,485 cases, only 4 of which were Mexicans. One justice of the peace shows a percentage of 4 for misdemeanors and 5 for felonies, while another shows 8 per cent of total charges. Finally the county court shows only 2 per cent of the charges as being brought against Mexicans. In addition, during September, 1929, which the justice told me was an exceptional month, but which is included here for the sake of completeness, the Mexican charges amounted to 38 per cent. It is of interest to observe the offenses which were responsible for this sudden outburst of delinquency and to notice that out of a total of 19 cases which make up this 38 per cent, 15 were for drunkenness, 3 for vagrancy, and 1 for gaming. It is more than likely that during the month of September which is a cotton picking month, there was an unusually large number of Mexican nomads in the community, which would account both for the type and the number of offenses. On the records of the justice court which showed a percentage of delinquency of 8, which is nearly 200 per cent larger than the legitimate percentage of delinquencies, the charges were as follows:

train riding, 5 cases; cutting telephone wires, 3 cases; vagrancy, 1 case.

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Let us turn now to San Antonio and Bexar County, the largest and most significant Mexican center in Texas, and second to Los Angeles, the largest in the United States. The total population of Bexar County is about 295,000, that of San Antonio around 265,000. The Mexican population has not yet been announced, but I estimate it on the basis of the scholastic census as around 90,000. This would mean that a third of the population is Mexican. Looking at the cases which came before the justices of the peace of San Antonio, from December, 1929, to the end of May, 1930, we find a total of 2,914 cases, of which 955 were Mexicans; that means 32 per cent. In the county courts we find a total of 889 cases, of which 276 were Mexican; that is, 31 per cent. In the district court of Bexar County there was a total of 1,493 cases, out of which 479 or 31 per cent were Mexicans. I have not as yet examined the records of the municipal court, because of their volume, but I sampled the month of January from the first to the twentieth. I found that out of a total of 540 cases 103 were Mexicans, or a little over 18 per cent. This, however, I do not consider as conclusive in view of the smallness of the sample. In no case apparently in all the other courts does the Mexican exceed his share of delinquency on the basis of his share of the population. A further sidelight on the same proposition is obtained by looking at the records of the juvenile court where the percentage of Mexican juvenile delinquency among boys is 45 per cent, and among girls, 35 per cent, while the total enrolment in the schools of San Antonio shows 56 per cent to be Mexican. This seems to indicate that Mexican children are either better behaved than non-Mexican children or that their mischievousness is carried on under such conditions as not to bring them to the attention of the law. Yet in view of the fact that a large part of the Mexican population in San Antonio lives in a neighborhood very close to the business district, where mischief can be more easily detected, because the business district usually has better police protection, and that the provocations to mischief are greater in the business district than in the residential district, the statistics seem to point to the conclusion that Mexican children are less delinquent than non-Mexican children.

To this evidence as to the quantitative tendency to delinquency among the Mexicans I will add the information obtained from the records of the Texas State Penitentiary System. On December 21, 1929, the total number of inmates in the System was 5,055, the number of Mexicans being 429. The percentage of Mexicans to all the rest is 8. During the year 1929 there were admitted into the penitentiary 2,593 prisoners, of whom 293 were Mexicans, or a Mexican proportion of less than 12 per cent. Now the total population of the Mexicans in Texas is very difficult to estimate and the returns of the latest census on that score have not yet been announced. Fortunately, however, we have one source of information which helps to throw considerable light on the problem and that is the census of the scholastics. In the state of Texas such a census is taken every year in April in order to ascertain the amount of state aid to the public schools which should go to the various school units, which state aid is based on the number of scholastics between the ages of seven and seventeen in the school district. According to this census, there were in Texas, in 1929, 170,770 Mexican scholastics, which represented nearly 13 per cent of the total scholastic population of the state. Estimating the Mexican population of Texas on the basis of the scholastic population, my colleague Professor Manuel comes to the conclusion that it amounts to 800,000. The total population of Texas when announced will probably exceed 5,500,000 so that the Mexican population represents 15 per cent of the total. It will be seen therefore that in the case of the most serious offenses, those which send the offenders to the state penitentiary, the Mexican does not go beyond his share, if indeed he reaches it at all.

A further sidelight on the same situation is furnished by the condition as it existed in 1924 when the Mexicans formed about 10 per cent of the total prison population which again was probably under their share of the total population of the state. In

1928, the Mexicans formed nearly 13 per cent of the prison population, again not exceeding their "quota" of delinquency. In this connection I wish to call attention to the fact that in 1924, the Mexican delinquents in the state penitentiary showed 50 per cent single men, while the Negroes showed 33 per cent and the other whites 40 per cent. This indicates that the Mexican population of Texas is made up of a larger proportion of single and presumably younger men. In view of the tendency of delinquency to center around the young and middle-age groups, it seems that even though young Mexicans form a large proportion of the Mexican population the group as a whole does not yield a larger proportion of delinquency. As to recidivism, the Mexicans showed 60 per cent of first offenders and 40 per cent repeaters; the Negroes and the other whites showed 60 per cent of repeaters and 40 per cent of first offenders.

We are now in a position to answer partially the question as to whether the nationality of the Mexican makes for delinquent behavior in so far as the mere amount of delinquency is an indication of such behavior. There is no evidence to show that the Mexicans run afoul of the law any more than anyone else and if the complete facts were known they would most likely show that he is far less delinquent in Texas than the non-Mexican population of the same community. It is of interest in this connection to record the fact that in very many instances on inquiry I was told by magistrates that their dockets were groaning under Mexican cases and that Mexicans form the overwhelming number of their charges, but in no instance have I found this impression borne out by a study of the facts. This does not mean that the magistrates were willingly perverting the facts or even that they were prejudiced against the Mexicans. The explanation is much simpler and lies in the domain of that psychological fact that the stranger is conspicuous and the conspicuous is remembered. The Mexican is a stranger, even when he forms a third of the population; and when a string of Garcias, Sanchez, Ramirez, and Benavides parades before you day in and day out, the Joneses, Blacks, Smiths, and Johnsons are apt to fade from your memory and

the brown-skinned Mexican, speechless and stolid, is apt to linger for a long time and leave the impression that you have been doing

nothing but try Mexican cases.

Now if in terms of numbers the Mexican is not a delinquent because he is a Mexican, will the nature of the offenses which he commits disclose anything in the way of national traits? Is the Mexican guilty of certain crimes not found among other members of the community or is he guilty in larger numbers of crimes

found only in small numbers among the others?

What strikes one at first when looking at the record of charges against the Mexicans is the small number of delinquencies involving deceit (swindling, fraud, and embezzlement) and the comparatively large number of delinquencies against the person, such as aggravated assault. It is equally noticeable that the record of San Antonio, for example, presents 7 per cent of the total delinquencies among Mexicans in the district court under seduction, with a practically negligible number of the same offense against non-Mexicans. The various courts present different quantities for the same offense. The district court has a slightly higher percentage for murder than the state penitentiary; aggravated assaults are higher for the Mexican in the county courts than assault to murder in the district court. Burglary is higher in the district court, while theft is higher in both courts. In the state penitentiary murder among Mexicans was in 1924 less than among other whites, while robbery and theft were higher. Sex crimes among Mexicans occupy 10 per cent of the total while among other whites they occupy 8 per cent. In the nature of the offenses committed there seems, therefore, to be a difference in the way in which a Mexican and a non-Mexican misbehaves. But before we accept this statement we might look at the criminal record of a purely Mexican community, such as Mexico City. During the month of June of 1929 there were recorded in Mexico 1,659 offenses. Of these, 721, or more than half, were various forms of assault, about 20 per cent were burglary and theft, about 16 per cent were crimes of deception and fraud. Only 2 per cent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Estadistica Nacional, Departmento de la Estadistica Nacional, Mexico, D. F., Ano V, Numero 82 (August, 1929), p. 315.

were sex crimes and only 1.7 per cent were murders. According to this evidence it would seem that at home the Mexican is not addicted to murder, nor burglary and theft, nor sex crimes, but he is apt to engage in all sorts of assault and battery, aggravated and otherwise. I have no way of knowing how accurate these figures are, but my impression is that they represent in the main the state of the case. Murders, sex crimes, and the higher percentage of burglary and theft seem to be associated not with the Mexican as Mexican but with the Mexican immigrant in certain American environments.

Speaking now of the Mexicans in Mexico, anyone familiar with Mexico City will realize at once that the large mass of its 600,000 inhabitants is made up of poor people. Poor people generally in any country are more apt to engage in quarrels leading to various forms of assault and battery. If in addition to being poor they are addicted to the use of alcoholic beverages (such as pulque) the chances for senseless quarrels and consequent brawls leading to damage to the contestants are greatly multiplied. To the extent then that the population group is made up of poor people the percentage of assaults will be great. That is what we find in Mexico City, in San Antonio, and in other places. The Mexican population of Texas is made up of a far larger percentage of poor people than the other whites and probably also larger than the Negroes, hence prevalence of assault and battery is a socio-economic trait and not a national trait.

The Mexican fights with a knife which the other whites do not. I have heard it stated that the difference between the use of a knife and a gun marks the difference between the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon. It is difficult to take that sort of talk seriously but one must discuss it in this connection. The use of the pistol as a weapon of attack or defense is of course of recent origin. The six-shooter is only about seventy-five years old and so it is plain enough that when the very immediate ancestors of the present "gun-toting" Anglo-Saxons fought, they fought with a knife. The bowie knife is still remembered in certain parts of America as a great instrument of civilization. The same thing can be said

of dueling which was carried on by Anglo-Saxon cavaliers with the aid of a knife even though technically called a sword or a rapier. There is, then, nothing inherent in Anglo-Saxondom which would make it averse to the use of a knife, although the Anglo-Saxon has outgrown it while apparently the Latin has not. That however is not a correct way of stating the problem. The Anglo-Saxon has not outgrown the knife, he has outgrown fighting and when he is angry he fights with his fists, not because he does not want to fight with a knife but because he has been betrayed into fighting by a momentary fit of anger. But among the Mexicans fighting is still a socially approved form of gaining superiority. They are not in an industrial, but in an agricultural stage of civilization, and that without much admixture of machine and urban standards after the fashion of our own agricultural population. The result is that aggravated assault is common among them not because they are Mexicans but because they live in a certain cultural stage, where fighting is approved and where the community has not evolved out of the stage of fighting with a knife to fighting with a gun. The younger generation of Mexicans learn quickly enough to discard the knife for the gun.

As to sex crimes, the largest number on the docket is seduction. According to the statements made to me by a district attorney, a justice of the peace, a foreman of the grand jury, and according to the notation on one docket, the charge was brought by the girl or her parents to compel the young man to marry the girl; and the docket in many instances states that the case was dismissed after the parties were married in court. In reality these seduction cases usually amounted to common law marriages where the wife was under age, and the husband deserted sooner or later after they began living together. It is notorious that common law marriages are usual among Mexicans; it is equally notorious that the Mexican girl is apt to marry before she becomes of legal age. To bring a charge of seduction against the man is only a way of compelling him to stay married or to compel him to be married legally. It is not a sex crime in the sense in which it is generally understood unless common law marriage is

a sex crime. Nor is the greater tendency to common law marriages an indication of delinquent behavior among the Mexicans, in view of the fact that in Mexico church marriages are considered too costly for poor people, and civil marriages among a people living under patriarchal conditions are not considered as very significant or essential, any more than they were a short while back among the Scottish Highlanders.

One word more about robbery and theft. It is again a common experience that these two crimes are definitely connected with the economic status of the group which commits them. Rich men do not rob and well-to-do people do not steal—at least not in the common acceptance of these terms. If these delinquencies are again socio-economic it is obvious that the Mexican in so far as he belongs in larger numbers to the group of the economically inferior, to that extent will he show a larger percentage of such delinquencies. Furthermore, to the extent that coming to America places him in such a position with regard to the rest of the American community we must expect an increase of burglary and theft among them above the percentages of such delinquencies committed in Mexico.

It should be plain by now, in conclusion, that the delinquencies of the Mexican are tied up largely with the nomadic life which he is leading and with the dislocation and disorganization which takes place within a person who is torn from his village community with its system of control and plunged into a new and strange and, in the main, disorganized environment. It is because of this dislocation and disorganization that he commits crimes here which he does not commit at home and more of them than he commits at home. The remarkable thing is that he is as well behaved as the community in the midst of which he lives, in spite of this provocation. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the Mexican's nationality is no cause of delinquent behavior, and whatever variation this behavior shows is a variation due to the efforts of a human being with a different culture pattern to adjust the best he can to what seems to him the curious and capricious American system of justice.

### THE CARE OF CHRONIC DISEASES

# THE CHRONIC DISEASE PROBLEM IN MASSACHUSETTS

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HE outstanding public health problem of the present day is the control of chronic diseases of the middle aged. Two generations ago the average age at time of death of all individuals in Massachusetts was about thirty-one years. Today it is around fifty-one—a gain of some twenty years. In the same period the average age at time of death of individuals over fifty has decreased a fraction of a year. The increase for total ages has been accomplished largely through public health measures. More adequate sanitation with improved water and sewerage systems, advances in bacteriology and the attack on communicable disease, combined with a concerted attempt to make personal hygiene real rather than theoretical, have all had a part in this reduction. Tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and diphtheria, as well as other diseases have been decreasing. Infant and maternity welfare work has saved the lives of many children, and, as a result, the average age of the population has increased. For people over fifty, however, the age specific death rates have mounted, and the expectation of life has decreased.

There has been a change in the type of diseases which have caused death in this group. Two generations ago less than one-third of all deaths in persons over fifty was due to heart disease, cancer, apoplexy, and nephritis. Today nearly two-thirds of the deaths over fifty are certified for these causes. This change has brought with it certain conditions. The individual with a chronic

degenerative disease suffers over a long period of time. His span of health is less than that of individuals having diseases under acute conditions. The duration of disease as estimated by the death records shows that at the present time the average individual over fifty is sick prior to death over five times as long as in 1880.

A third point to be considered is the increasing age of the population of Massachusetts. Immigration has been restricted; the birth rate has fallen; public health activities have lowered the death rate for diseases among the young; therefore a larger percentage of the total population is in the older age groups. Two generations ago, 15 per cent of the population was over fifty, while today 18 per cent is in this age group. This means that there are today in Massachusetts some 130,000 more individuals over fifty than there would have been had the age distribution of the population remained the same as two generations ago.

Such facts as these stimulated a study of the chronic disease situation in Massachusetts, covering the following items: Is chronic disease on the increase? What is the volume of chronic disease? How is it being cared for? Is there a need for more resources, and, if so, what type? What economic problems are connected with chronic disease? What is the duration of chronic disease? What is the disability caused by chronic disease? Is chronic disease evenly distributed? What is the age and sex distribution of the diseases? What factor does heredity play? What factor does nativity play? What factor does occupation play? What are the rural and the urban aspects of the diseases? What possible etiological factors can be proved? What are the secondary causes of death? How can social service help in the problem? How can visiting nurse service help in the problem? How can education help in the problem?

In order to obtain answers to these questions the problem was approached from different angles. First, the analysis of statistical data from the published reports of the State Registrar of Vital Statistics; second, the collection of statistical data from the original death records and other forms; third, the dispatch of ques-

tionnaires to every physician, every hospital, and every known nursing home in the state; fourth, house to house surveys in several communities.

The material gathered is being analyzed and within a few months will be reported. At present only a few crude results are available from the house to house survey, which was conducted in two urban and several rural communities, covering approximately 46,000 individuals.

There are approximately one-half million individuals in Massachusetts sick with chronic disease at any one moment. Of the population over fifty years of age found in the survey, twenty-six out of every hundred admitted having chronic disease. It is probable that a number of people with chronic disease, did not admit it, some because they did not realize their condition, while others falsified deliberately. This inclines us to the belief that the number of sick shown by the survey is slightly low.

About one-third of the persons sick with chronic disease were not receiving medical attention. In some cases this may not have been needed, but it is impossible to believe that 15 per cent of those with diabetes, 24 per cent of those with cancer, and 33 per cent of those with tuberculosis do not need medical care. Probably the principal reason for failure to procure medical advice is poverty. In the comfortable group about one-fifth did not employ a physician; in the moderate group about one-third; and in the poor group, nearly one-half.

Another important factor is the feeling that the condition is not sufficiently serious to warrant the services of a physician. This seems to be an attitude held by many regardless of the type of chronic disease. In a study¹ of the reason for delay of cancer patients in obtaining medical advice nearly one-half gave this reason. These patients delayed about six months when many of them were found to be beyond hope of cure. It is evident that intensive educational activities are needed to bring the average individual to a realization of his own responsibility at a time when

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lombard and Cronin, "Cancer Studies in Massachusetts. 4. Why Do People Delay," Commonhealth, Vol. XVI (1929), No. 14.

there is the greatest possibility for either alleviation or cure. We constantly urge well persons to have a yearly health examination. It would seem that a sick person, even if he did consider the sickness of minor importance, should periodically consult his physician.

Of the total sick group 8.2 per cent were completely disabled. If our surveyed population is a fair sample of Massachusetts there is one individual completely disabled with chronic disease out of every 109 inhabitants. Over 90 per cent of the chronic sick are being cared for in their own homes, 6 per cent of this number in homes where the facilities for care are poor. During the past year 5.8 per cent of the sick received hospital care.

The five variables which we have found to have significance in the chronic disease problem are, in the order of their importance, age, sex, economic status, density of population, and nationality. These variables are intimately associated. In order to determine the significance of each it was necessary to divide populations into groups comparable with respect to four of the variables, but differing in the fifth. For example, to estimate the significance of the economic status we would study the difference between the poor and the rich in the population composed of men of one age group, of one nationality, and living in one density group. The association tables were thus made and the relative importance of these variables ascertained.

Chronic disease increases with age. In individuals under twenty the sickness rate is 17 per thousand, in those between fifty and fifty-four it is 198 per thousand, while for those over eighty it is 680 per thousand. This increase in age so marked in the total diseases does not occur in some of the diseases. Epilepsy, tuberculosis, and anemia show little variation in the age groups. However, the rate for the majority of the important chronic diseases rises consistently with age. About one-fifth of the sick individuals have more than one disease, and the incidence of the secondary diseases also increases with age.

Chronic sickness is more prevalent among females than males. This applies to total disease as well as to all the individual disease groups studied with the exception of the respiratory group, tuberculosis, organic nervous and mental diseases, in which the male rate is higher. In all of the eight major chronic diseases, with the exception of heart disease, the female death rates correspond to the female sickness rates in the survey. In heart disease the females have a higher sickness rate and a lower death rate than the males.

Chronic disease increases as the economic status decreases. It is almost twice as large in the poor group as in the comfortable group. The poor have a longer duration of both complete and partial disability than do the comfortable and moderate. On the other hand, the time lost from work by wage earners decreases as we go down the economic scale. The poor lose only about onehalf the time lost by the comfortable. The poor, moreover, have less medical service than the well-to-do and this again works to the disadvantage of the individual. A check-up on the city infirmary population of a city of 60,000 showed that 81 per cent of the men over fifty and 100 per cent of the women over fifty had some form of chronic disease. Another check-up of individuals receiving out-door relief in a city of 125,000 showed that 83 per cent of the men and 88 per cent of the women over fifty were victims of chronic disease. Chronic disease and poverty are closely associated.

There is more chronic sickness in the country than in the city. People in rural sections do not consult physicians as much as do people in cities. This probably is one reason for the difference in the sickness rates. Different living conditions, different working conditions, and different psychical attitudes, together with more inbreeding in the country, may account for the remainder of the rural and urban differences, although it is very probable that other unknown variables enter in.

The native born of native grandparents have a higher morbidity than do the native born of native parents with foreign grandparents, and this group in turn has a higher rate than the native born of foreign parents. In studying total chronic disease morbidity it is apparent that the farther we get from foreign

stock the greater the disease. Is foreign race stock hardier than the old New England stock?

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We are studying the extent of hospitalization for the chronic sick and are attempting to measure the needs for future expansion. We are studying the nursing situation, and the medical situation as they apply to the chronic sick. A part of our data is being used to furnish more light on many of the baffling questions of epidemiology regarding this disease. We are now collecting data from the aged regarding their habits throughout life, and from this material we hope to find differences between the well group and the sick group in some of the many variables that go to constitute the life cycle of the individual. How great a factor is diet? To what an extent do the emotions influence chronic disease? How important is rest and relaxation? What factor does environment play? Obviously some of these are very important, while the effect of others is yet to be determined.

From this welter of material we hope to obtain information which will be the basis for our program directed toward the attack of chronic disease. Just how extensive this program will be is problematical. Whether we duplicate our activities against cancer or work out a new line of approach has not been decided. However, it seems reasonable to hope that our studies will guide us along paths which will lead to a solution of the problem of the place of public health departments in combating chronic disease.

### THE MASSACHUSETTS CANCER PROGRAM

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N 1925 we were directed by the Legislature to study cancer in Massachusetts. We found many interesting things. Our cancer death rate had apparently increased over 50 per cent in twenty years, and was the highest of any state in the Union. Although still increasing, a division by age and sex showed a flattening of the curve in certain of the younger age groups which we felt might possibly portend an approach to the peak of prevalence. Dividing by sexes and organs we found the male rate increasing more rapidly than the female, but there was considerable variation depending on the site of the cancer. These figures were of course all based on the only available data, deaths. One observation which caused us much dispute was the apparent increase in rate with density of population. Further study by Lombard and Doering showed this to be due to the concentration in industrial centers of foreign born and those of foreign born parents who seem to have a consistently higher cancer rate than the native born of native parents. Work at present under way suggests that this increased prevalence does not appear in cancer of the breast and uterus, but in cancer of the digestive tract. Why this is, it might be very important to know.

We were faced with a popular demand for state hospitalization, so that this phase of the problem received particular attention in the 1925 study and again in 1926. The hospital problem has, of course, two distinct phases: Service to those in whom there is hope of cure, and service to the incurables. The former group

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Herbert L. Lombard, M.D., and Carl R. Doering, M.D., "Cancer Studies in Massachusetts. I. The Relationship between Cancer and Density of Population in Massachusetts." Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, Vol. XIII, No. 10 (October, 1927). Ibid., "2. Habits, Characteristics and Environment of Individuals with and without Cancer." New England Jour. Med., CXCVIII, No. 10 (April 26, 1928), 481-87.

was being cared for in the general hospitals and in the special cancer hospital, the Collis P. Huntington Memorial. We found that the proportion of cancer cases admitted to hospitals was increasing more rapidly than the total cancer deaths; also that an increasing proportion of cancer deaths was occurring in hospitals. So that, however inadequate cancer hospitalization might be, this inadequacy was decreasing without state interference. There was apparently quite uniformly available operative service for hopeful cases, 230 beds being constantly used for this purpose. Radiation was much less generally available. Rural communities had fewer hospital admissions per cancer death than urban communities. The ratio of hospital admissions for cancer of the buccal cavity, female genital organs, and breast to total hospital admissions is greater than is the ratio of the corresponding deaths. This is particularly encouraging since cancers of these organs are among the types in which early cure is most hopeful. The average stay of cases leaving the hospital alive was two and onehalf weeks.

The terminal cases were the principal factor motivating the demand for state hospitalization, and a study of resources for these was more difficult. We found that about 115 beds were constantly used for these cases. This figure should be increased to about 130 beds if we included those dying in convalescent homes, almshouses, and the like. The average stay of terminal cases (excluding those dying shortly after operation) was six and one-half weeks. To pass on the adequacy of these resources two figures were vitally necessary: first, the proportion of cancer deaths in which terminal hospitalization was needed, and, second, the average length of stay that adequate service would demand. These obviously varied with economic status, organs involved, previous treatment, and the like. To answer the former question, we resorted to the ubiquitous questionnaire sent to all doctors. Replies were received from 1,804 (33.8 per cent) and from them we concluded that 30 per cent of all cancer cases in the state should have terminal hospitalization. For answer to the latter, we asked all competent surgeons handling cancer that we could reach. The opinions as to the average length of terminal hospitalization varied from three to six months. We were forced to be arbitrary and decided on four months. On the basis of these figures we estimated that some 400 more beds for terminal cases were needed.

When the urge for further state service for cancer became insistent in 1925 Dr. Kelley, my predecessor in office, had wisely advised that a study of the situation be made and that the Departments of Public Health and Public Welfare cooperate in the study. Until then any cancer case hospitalized by the state had been handled by the Department of Public Welfare and had been so hospitalized primarily because of pauperism and not because of cancer. Dr. Kelley questioned whether the extension of this service should not be the responsibility of the Welfare rather than of the Health Department.

Following the report of the study submitted to the Legislature in 1926, the results of which I have already summarized, the committee from the Welfare and Health Departments were unable to agree in regard to recommendations for a state hospital, but after summarizing the arguments for and against such a hospital and admitting its inability to reach a compromise, it made

the following recommendation:

It recommends that the Department of Public Health be empowered to direct and stimulate the extension of existing facilities for the care of cancer patients, and the

education of the public to the necessity of proper treatment.

This should include efforts directed toward the extension of local district nursing service, to the end that through better care of terminal cases at home the volume needing hospitalization may be diminished and the comfort of the patient during his last days may be enhanced through being able to remain in the home environment. It should include efforts directed toward the extension of the present diagnostic and therapeutic resources, as well as the extension of sound education and any other preventive procedures of proved value.

In addition, the Department should from time to time further any projects to this

end, which it may deem to be promising.

Those insistent upon definite and immediate state action were disappointed, so in 1926 they induced the Legislature to take action which ordered the Department of Public Health to do five things: First, to take over an unoccupied state hospital twenty-

three miles out of Boston which we have called the Pondville Hospital; second, to purchase \$70,000 of radium and house it at the Pondville Hospital; third, to establish cancer clinics in suitable places over the state "with or without" the cooperation of the local medical profession; fourth, to disseminate cancer education; fifth, to make further studies.

The remarkable feature of our program in Massachusetts has been the unstinted time and thought that has been given to the problem by outstanding citizens, from the Governor down, both in and out of the profession. There is a quaint precedent which still lingers among us that unremunerated service may be demanded for the public good. I doubt if any other state in the Union can surpass Massachusetts in this regard, both as to quantity and quality. Whatever success we have accomplished has been due in an overwhelming measure to this.

In passing I cannot help contrasting the magnificent response to this program with the meager response to our venereal disease needs. Today we spend over a quarter of a million annually for cancer, and less than a fifth as much for gonorrhea and syphilis. Certainly the visitor to Massachusetts, unacquainted with our peculiar brand of taboos, would advise that, in view of our present knowledge in regard to these two groups of disease, the larger sum should be spent for venereal disease control.

Let us see how the service developed, under the five requirements laid down by the Legislature.

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The Pondville Hospital.—For this hospital we have a consultative staff, representing the three medical schools, who advise us without remuneration as to the general therapeutic policy of the hospital, but give no other service. A visiting staff of some twelve physicians represent the various specialties involved, from the staffs of various Boston hospitals. A general surgeon is in charge. Three general surgeons and the roentgenologist give a minimum of two half days each a week at the institution. The internist, urologist, and gynecologist attend regularly on stated days when cases are assembled for them. Otherwise they are on call, as is the rest of the visiting staff, for special cases as they occur. His

Excellency, Governor Allen, has recently presided at the installation of twenty-five new beds and new clinic quarters as part of his astonishing welfare program. With the 115 beds available

we average 150 hours of visiting staff service a month.

In residence there are a medical superintendent and four other physicians. The nursing service Dr. Richard Cabot found "unbelievably good," and some of the advanced cancers, as you know, furnish the most difficult problem in the whole field of nursing. No deodorants are allowed. Through excellent nursing and the extensive use of salicylates the average daily amount of morphine has been cut to 1/12 grain. Intelligent social service is indispensable to handling properly the admission and discharge problems, the follow-up and end-result work and the multiple matters that are never noticed if well done. Two resident social workers attend to this, with help from the central office. We have complete operating, X-ray (diagnostic and therapeutic) and radium equipment. So far we have been able to have autopsies in 50 per cent of the deaths, performed by a visiting pathologist from the Huntington Hospital who also attends to our frozen section work. The work of our laboratory technician is being expanded. There is a weekly out-patient service attended on the average by 25 patients from whom we select the few "curables" who come to us. Although anyone may come without medical direction, we are gratified by the fact that more and more local physicians are bringing in their problem cases. Last year 70 per cent of the 448 out-patients were sent by physicians.

Last year we served 736 bed patients in the institution. With the 25 beds recently made available we should be able to serve nearly 1,000 patients a year. The ratio of those leaving the hospital alive to those dying was 2.5 to 1. At our tuberculosis sanatoria if the ratio gets below 3 to 1 we find the institution getting an unfavorable reputation and people hesitating to come. Early our Pondville ratio was 3 to 1 but with the return of patients formerly sent out relieved, the ratio is shrinking and will shrink farther. It is important to speculate how high a death rate we can carry without seriously impairing the hospital's usefulness. The av-

erage stay of the living was 21 days and of the dying 61 days, which is considerably less than we had anticipated. The average cost was between \$6.00 and \$7.00 per bed per day.

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It would seem that the Pondville Hospital has made a real place for itself through alleviatory service to cancer cases. In general hospitals the cases where there is hope of cure are more interesting and in the name of common sense should receive first attention. This type goes in large numbers to the general hospitals. But the frankly incurable cases come in large numbers to us for palliative treatment. I am astonished at what the courage and skill of our staff is accomplishing in delaying extension and mitigating pain and offense. But for the more advanced cases, in which food and bed are all that can be furnished, I believe that a hospital near home, which is not stigmatized by the name of cancer, is more suitable. When and if we have to expand our hospital service we shall be faced with a real problem of doing it intelligently.

Radium.—A visiting physicist connected with the Department of Physiological Chemistry at Harvard prepares for us our radium emanations. We also offer his services to the state-aided clinics to measure the effectiveness of their therapeutic X-ray apparatus. This is of real value.

Clinics.—We have an Advisory Cancer Clinic Committee composed of the somewhat expanded Cancer Committee of the Massachusetts Medical Society. With them we develop policies. In each city where a state aided cancer clinic is contemplated we gain audience with the local medical club, present our program, ask a vote of support and the appointment of a local medical cancer committee. With this group we do business. They direct the matters of staff, location, hours, and so on, in their local clinic. All clinics have decided that at the first visit every applicant shall be admitted, the disposition of the case being determined by the medical, social, and economic findings. Some communities have been shaken by all this, but on the whole things have gone reasonably well, particularly where we can find at least one well established, disinterested, sincere physician who is willing to give

time to foster the clinic along. Without such a man our labor is bricks without straw.

Each local group appoints a cancer education committee which divides naturally into subgroups: those responsible for newspaper publicity, which is immeasurably important; those that look after other types of education and publicity; and those that meet with the local social worker on her problems of individualizing community resources and specific needs. Thus there is being built up in each clinic city a responsible group of citizens facing the diversified cancer problem.

Each clinic has a social worker who, if qualified, is, next to the sound physician, the greatest single assurance of effective service. Through her, the Pondville Hospital is suitably and expeditiously utilized. In some instances local physicians are asking her to solve the institutional problems of their private, non-clinic patients, which is admirable. It is significant, too, that the clinic chiefs have voted that the social worker shall follow up patients which the clinic refers back to their private physicians, as well as all other patients.

To the local clinics we furnish a standard history card. We have educational material, speakers, a physician who will act as secretary of the local educational committee, a social worker to correlate the activities of the various clinics and our hospital, and funds which are given, usually in \$2,000 amounts, for a year or more. These funds are usually used for at least part of the salary of the social worker, for extra clerical assistance and other "luxuries" required by the clinic. They are in no sense to recompense the clinic for its ordinary expenses.

During the last year state aided clinics were operating in seventeen cities and towns throughout the state. There were some excellent cancer clinics operating entirely independent of the state. The seventeen state aided clinics in 1929 saw 2,106 persons, of whom 534 (25.4 per cent) had cancer. Although this was a drop of nearly 20 per cent (from 2,544) in total attendance from the year before, the total number of those with cancer was almost the same (526 in 1928). Thus the proportion with cancer has gone

up from 20 to 25 per cent. Is this good or bad? Those who think it good will say that it is evidence of less hysteria, and that the early signs of chronic lump, discharge, and sore are being recognized and acted upon; if a larger proportion were coming later in the disease our percentage of "precancerous" would drop, whereas it has stayed at about 6.5; that the proportion that it was felt could be cured or relieved by operation or radiation is about the same; that it is wholesome to have the proportion sent to clinics by doctors increase (29 to 33 per cent) and those coming because of the newspapers decrease (46 to 36 per cent), particularly since the doctors' cases furnish half of those showing cancer while the newspaper cases, although larger in total number, furnish only one-sixth of the cancer cases; and that those coming because of swelling and abnormal discharge have somewhat increased while those coming because of pain (a fatal symptom to wait for in cancer) have somewhat decreased.

It is certainly true that if 90 per cent of the persons coming to the clinic showed cancer most of them would have delayed so long "to be sure" that nothing much could be done for them, while if only I per cent had cancer, hysteria would be rampant. The optimum is somewhere between. A bold soul has suggested 16 per cent. At our clinics it varies from 8 per cent in the Berkshires to 33 per cent at New Bedford. End results of these clinics may help answer this question although it is complicated by many other variables. Also it is a little ominous that the newspapers are feeding the clinics less. The papers are still generous with their space but somewhat less so than when cancer was a "new" story. Then to our horror we find that the average interval between first symptom and first visit to a doctor or clinic has increased in 1929 over 1928. There are perhaps certain modifying factors in which we try to take comfort. But the bald fact remains that control of cancer is a long term job and if having talked and radioed and newspapered and movied and pamphleted ourselves blue in the face over it for three years, and yet if the average delay is increasing, it looks as if we were beaten in our effort to be heard over the cacophony of crime, cathartics, and candy.

The end result on the "operable" cases will not be known for some years. But here we are building up a mass of material of cases, rather than deaths, to study. Quality is being built up by the periodic meeting of a group of local men over cancer problems, by the occasional visits of consultants, by clinics at the Graduate Course in Cancer, the New England Health Institute, and the like, and by infrequent meetings of the clinic staffs at the Pondville Hospital or at the local clinics.

Education.—There is an Advisory Cancer Education Committee for the state as a whole. We have a speakers' bureau of some dozen physicians, available for medical or lav audiences. There are tons of printed matter, newspaper releases, radio speakers and moving picture films to rejoice the heart of the most hardened publicist. Fortunately I have forgotten how many feet of newspaper columns we had last year, but, as I have

said, it had its effect in clinic attendance.

Most interesting and concrete was our study of the results of a statewide five day campaign two years ago. Data were collected from the clinics and from some 1,500 doctors who replied to our questionnaire, and who represent about a third of those practicing in the state. Eighty-five per cent thought the campaign was worth while. Some 12,000 people were brought under immediate medical attention in clinics and private offices during the month following. There were more going to private offices in the cities where there were clinics than where there were no clinics. No widespread phobia was developed because, although the attendance at the clinics doubled, the proportion of cancerous was unchanged. Finally, for every patient attending a clinic there were twenty-two going to a private doctor's office. Is this state medicine in its more conservative medical sense?

Our clinic problems are many: To develop and maintain medical quality; to build up correlated and uniformly adequate social service; to develop a method of objectively estimating the results of this service; and in a world clamoring for the novel to sustain public interest sufficiently to assure individual initiative

in the proper person.

Studies.—I have already said enough to show you our methods of approach through hospitals, death returns, clinic records, sickness surveys, and the like. I wish only to indicate briefly some of the findings from our study of chronic disease in fifty thousand persons last summer, which Dr. Lombard is reporting in detail to this Conference. We needed to know the prevalence of chronic disease, its economic distribution, disability, availability and adequacy of resources for its care, familial tendencies, and the like. Our cancer study of 1925 showed us our astonishing ignorance of these matters. Last summer we found that 10 per cent of the people of all ages claimed to have suffered from one or more of the major chronic diseases in 1928. Six per cent had some form of arthritis. When these figures are reflected in terms of state and national population the magnitude of the problem is dizzying, and one feels like throwing up one's hands. It indicates the care that must be taken to avoid a false step in a matter so vast, and at the same time the danger of allowing such apprehension to prevent any advance.

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Department Organization.—Last year all this work was put in a Division of Adult Hygiene where other degenerative diseases may be handled if necessary, also where we may place our feeble efforts towards extending interest in health examinations, the potentialities of which are so great, but the results of which in the aggregate to date are so disappointing. Dr. Lombard, who has headed this work from its inception, particularly the studies, is its director. Also, we have two physicians directing the educational work, and what a job they have! We have had a most competent social worker from the beginning and have recently assigned her an assistant. Besides supervising and guiding the social work at our cancer hospital and the seventeen state aided clinics, and instituting this service for our four tuberculosis sanatoria, she is helping us feel our way in the vast maze of all chronic sickness. Besides this, there are some fourteen on the statistical and clerical staff. Growth is being directed by an astonishingly qualified and interested Advisory Committee on Adult Hygiene composed of eight thoughtful physicians and a layman. Out of the welter of it all the assurance of reasonable soundness which this group gives us is most heartening.

Conclusions.—For better or worse we have launched a state cancer program in Massachusetts. Through full consultation with quality in every field we are attempting to guide it and estimate its value, as well as to see ahead into other degenerative disease fields. We have much data which would suggest the quantitative value of the work. We have little or no data from which to conclude as to its qualitative value. For the present, at least, we have met what we found to be an irresistible public demand for service in this field, and are striving desperately to anticipate and factually to guide such a demand in other and even larger fields.

## SOCIAL WORK PLANNING THROUGH SURVEYS AND APPRAISALS

# THE HEALTH SURVEY AS A SOCIAL INSTRUMENT

C.-E. A. Winslow, Professor of Public Health, Yale School of Medicine, New Haven

HE history of the health survey has been admirably traced by Dr. Haven Emerson in the Fifth Sedgwick Memorial Lecture, delivered in this city, April 8, 1927. The title of this address is "Public Health Diagnosis," and this title well expresses our conception of the essential nature of this instrument of social progress. The health surveyor regards the community he studies as a modern physician regards his patient. He examines the whole organism to determine how efficiently each part is functioning in regard to the rest. He recommends changes of conduct which will make for better health and, where necessary, a surgical operation for the excision of abnormal growth. Often a more adequate or a better balanced diet, in the form of increased or better distributed appropriations for the support of public health work forms a major element in the prescription.

Dr. Emerson goes back to the Doomsday Book of William the Conqueror as a first foreshadowing of the social survey describing it, as "a homely searching . . . . for the simplest facts of human existence after invasion and war had destroyed records and left memories dim and traditions vague." In the specific field of health he names four outstanding pioneer efforts which all would agree furnished the basic inspiration for all future progress in America. They are: the report of Edwin Chadwick,

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Preventive Medicine, I (July, 1927), 401

The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain (1842), Lemuel Shattuck's sanitary survey of the state of Massachusetts (1850), the report on the sanitary condition of New York City by Stephen Smith and his associates (1865), and the Pittsburgh Survey (1909–14). Chadwick's volume was unquestionably the basis for the great sanitary awakening of modern times and Shattuck's survey is, in the judgment of the writer, the most remarkable single document in the history of public health. Both of the authors were social reformers and not physicians; and it is fitting on this occasion to acknowledge the debt which medicine and public health will always owe to social work for this historic leadership.

After the publication of the Pittsburgh Survey, progress in public health diagnosis, as Emerson points out, was rapid. As early as 1909, Mrs. C. J. Crane had published a paper on "Sanitary Conditions and Needs of Kentucky,"2 and during the next five years she made surveys of Nashville, Erie, Rochester, Saginaw, and Uniontown. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research and the Russell Sage Foundation made important contributions in this field. The United States Public Health Service published admirable surveys of state and city health work (by Carrol Fox) between 1914 and 1916. Finally the universities, led by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, began to play a leading rôle. Emerson states that no less than sixty published records of health surveys appeared in the ten years prior to 1917. In 1921, M. P. Horwood published the first textbook on Public Health Surveys<sup>3</sup> and listed a large number of surveys of various sorts, some 150 of them being definitely in the health field. By 1927 Emerson could refer to 574 published studies of community health.

During the past ten years the health survey movement has been stimulated and coordinated by the work of the Committee on Administrative Practice of the American Public Health Association. This Committee was organized in 1920 with the task of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kentucky Medical Journal, Vol. VII, No. 13 (August 1, 1909).

<sup>&</sup>quot; New York: John Wiley and Sons.

the preparation, study, standardization, and presentation of scientific public health procedures, by the collection of information in regard to current administrative health practice, the analysis of the material obtained to derive standards of organization and achievement and the translation of these standards into terms of concrete achievement through an information and field service.

In its attempt to crystallize the results of current progress in the public health field, the Committee first undertook a survey of health practice in the 83 large cities of the United States having populations of over 100,000 and the ensuing report was the first comprehensive study of the comparative anatomy and physiology (and, perhaps, pathology) of health administration. This was later followed by a study of 86 smaller cities conducted by the American Child Health Association and by a re-survey of 100 large cities conducted by the A.P.H.A.

The 1923 report of the Committee on Administrative Practice was notable for the fact that it not only reported its findings as to the actual practice but also attempted to formulate conclusions as to the best elements of such practice. The writer, in conjunction with Dr. H. I. Harris, had the temerity to prepare a chapter on "An Ideal Health Department for a City of 100,000 Population," in which functions, personnel, and budget for adequate health service were categorically set forth. This document was later expanded and modified by Professor I. V. Hiscock in a more comprehensive volume entitled Community Health Organization."

We carried our temerity still further by translating the ideal community health program into definite terms of quantitative performance. In January, 1926, after long study and consultation with health officers and organizations, the Committee on Administrative Practice published An Appraisal Form for City Health Work. This form dealt with eleven major community health activities and under each activity formulated certain defi-

<sup>4</sup> Public Health Bulletin No. 136, U.S. Public Health Service, July, 1923.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A Health Survey of 86 Cities, American Child Health Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City (1925).

<sup>6</sup> Public Health Bulletin No. 164, U.S. Public Health Service, July, 1926.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> American Public Health Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City (1927).

nite objective (generally quantitative) measures of efficiency. There were 131 of these criteria in all and they were weighted to make up a total score of 1,000 points. I can assure you that the Committee took this step with fear and trembling. Most of us suspected that the whole plan would be considered academic and impractical and would very possibly die aborning. Some of us feared that, if the idea did find favor, the Appraisal Form might do more harm than good by tending to that undue standardization which is a pet American vice, arising from our passionate desire for action and our equally passionate desire to avoid thinking. We safeguarded this latter point by providing for revision of the Appraisal Form at three or five year intervals; and our revision, like a Republican revision of the tariff, is sure to trend upward. As to the reception of the idea, we need not have felt such anxiety. It has been hailed by health workers with an enthusiasm that has astonished us. There is scarcely a live health department in the country that is not using the Appraisal Form to check up on the balance of its program, to show to city fathers and to the public what has been accomplished and to secure support for needed expansions from year to year. I think it would be difficult to name any single instrument which has exercised a greater influence upon the general level of health practice in the United States than this document of some seventy printed pages.

Today the Committee is looking forward to a new phase of its work which is of some significance with respect to the general philosophy of the survey movement. Our first task was to crystallize current practice in a concrete form and to devise quantitative measures of performance. This task has taken us about ten years. The result has been a clear picture of what health departments are now doing and criteria of judgment as to the results obtained. These criteria, however, depend on the assumption that the ends currently sought are desirable ones. In some instances this assumption would seem clearly justified. We may be reasonably sure that it is well to immunize children against diphtheria and to pasteurize milk. Even in such instances, however, we are far from a sound basis of judgment as to the relative

values of various procedures in terms of life saving; and as to many of our criteria there is a greater degree of uncertainty. Throughout the *Appraisal Form*, quantitative standards are based on the practice of the upper quartile of the cities studied with respect to their actual performance; but these cities may be doing too much or too little on a given line. The next task of the Committee is to take up, one by one, the public health procedures now in vogue and to attempt by analysis or experiment to evaluate their actual return in terms of life saving. It is a task which could not be attempted until the whole program had been reduced to a quantitative basis but the time has now come to undertake it.

The selection of this topic of health surveys and appraisals for presentation before the National Conference of Social Work was presumably actuated by the hope that the principles involved might find their application in the broader field of social work planning. There are two of these principles which seem so fundamental as to deserve special emphasis.

First and foremost, the whole concept of the survey and appraisal rests upon the assumption that health work and social work involve a basic scientific technique of proved validity. To the general public this is a somewhat novel idea. That part of a survey which relates to existing needs in the community—to the number of cases of tuberculosis or the condition of tenement dwellings or the extent of poverty-is fairly obvious; but the knowledge that the community machinery for dealing with such needs can be measured by objective standards is news to the layman. He still thinks in terms of "relief," of the handing out of money or medicine, with as small an "overhead" as possible; and the essential requirements are conceived to lie in a proper balance between hardness of head and softness of heart. The traditional concept of the state involves teachers and firemen and policemen —although the latter class of public servants are conceived as blind bludgeons of repression with small vision of constructive crime prevention. The realization that doctors and nurses and social case workers (whether employed by the city government

or under a community chest) are equally essential organs of the community is grasped only by the enlightened few. It is a very real contribution to social thinking to work out, on the basis of comparative studies, standard techniques for dealing with these subtler and more novel social problems and standards of budget and personnel and standards of organization for applying those techniques.

On the basis of such surveys and appraisals and of subsequent evaluation of their results we may perhaps look forward to the building up of a new science of experimental sociology to replace the philosophical sociology of the past. Psychology was once a branch of intuitive philosophy but today it has become a biological science. Our laboratory must be the world; but we may hope to lay some of the bases for sociology which shall be objective and scientific rather than subjective and speculative. We may hope, in the course of time, to convince even American mayors and legislatures that government is something more than manipulating votes and that the difficult art of living together in communities rests upon the applications of expert knowledge.

The social survey is based, then, first and foremost, on the conviction that there are certain basic principles and techniques of social organization which have general validity. These principles and techniques are of varying degrees of certitude. Some are abundantly demonstrated by ample scientific proof, some are still tentative and experimental. Taken as a whole, they represent the best current conclusions of the professional experts concerned. Even the laws of physics are now recognized as relative rather than absolute. They constitute the best general approximation at the moment attainable; and so do our standards in public health and social work.

Standards of accepted practice, however, represent only one side of the health survey problem. A survey of a given community should be a marriage between principle and circumstance. A mathematical formula applies to all cases in its entirety. A form of social organization does not. Every community has its own peculiar characteristics—economic, social, historical, psychologi-

cal. These are real and vital facts which must be taken into account. The successful survey must be a joint undertaking, in which the outside expert contributes his knowledge of basic principles derived from study of many other situations and the local executives and board members contribute their knowledge of the local conditions which modify the working of those principles.

In order to secure such fruitful cooperation it is desirable, before the study is begun, to organize a local survey committee and frequently such a committee may take an active share in the collection of data and thus keep in close contact with the work as it progresses. It goes without saying that the surveyor should discuss each phase of his work as he goes along with the local executives concerned, with a sincere desire to find out why things are done as they are and what real obstacles exist to what may seem a more ideal plan. If an administrative set-up actually works, in spite of the fact that it seems illogical or out of accord with general practice, it should rarely be interfered with. Rather should the surveyor conclude that he has added to his own store of knowledge.

When the survey report is completed in rough draft it should be taken up section by section with the various executives for criticism and suggestion; and before the report is definitely made it should be informally presented to a group of executives and community leaders called together for the purpose. It is of course obvious that the surveyor must ultimately be responsible for his own conclusions and must say what he believes, whether others may like it or not. But it does no harm to get all the facts first and opinions are often very stubborn facts in the social field. The special advantage of group presentation before final conclusions are reached is that those having special interests at stake either voice their objections publicly so that they may be frankly discussed or publicly admit that they have no objections which they can voice in that manner.

The survey should, of course, be accompanied by very definite and detailed recommendations, each one specially directed, where possible, to some specific organization which has the responsibility of carrying it out. It is well to indicate priority with respect to recommendations, particularly those which involve new expenditure and to shape the whole program with a view to present status so as to indicate an outline of desirable progress for the next five or ten years; and some local group should be specifically charged with following up the applying (or the rea-

sons for not applying) the remedies proposed.

The writer has had the privilege of making two successive surveys of the city of New Haven, one completed in 1917 and one in 1928. In the first of these surveys, 45 specific recommendations were made of which, ten years later, 32 had been carried out, 3 had been superseded by changes in public health practice, while 10 seemed still to call for action. In the 1928 survey, 108 specific recommendations were made. These have been entered on a card catalogue and are being persistently followed by the Health Council of the Community Chest. Some 20 of them have already been put into execution. Finally, let us consider some of the wider implications of the social survey and all that it stands for. In H. G. Wells' Food of the Gods the puzzled representative of a new and more heroic race wanders about London and cries, "What are ye for, ye swarming little people? What are ye all doing, what are ve all for?" As the writer has elsewhere suggested:8

The answer made by the man of today must be that we, in our brief lives, are to serve as the instruments of that power which has brought us up from the slime of the rock-pools in the slow task of building a still better world. However blind may be our philosophy, there is an inner urge in our very natures which keeps us at this task. The creative spark, the élan vital drives us forward whether we will or no.

The mass of the accumulated progress of our past makes up the culture of the race. Science and invention, religion and art, government and social custom, these things are the heritage of yesterday and the responsibility of tomorrow. The United States, as one of the youngest of the peoples of the earth, is still in the spiritual sense a debtor nation. The Old World owes us many dollars; but we owe our religion to Palestine, the bases of our intellectual attitudes to Greece, much of such clarity of thinking as we may possess to France, the fundamentals of our science to Germany, the inspiration of our art to Italy, Spain, and Holland, the roots of our poetry and our political ideals to Britain. We can never fully pay our debt to the Age of Peri-

<sup>\*</sup> The Road to Health (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929).

cles, to the cathedral builders of the thirteenth century, to the poets of Elizabethan and Victorian England.

Yet there surely rests upon us a strong compulsion to repay some part of this obligation, to make, as far as in us lies, our contribution to the world's common storehouse of ideas and motives and practice. We must echo the words of Browning:

"Rejoice we are allied

To That which doth provide

And not partake, effect and not receive:

A spark disturbs our clod;

Nearer we hold of God

Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe."

The payment of this debt is beginning, in ways of which we need by no means be ashamed. The physics of Millikan, the philosophy of Whitehead, the religion of Fosdick, the poetry of Amy Lowell and Stephen Benet, the architecture of Saarinen—to name but a few contemporaneous examples—constitute real factors in the sum of human culture. The most outstanding contribution of this nation has, however, lain in the fields of industrial and social organization, for industrial and social organization is quite as real a part of human culture as the writing of poems or the building of cathedrals. Living is itself an art, and whatever makes it easy for the masses of mankind to lead freer and fuller lives is a contribution to the heritage of the race.

The progress of mankind is like a trail through a forest. We press on in what we believe to be the right direction. We take what from local indications seem to be the right turnings. But we are not very sure. Then we come to a high shoulder of rock from which we can see the whole terrain and discover whether we are still on the right path. We look over the treetops which have hemmed us in, down to the valleys from which we have come, and we gain glimpses of the trail as it zigzags up to the heights above. Such a headland of vision is a well conducted social survey.

#### THE APPRAISAL OF HEALTH WORK

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Professor Winslow has spoken to you of the health survey. Many have seen such surveys recently published for Philadelphia and Montreal and will remember earlier ones for New Haven and Cleveland. The difference between the health survey and an appraisal of community health work should be borne in mind, although the two quite often go together. An appraisal is the placing of numerical valuations on certain essential health activities in accordance with fixed standards and for the purpose of measuring the health performance of the community. An appraisal may be accompanied by recommendations to remedy vital deficiencies which have been brought to light. Such recommendations, however, are more apt to be a part of a health survey.

The earliest health appraisal work was probably that of our veteran friend Dr. Chapin, superintendent of health of Providence. In 1916 he published his historic study on state health work. Since that time it has become usual to attempt the somewhat difficult task of the appraisal of health practice in states, in cities particularly, and of late also in county or rural areas. In December, 1918, Dr. Paul B. Brooks of the New York State Health Department delivered a paper before the American Public Health Association on the scoring of health activities in some fifty-seven cities in that state. Many of you are familiar with that widely used yardstick of municipal health practice, the Appraisal Form for City Health Work, of the American Public Health Association. Some here have witnessed its power, when effectively applied, in arousing the city fathers from unbelievable states of lethargy.

To my mind the health needs of a community are analogous to

the health needs of an individual. The patient may be sick and in need of proper diagnosis and treatment. Complete cure and continued healthfulness are the desired end results. Or, he may be a wise modern who has learned that it is easier, cheaper, and more comfortable to stay well than to get well. For such, the periodic health examination becomes a matter of intelligent routine.

It may be just so with any community. Disease of the body politic may become very conspicuous. Some preventable epidemic may so focus public opinion that an accurate appraisal of civic health needs brings about prompt and sometimes permanent improvements. In most instances, however, the health of our communities is tolerable. Conditions are not black enough to demand sudden changes. As in the individual, the day of self-analysis, of health appraisal is apt to be put off.

Just what is an appraisal of community health work? It is an attempt to measure the quantity and to some extent the quality of health protection afforded by official and unofficial agencies in a given locality. The available service is measured against standards set by recognized authorities in the field of public health administration. Group judgments by such leaders have established what may be considered as satisfactory, practicable and accepted health practice. Arbitrary numerical values have been assigned to the various items for the purpose of scoring or rating. That some of these standard values may vary in different sections of the country and that some must be modified from time to time is quite generally recognized. As a rule the various health services measured are the following: health administration and budgeting, health education, vital statistics, communicable disease control including epidemiology, tuberculosis and venereal disease prevention, prenatal and child health including school hygiene, public health nursing, sanitation of water and milk supplies and laboratory facilities. There are occasionally included other special fields of study.

Because of the increasing interest of unofficial as well as official agencies and groups in many of our communities, one or another

of the various appraisal forms for health service is today in almost constant use throughout this country. Let us glance for a moment at the rationale of the best known and most usually employed appraisal instrument, the *Appraisal Form* of the American Public Health Association.

In its introductory statement we find that "the Appraisal Form for City Health Work is designed for use of the health officer in the self-appraisal of his work." A little further on we read:

While the Aptraisal Form is intended primarily for health officers, experience has indicated that the city and the health officer may be aided by the more disinterested appraisal at intervals of several years, at the hands of a specialist in the field of health surveys whose time is devoted continually to this type of work. The Committee on Administrative Practice [of the American Public Health Association] has for several years maintained this type of expert field assistance, with this fact in mind.

Here we have the two primary objectives of the Appraisal Form. In one case it is applied locally, in the other by a visiting expert. In the first type the city health officer uses the Appraisal Form as a basis for self-analysis and occasionally as a frame around which to write his annual report. Studies of this kind have been admirably carried on for several years past by the part time health officer of White Plains, New York, Dr. Edwin G. Ramsdell, and by the full time health officer of East Orange, New Jersey, Frank J. Osborne. They have also been made in many other places and usually with little or no local expense. In this way the intelligent health officer may watch the growth of his department and recommend to the city government needed improvements from year to year.

With the visiting expert we find usually a more elaborate community analysis, such as took place several years ago in Cincinnati and more recently in Montreal. Civic leaders may feel that the psychological moment has arrived to launch an appeal for a new or improved health department policy. The political aspect may look particularly propitious. It may even be that the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association is to take place in a given locality. The visiting expert will spend a month or two in the community, often under the auspices of a mayor's health committee. The health officer, school authorities and vol-

untary agencies will cooperate fully and there emerges a health rating for the city and a series of recommendations for bringing the city health program up to accepted standards. The task then remains of translating needs into realities. There may result a reorganization of the local board of health, its budget may be increased to furnish certain activities which have been lacking or poorly administered. The community benefits materially from having measured itself with a standard yardstick. Although desirable for many localities this form of appraisal has a limited usefulness because of its expense which frequently runs as high as \$1,000 or more. Where it may be most needed the assurance that the recommendations will be carried out is often most difficult to secure.

There remain for brief review three other types of community health appraisal. One is a scoring of city health activities by some representative of a state health department. Dr. Charles C. Duryce, formerly city health officer and later mayor of Schenectady for two terms, served for many years as consultant in city health administration in the New York State Health Department. From 1919 to 1924 he visited periodically the fifty-seven cities of the state in order to score and rank them in their health activities. Because of his wisdom, personality, and experience as a mayor, he had an uncanny ability in persuading mayors and health officers to put into operation useful and needed health activities. It is rare to find just such an ideal individual for a particular piece of work. He sought where possible to capitalize the psychological moment, and his services were without local cost to the communities he visited. This type of city health scoring dealt with much the same services as are covered in the Appraisal Form, but in a less exhaustive manner. A four page score sheet served as text for informal discussion between the city health officer, the mayor and the consultant. Press representatives were usually just beyond the threshold of the mayor's office and rarely were they disappointed in securing a brief review of the good health work of their city and a suggestion or two for improvements of importance.

Another type of city health rating is the recently developed annual intercity health contest under the auspices of the United States Chamber of Commerce and its local branches. Of all the existing forms of city appraisal this seems to me to offer the greatest promise of usefulness. Here a chamber of commerce appoints a public health committee from among its membership. These business men secure the indorsement of the mayor and the city health department for a community health study. Largely with the help of the health officer and the school physician, and aided perhaps by the director of the community chest the committee proceeds to fill out a simple four-page questionnaire dealing with the recognized standard city health activities. Statistical records are supplemented by a brief narrative report to make the picture clear and the whole is sent to the United States Chamber of Commerce in Washington. This year these reports were recently rated and the cities ranked by a grading committee made up of the following eminent authorities: Dr. W. S. Rankin, chairman, and former state health commissioner of North Carolina; Dr. Louis L. Dublin, statistician; Dr. A. J. Chesley, state health officer of Minnesota; Dr. John A. Ferrell, of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Professor C.-E. A. Winslow of New Haven. One hundred eight cities competed in five different population groups and, as you may know, the winners were Milwaukee (over 500,000), Syracuse (100,000 to 500,000), East Orange, New Jersey (50,000 to 100,000), White Plains, New York (20,000 to 50,000) and Sidney, Ohio (under 20,000).

This chamber of commerce health appraisal activity brings the business man into the city health program. Where the leading business interests are aware of local deficiencies in health protection and are active year by year in having them corrected, official health promotion should have a most favorable opportunity for growth. The combination of practically no cost with a splendid system for local follow-up render the chamber of commerce

health contest well nigh ideal.

Finally there is the community health study campaign and contest of the Department of Public Welfare of the General

Federation of Women's Clubs. Since 1926 this organization has conducted an annual intercity health contest for the purpose of interesting the membership of women's clubs in studying and improving their local health services.

What have been the results of these various types of health appraisal? Those who have been close to this work know full well that appraisal per se is no panacea. There have been discouragements in results after painstaking labor. Here or there the seed may have fallen on stony ground or been choked by weeds. At times appraisal has resulted merely in imposing statistical charts, showing graphically enough just what health activities reached or failed to approach 100 per cent of the standard set. A very favorable numerical rating on paper has sometimes disclosed, when analyzed, a cancerous growth of political interference or an indifferent or part time health official untrained and not qualified to use a splendid machinery given him for the protection of the health of his community. There can be no doubt, however, of the proven value of community health appraisal in many fortunate areas in nearly every state and also in Canada. Appraisal, backed by thoughtful and timely community preparation for capitalizing its benefits has done much to increase municipal health budgets, to secure the employment of full time properly qualified personnel, to improve communicable disease control, water and milk sanitation and to further laboratory facilities for the scientific practice of preventive medicine. Clinic and dispensary services for prenatal and child health, and for venereal disease control have been advanced. Community health education has also been stimulated. Appraisal has been of value where carried on in a competitive spirit of friendly rivalry among cities of about equal size. Here determined efforts have been made by health officials to bring about administrative improvements which have been observed in successful operation in neighboring or rival localities.

Quite naturally we who are engaged in health appraisal work would like to attribute some of the resulting advances to our efforts. Not infrequently we are justified in doing so, at least in part. It has been my experience, however, that in our zeal for the work of appraisal we are apt to look for the seed to sprout over night. Should a blossom shoot forth soon after our return home we would hasten to claim it as of our own creation. Careful analysis will generally reveal that our recent visit brought merely to a culmination the efforts of many hands and minds, the toil

of others and of long ago, possibly quite unknown to us.

What of the future of the appraisal of community health work? For many health officers, especially the full time, or rather the intelligent and qualified ones, the Appraisal Form will continue to be of value for self-analysis. For the occasional city or county, expert appraisal service from outside will be financially possible. A simpler and less expensive method of survey and appraisal may develop, such as the chamber of commerce contest, to serve numerous other areas. Special appraisals of particular health services will be available, as for example in mental hygiene or public health nursing or possibly in industrial hygiene. There may be a repetition of state health department appraisal as originated by Dr. Chapin in 1916. States, too, will survey their own health needs, as occurred in New York in 1913, and as is now again in progress under the Special Public Health Commission recently appointed by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. Dr. Livingston Farrand, president of Cornell University, is chairman of this Commission, and its first meeting was held in New York City on June 5.

Apart from survey and appraisal there appear to be certain essentials in order to ensure for any community adequate and efficient health protection. The area needs proper basic health legislation, either in the state health law or in a local charter. Health education will lead to community health consciousness. The employment of properly qualified full time or "career" health officers in cities over 50,000 population or on a county basis, and the removal of local health administration from partisan politics will be just as universal in this country as it is in England when the demand here makes itself felt. Local public opinion which is health-minded and fortunate in its leadership

will insist upon and secure competent and unimpeded health administration. This will come about in just the same manner that it has in proper school administration. It is the task of survey and appraisal to render obsolete the part-time health officer. With the rarest exception he has outlived his usefulness just as has the part-time school superintendent or school principal of long ago.

In conclusion, an attempt has been made to describe and discuss various types of community health appraisal. The tasks of the social worker are intimately related to the efficiency of health service in any locality. Poverty, ignorance, and disease form a vicious cycle, and each one is responsible for the others. Right minded civic leaders are endeavoring to break the chain at each possible point of attack. Survey and appraisal have their part to play. A careful study of their technique and potential benefits should be made by all who interest themselves in the great social problems of our day.

## STRENGTHS OF FAMILY LIFE

Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City

AMONG students of the family, there appear to be three schools of opinion, closely parallel to the divergencies we meet in that other controversial subject which has lately been hammering at our jaded powers of attention. In regard to monogamy, at least, one group is for strict enforcement, another

for modification, and a third for repeal!

Most vociferous of all, as might be imagined, are those who vote for repeal. The entire family idea of lifelong cohabitation, of control and guidance of children by their own parents, is anathema to them. They are for the extirpation of the family, root and branch. For an extreme type of this reaction, I would refer you to that curiously uneven book just published, *The New Generation*, a collection of essays by different authors. In it, Samuel Schmalhausen, writing on "Family Life: A Study in Pathology," has these things to say:

Family life, as I feel and perceive it, is about the very best raw material which the psychopathologist has at his disposal for studying intimately every kind of idiocy and imbecility, every phase of insanity. Family life, when it is not a palpable study in mental deficiency, is obviously enough a study in lunacy. . . . . The fundamental fact, psychiatrically, is emotional bondage. Family life, as we know it, creates, perpetuates, glorifies this neurotic bondage. . . . . the home, in reality, is illimitably selfish, emotionally clannish, psychologically egocentric, spiritually as provincial and dwarfish and de-civilizing as can well be imagined. . . . . I give it as my sober and most thoughtful judgment that an insane asylum is a place of peace and repose and sweet reasonableness compared with the institution of marriage as generally practiced. . . . . The only joy human beings derive from their forced intimacy in (coercive-conventional) marriage is the sadistic joy of destroying whatever is sweet and promising and significant in one another's life. 1

"There is no solution for these unsolvable problems," he says. "Some fresh winds must blow from the cosmos at large to ventilate the asphyxiated atmosphere of the home."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Samuel Schmalhausen, "Family Life: A Study in Pathology," The New Generation (New York: Macaulay Co., 1930).

Others as eager as Mr. Schmalhausen to get rid of the home have more of a program than his "wind from the cosmos at large" for accomplishing it. They would remove all bars to free sex associations, and have the resulting children brought up communally, away from their parents. Two things they have never explained: first, how under those conditions, could women be induced to undergo the pains and suffering of childbirth? and second, how could men and women, living singly and never seeing their children, be induced to work hard enough to produce the necessary taxes to permit every child to be reared and educated by highly-paid specialists? What would be the inducement to parenthood, industry, and self-sacrifice under those conditions?

Fortunately, along with tirades such as you have just sampled, some aid and comfort has been forthcoming for those of us who still believe that the family, with all its faults, has some virtues. In the same volume I have been quoting occurs a scholarly paper by the eminent anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski, in which, after a study of the family from primitive times to the present, he concludes:

The knowledge of real facts established the value of marriage and the family. . . . . [These] institutions are indispensable, they should be saved at all costs in the present wrecking of so many things old and valuable. But, like all really conservative tendencies, the functional view advocates intelligent and even drastic reform wherever this is necessary. If marriage and the family are in need of a much greater tolerance in matters of sex and parental authority, these reforms ought to be formulated, studied and tested in the light of the relevant sociological laws and not in a mere haphazard, piecemeal fashion.

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We should place Malinowski, I think, with the modificationists. Last, in this review of recent literature, we have the voice of a convert. Floyd Dell, the novelist, whose earlier books reflect his period of Sturm und Drang has come through into the peace of settled convictions with a book called Love in the Machine Age.<sup>2</sup> He is as down on the patriarchal family as Mr. Schmalhausen could be; but being a writer by profession, he puts his ideas in most lucid and interesting form. And he sees light ahead. The patriarchal family, with its overemphasis on conformity, its med-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Floyd Dell, Love in the Machine Age (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930).

dlesome interference with the lives of its children, and its attempts to control their matings in the interest of family finance and family status, must go, he says. He is triumphantly sure that the progress from infantile self-love through fixation on parents, and then on contemporaries of the same sex, to the heterosexual love of late adolescence, must be completed by an additional step—that is, the discovery of a mate with whom one can maintain a satisfactory and permanent monogamic relationship. This and parenthood constitute, he says, the only complete adjustment to adult life; anything short of this means arrest at some childish-to-infantile stage. And in strong contrast to some modern writers, Mr. Dell seems to feel that this complete progress to adulthood is not only desirable but possible for the majority of the human race, if their parents will leave them alone. He makes one further interesting suggestion, which it seems strange that we have not heard before; namely, that parents might take out endowment insurance policies for their children in infancy, to mature at about twenty-five years, and thus make possible setting up a home at an earlier date than many young people now feel able to do.

Nevertheless, for the conscientious person who desires to become a parent, there is little encouragement to be found in the modern literature directed at him. The task of bringing up a family appears, after a course of such reading, as quite beyond ordinary powers. If he swallows it whole, how can he be so rash as to take the fifty-to-one chance that association with him will not ruin his children's emotional adjustments and success in life? He knows all too well that children will no longer be to him, as they were to parents in the past, a financial asset—rather poignantly the reverse. And now he is told that he cannot seek enjoyment and personal happiness from his children because that would be exploiting them to serve his own desires. It seems to me that the net effect of this drive against parents will be further to confirm the more literate in failing to have children, and to leave the task of populating the earth to more care free and less

well read parents. Which may be precisely what Nature intends. At least, Professor Jennings, in his latest book, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, appears to feel no particular alarm for the species on account of the childlessness of the so called "better" classes.

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Now to turn from the weaknesses to the strengths of family life. Is it not true in our experience that we often find, among the families that come to us as victims of economic distress, more adequate nurseries of childhood than we can easily match from examples drawn from among our friends on a higher economic level? Homes where there are enough children to take over from the parents part of the duties of tending and disciplining each other, do seem to produce more stable children than the most anxious parental cossetting. Homes where both parents are too busy at useful tasks to interfere unnecessarily in the children's development secure better developed children. Homes where children necessarily and as a matter of course participate in the work of the household send them forth better equipped for useful lives. Homes where care and frugality have to be displayed in expending the family income do not so often produce in the children habits of selfishness and extravagance.

We ought to try to get some of these statements about the families known to us across to the public, in simple justice to the mass of our clients; and I think you will be glad to know that the Family Welfare Association of America is collecting and has collected examples of wise parenthood among the humble folk known to us. One family handicapped by illness and blindness of the breadwinner and dependent for six years upon charitable assistance shows a bright record in the upbringing of its eight children that few better advantaged families could match. These are some of the things that record shows:

First, strong affection between all members of the family. The marriage was in the beginning a youthful love match, the hus-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> H. S. Jennings, The Biological Basis of Human Nature (New York: Norton & Co., 1930).

band and wife both coming from happy and stable, though humble, homes. The children are loved equally, though treated differently. Each child has been welcome. The fourteen-year-old daughter is "so sorry" for small families. "What would we do without Charlie?" The older ones begin, at two or three years of

age, to care for and share with the next younger.

Second, a sense of security. While the children share in the family plans, they are not allowed to feel the full burden of family anxieties. The mother says "There's been nothing really hard except circumstances, and we've always been happy." The children, greatly undernourished and pre-tubercular when the family was first known, gained more rapidly at home than in a convalescent home.

Third, sharing pleasures and successes. They have "good times together" with much laughter and family jokes. Plays seen by the older children are re-enacted at home. When the worker took one of the girls to tea at a restaurant, her first question was whether it would be too expensive for her to bring her mother there.

Fourth, unselfish attitudes. The children are taught to let their playmates use their toys. Frances had to be prevented from giving her new coat to her younger sister. When two of the children were to have new shoes, they asked if the money could not

be put into a pair for their father instead.

Fifth, hopeful and unified aims. The mother got up from a sick bed to clean taxicabs rather than have her eldest daughter leave normal school. This girl will undertake to put two younger sisters through school. "After that I might get married." On learning that the second daughter was barely of normal intelligence, the family's own plan is to let her spend one year more in school taking domestic subjects, then become the homemaker, for which she has talent, while the mother, a former clerical worker, goes out to earn. The contribution of each member is mapped out for years to come. "We have each other and our hopes for the future." They are eager for the time when they can get on without outside help.

Sixth, fortitude. There is no trace in the family atmosphere of self-pity, self-seeking, or complaint, even in the past, when pain, cold, and hunger have had to be endured. One makes the best of these things, fortified by religion and hope.

Seventh, utilization of opportunities. While at first somewhat ingrowing they are now reaching out. "There is never any question whether the children can go to a concert, join the settlement club, go away for the summer, or go to college. The moment an opportunity is open the whole family pull together to make it possible." Their father teaches them to appreciate the essential humanity in everyone. The children are becoming increasingly fearless in meeting the outside world.

"Life under such surroundings," says the worker who contributed this record, "seems almost certain to turn out children with habits and principles which will insure the foundation of wholesome homes of their own."

To return for just a moment to recent literature about the family, my attention was sharpened while reading that very didactic work of Bertrand Russell's *Marriage and Morals* in coming on a passage in which he states that the institution of the family was never suitable to seafaring peoples, ". . . . when one member of the family went on a long voyage while the rest stayed at home, he was inevitably emancipated from family control, and the family was proportionately weakened."

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I suppose we would agree that of all handicaps to family life and mutual interest frequent and prolonged absences of the husband and father would be likely to be the most disastrous. And yet —was Mr. Russell's a careful statement? Is it particularly true of his own country—the greatest seafaring nation in history? There happened to fall into my hands some time ago a series of letters written to his New England home from all over the world by a sea captain some sixty years ago. At the time they were written, he had been going to sea for about twenty-five years, in a trade which kept him absent for two or three years at a time, in-

Bertrand Russell, Marriage and Morals (New York: Horace Liveright, 1929).

terspersed with visits of a month or six weeks to his family. On rare occasions, his wife and one or more of the children would accompany him for a voyage, but this meant a still harder break for the child or children left in school, and was not of frequent occurrence. At the time the letters were written, the eldest boy was away at school, and the younger boy and girl were with their mother.

There is nothing of the rollicking sailor about these letters—no tales of hairbreadth 'scapes or jolly adventures. They are the letters of a desperately homesick man, whose every thought and emotion turns to his distant family. After a voyage on which the wife and small boy accompanied him, he sets out alone for Montevideo and writes from there:

My health has been good but you can guess I have been awfully lonesome. Tell B. that after I had been at sea two or three days I found one of his little boats and it made me sick to my stomach. Afterwards I found one of your old hair-nets and it had the same effect. There is no sale for lumber, and I shall probably go to Buenos Ayres—

In port, he lives from mail day to mail day and no number of letters from home will satisfy him. He writes eagerly to his wife, about the management of the home farm—she had better sell the pretty cow and keep the homely one, "but do as you think best." He shares with her all his triumphs and failures in conducting the ship's business—a good charter secured to Valparaiso; the way he was robbed on repairs to the ship in Samarang. When times are good, he writes her:

I am glad to hear that you and family are all well and that there is a prospect of your getting a [hired] girl; if you get her I shall feel that you can take things easy and live a lady! Hope you will be suited with your carriage and enjoy it. Above all pray do take the best care of yours and the children's health; don't suffer for the want of good things, for it gives me far greater pleasure to know that my family have them than to have them myself.

He is troubled by a tendency in his oldest son to value acquaintances by their wealth and position rather than their real worth, and writes him a letter overflowing with tenderness, but warning against this error. The little daughter is told that he wants her always to be dressed prettily and becomingly but not to set too high a value on fine clothes. His groping affection toward these children whom he found so changed at each homecoming is plain through the repressed language of the New Englander: "I have had large expectations from the children. Your praise of them eases my spirits."

From Batavia he writes to his wife:

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Say to the children that if they love me the best thing they can do to please me will be to do everything in their power to please you. Shall not have a great deal of money to spend foolishly, but shall try to get a bird of paradise for you if I can find one. . . . . Tell B. that the coolies sing the same tune that they used to and I almost see him when I hear them singing.

## And from another Sumatran port:

We are bound to Falmouth for orders, and I hope you will see your way clear to meet me on arrival but still don't want you to against your own judgment. Your inclination I know would say "Go." Should like very much to have you come but not at the family detriment. If you don't shall know it was not because you did not want to. At any rate be sure and have lots of letters. Write me all the little local news; it may look small to you, but it interests me.

But she is unable to join him, and his orders at Falmouth are to load and proceed to South America. On the eve of sailing he writes:

I think if you were going with me that I should be in fine spirits. It looks to be a long dreary time to me. When you write me and mention anything about it it makes me sick for a day or two, so don't mention anything about not being with me. I write this in a hurry for I am going to try to get to sea tonight if possible.

A little while back we saw vigorous, constructive family life persisting under conditions of illness of breadwinner, physical deprivation, and limited opportunity. In these letters we see the essential bonds of family affection strong in the face of continued separation. There are almost no imaginable conditions which are bound to extirpate the strengths of family life, if they have once really existed. Certainly the forms taken by the family will change, along with every human situation. But when the essential strengths of devotion, mutual enjoyment, and sacrifice leave it altogether, then the human race and its civilization will be

ended too—and that is not likely to come about for some time. The wise Havelock Ellis says that founding a family is always an adventure. But he says:

. . . . life must always be full of risks. We may smile, therefore, when it is remarked that the future developments of the home are risky. Birds in the air and fishes in the sea, quite as much as our own ancestors on the earth, have always found life full of risks. It was the greatest risk of all when they insisted on continuing on the old outworn ways and so became extinct. If the home is an experiment and a risky experiment, one can only say that life is always like that.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Havelock Ellis, Little Essays of Love and Virtue (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1922), p. 100.

## INTAKE POLICIES IN FAMILY CASE WORK

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Emil G. Steger, Secretary and General Manager, Provident Association, St. Louis

AMILY societies everywhere in cities large and small are feeling very keenly the pinch of poverty. Poverty is in the very nature of family case work the familiar of the family society, because its clients are in so large a measure the victims of poverty. The removal of the pinch of poverty so that the victims of this social disease may be healed is the very purpose of family case work. So it is inevitable that the family society can remain alive and productive just so long as it feels vicariously the pinch of poverty.

The pinch of poverty is real and the situation desperate enough, but it is hardly surprising. Organized charity did not receive a hearty welcome when it appeared as the modern expression of the ancient virtue of helpfulness. Often its early proponents had to persuade communities and possible clients as well, that the new method was right and effective. The persuasion was quite successful at least in increasing the number of clients. It has not been so successful in demonstrating the increasing demand for service and money cost.

The community's acceptance of the family society is somewhat like the acceptance of the childless home of one of our genial police officers as a good place in which to park any child that happened to be homeless. At first this policeman and his good wife had a hard time persuading people to let them have even one child to care for. Today there are twenty children in that home, and some people can't understand why there should not be further additions.

This increase in demand coupled with a shortage of available funds has created a pressure dangerous to the very purpose of the family society. Social case work, like any other professional heal-

ing activity, is in itself a recognition of an abnormal condition in family life. The activity of the social case worker, though necessary under the circumstances, is an interference in social relationships. Such interference is justified only when it is absolutely necessary. Social case work dare never overstep the boundaries of needed professional service, for the cost of such overstepping is inevitably the weakening of personal and family strength, the defeat of the purpose of professional service. The danger of the dulling of the sense of individual and family responsibility is further increased by the community attitude, which is that of a proprietary right in the resources of the social agency, upon which one may draw as on a savings account. This attitude tends unquestionably toward an easy release from possible individual and family planning and effort, and generally the result is an undue reliance on outside help as a substitute for self-reliance and selfhelp. Clearly, then, to safeguard its essential purpose, and in the interest of individual and family strength, family social work must set itself seriously to the task of defining the borderlines of the case work job, as well as to the task of developing and putting into practice the judgment which enables it properly and adequately to limit its intake.

There is no need of a survey to determine how many families in any given community have social problems, or how many individuals find it necessary to make adjustments in their personal relationships, adjustments that require thoughtful planning and considerable self-discipline. Fortunately the majority of families do not broadcast their difficulties, but quietly within their own circle make the necessary adjustments, and go forward on their own strength. The full life, the life that gives the greatest measure of satisfaction, is that which commands for each problem as it arises the courage to face it, and the strength, information and intelligence to meet it with a full use of whatever social re-

course is available and needed.

There can be no question that every application made by or in behalf of anyone for aid of whatever kind, directs us to some sort of social problem. But are we equally sure that each application n

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in itself indicates the presence of a social problem requiring outside help? During the past year one community had this question answered in a rather startling manner. A campaign for raising the annual budget had resulted in all but complete failure. The family society found itself with only sufficient funds to continue its active case load. The staff was reduced so that even a quick emergency attention to new applications was out of the question. For two months nothing could be done for those who applied except to make a note of name, address, and reason for the appeal. A later effort to raise funds met with success, and the family society found itself once more with resources. The first step was to check on every application that had been received but not followed up during the two months' period. The amazing result was that more than half of the applicants were found to have made tolerably successful adjustments on their own strength.

This experience teaches us that there is in the development of every outside agency of help the grave danger of inviting people to seek a release from burdens and responsibilities that should remain with family or individual. Indolence or the reluctance to carry a heavy burden of thought and planning is a fairly common human weakness. Then, of course, there is another human trait equally dangerous, the fear that we lack, or that we may be suspected of lacking, a sympathetic understanding of the person in trouble. Family social work dare not for a moment forget that social problems are part of the common lot of human beings, and that close scrutiny of an apparently critical situation frequently disclosed within the family concerned resources that should be fully tested before outside help is resorted to. This close scrutiny must be made just as effective as the virtual absence of possible outside help proved to be in the community which gave us the startling experience that many families can meet their own problems when forced to do so. And it is also well to remember that no more valuable service can be rendered to any family than to lead it into a realization of its own strength. Of course, the very insistence on the question whether the social problem in a given family is one that actually needs outside help is, in the fullest sense of the term, professional service even when the answer indicates that family social work meets its responsibility by a courageous and firm refusal to enter into any further form of treatment.

This brings us to those whose condition our best judgment directs us to accept as requiring outside help. The family society fortunately and unfortunately has the history of pioneer effort. And there has grown up a tradition of comprehensive service which is deeply rooted in the consciousness of the community, which includes to a considerable extent other social case work agencies that deal with families. The family society was faced in its early days with the tremendous task of proving the value of the imperative need for the case work method in bringing aid to the socially inadequate. The leaders in those early days foresaw that a division of responsibility must come if the complex situation which social case work was designed to meet, was to be met at all adequately. But for the time family society accepted the widest possible range of responsibility in order to make the necessary demonstration. Gradually other forms of case working agencies emerged to take their place alongside the family society and to share with it in the care of the socially inadequate. Older institutions and organizations began to change their policies and methods to meet the needs of modern conditions. Nevertheless the idea that the family society, after all, is a catch-all for every kind of service needed in the home still persists to a considerable extent in the mind of the community. Especially widespread is the thought that any material relief need labels any case as the responsibility of the family society. This thought more than any other factor has obscured the real issue in deciding a division of responsibility between social case work agencies.

The family society in its effort to determine the proper limitation of its intake, must overcome that attitude on the part of the community, shaped by its pioneer history and the persistent tradition that a need for material relief in itself makes any case a family society responsibility, in spite of other factors that clearly place the family problem elsewhere. The scrutiny of intake must

therefore include the question "Is there some other agency equipped to handle this problem specifically?" Such a question must be answered with a view to the nature of the problem as a whole, which includes but is not dominated by the presence or absence of the need for material relief. After all, the need for material relief does not differ fundamentally from the need for any sort of free service. The problem as to who has the responsibility for securing the facts needed for the proper direction of a family appears to solve itself. It rests with the agency which has the first knowledge of the family. In the very nature of things this task belongs no less to the children's agency, to the medical social work agency, or to any other agency or institution that has a case work equipment, than to the family agency.

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However, though it may have been clearly shown that there is no other agency specifically equipped to handle the particular social problem presented, it does not necessarily follow that the family society must accept responsibility. Another equally important question arises, namely, whether the family agency is equipped to handle the problem. There can be no more trying experience for an agency than to be confronted with the dilemma of not being able to render specific aid, nor to be able to point out the agency which can help. And yet, the family agency has no more right to assume a responsibility beyond its strength and equipment than a tuberculosis sanatorium has the right to assume the treatment of cancer patients.

The answers to the three fundamental questions, when applied to each application received, lay the foundation for determining intake policies, but cannot determine those policies themselves. There are many modifying factors, changing with the variations between communities, and varying with the changing conditions within any particular community.

The recently organized family society in a rapidly developed industrial community, new in every respect, obviously faces quite different situations from those presented in older communities that have had a long steady growth. The scope of the family society is likely to be much broader in the former than in the latter.

The new community probably has fewer resources than the older community. The family agency, which is a member of a live, well run Council of Social Agencies, will find it easier to fix policies or intake, and adhere to them, than the agency which must still perform many of the functions that are properly cooperative efforts within a social council. The existence or absence of governmental welfare departments, or the stage of development of such departments, or plans looking toward the formation or strengthening of governmental welfare activity, are all modify-

ing factors in determining intake policies.

Obviously, the stage of development of social work as a whole in the community plays a large part in fixing intake policy. It is equally obvious that these policies must be kept flexible enough to meet the requirements of possible further community developments. While it is in general sound principle to force back on government a responsibility once accepted, it may be an investment to insure future complete service for a time and under definite conditions to accept for care even families that are clearly eligible to governmental help. Not only is the community in a state of flux as far as social work development is concerned, and, therefore, requires constant adaptations in the intake policies of the family society, but the development of case work practice within the society is an equally serious factor. Perhaps one of the most distressing experiences to which case supervisors are subjected is that which accompanies the review of case records submitted for closing. The number of cases closed because of lack of time, or because so long inactive that contact has been lost; the number of carefully worked out plans interrupted at critical periods, plans often rendered useless because never fully executed, are reason enough for asking a whole series of searching questions—one of the most important of which is the relation of intake to outgo.

If a review of closed cases shows a considerable premature crowding out of clients for whom responsibility has been accepted, then the policy which controls intake may well be ques-

tioned. Of what possible value can the insistence on prompt attention to applications be, if that promptness means half-care, or dropping at a critical period or in an unfinished state, clients already under care? In fact, may not such necessary promptness often obscure future neglect? Adequacy in service is assuredly of equal importance with adequacy in material relief, and it is only reasonable to insist that intake policy must be so determined as to insure both. In fact, one cannot be maintained without the other. It clearly follows, then, that a measure of an agency's carrying power is an essential preliminary in determining intake policies. An even flow of case load can be maintained only if the balance between outgo and intake is kept. The acceptance of this principle does not preclude the possibility of going on an emergency first aid basis when conditions demand it. But when this becomes necessary it must be clearly understood that the whole thing is emergency, with everything planned for the earliest possible return to full service.

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Again, when case loads are reviewed we are troubled by the number of families who are forever returning, each time showing further deterioration. These are the families that as a rule account for the largest expenditure of time on the part of the whole case work machinery. Now, family case work has behind it a fairly large and comprehensive volume of experience. Social case work, though a new profession, has made amazing progress in a conscious development of processes and techniques. This can be maintained with pride and a great deal of confidence in future development. There is in this pride and in this confidence not the least denial of the incompleteness of our present knowledge and skill. Nevertheless, the consciousness of experience and progress even now may well be strong enough to justify a selection for social treatment on the basis of relative probability of possible improvement. Undoubtedly such a course will result in mistakes in judgment, but it will conserve much time, effort, and strength which are now being squandered on situations which in the light of our present knowledge and skill are hopeless.

Probably it is true that all family societies are limited by budget. While, of course, every effort must be made to give the community as complete a picture of real need as present information makes possible, and while such effort must include the earnest plea that sufficient money be provided to meet the whole need, nevertheless the family society must so determine its intake policies as to remain within its budget allowance. Its mandate of service received from the community is clearly limited by the funds made available, and this mandate must not be exceeded.

The frank acceptance of this principle makes imperative a selection for service. This selection gives full weight to all the considerations already discussed, and must be so made as to reach that group which obviously is the most disadvantaged. While money does not buy many things that are essential to true well being, the lack of money and its equivalent in credit can destroy the opportunity to enjoy and profit by even those advantages which money cannot buy. It must be conceded, that to the person who lacks even the minimum amount of money to insure any kind of a standard of living, money is the symbol for all advan-

tages society has to offer.

The family society never can hope to build constructively except in so far as it recognizes as its first obligation those who are clearly the most underprivileged and disadvantaged, namely, the limited income group. This group is so large that a case worker, who is clamoring for larger opportunities for professional development, need have no fear of lack of opportunity. Within the limited income group are found not only the widest varieties of needs, but all types of individuals and families, including those that have within themselves the richest human values, which await only the opportunity to make their contribution to society. Can there be a more satisfactory service than to be instrumental in bringing to the light of opportunity a strength that is being ground into weakness under the heels of poverty?

The community which provides the resources for family social work demands first attention to the limited income group. Com-

plete opportunity for professional development is found in the service to this group. The present limited funds, therefore, clearly make this group the particular and insistent responsibility of the family society. And not only does the obvious fact of limited budget compel family social work to give serious consideration to the problem of selection for treatment, but the principles disclosed in this discussion form a practical basis on which to develop intake policies adaptable to whatever situation any community may present.

## THE INTEGRATION OF ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN FAMILY CASE WORK

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PERHAPS no more delicate or difficult task confronts the social case worker than that of assisting in the economic adjustment of people who, temporarily or permanently, are without the capacity for self-maintenance. This difficulty is attested by the fact that on every hand the case worker observes countless examples of individuals or families, applicants for or recipients of relief, in whom, if it ever existed, the desire for self-maintenance has been extinguished.

These individuals are doubtless outnumbered by the veritable army of those who find themselves economically disabled through no failure on their part to strive for self-support—those who, due to fortuitous circumstances, industrial depression, or ill health, are forced to look to social agencies for financial backing. These constitute a large proportion of the case worker's clientèle; yet her attitude toward all applicants is colored by her awareness that there exists this group in whom a disinclination to accept assistance is no longer apparent, in whom willingness to shift the burden to others is detected, the family who has become "dependent," has ceased to value self-support and thus has lost one means for the achievement of self-esteem, which is the goal of every case worker for those whom she endeavors to assist.

The worker who attempts to deal with economic factors faces a stern reality which demands recognition of the fact that frequently those factors are irremediable and are reflections of gnarly problems as yet unsolved by Industry. What solution has been found and applied to the problem of the family man who works for a bachelor's wage? The question of whether In-

dustry can or cannot stand the strain of a family wage is, in this discussion, beside the point. While the controversy continues and experts disagree, the social case worker is confronted with the concrete problem of a father working at his maximum for a wage which provides inadequate support for his increasing and notto-be-limited family. Following a winter like that of nineteen twenty-nine and thirty it is perhaps superfluous to suggest that employment is not always available for the well equipped and competent, not to mention the unskilled and less adequate. Industrial depression, seasonal trades, the crowding of workers into congested centers of population, create or aggravate the problem of the man who seeks work which he is unable to secure. Social case work cannot touch these causative factors; but the situation created by inadequate or nonexistent income, the inferiority and depression caused by the wage earner's realization that there is no market for his services—these are the concern of the case worker. More difficult than the plight of the unemployed is that of the unemployable, whose handicaps are such that they cannot offer services for which a wage will be paid.

Irremediable as feeblemindedness is, the inadequate wage which cannot be increased, the desire to work when no work is available, the health condition which incapacitates the wage earner—around these focal points problems develop and adjustments must be made—in many instances adjustments to, rather

than adjustments of, the major difficulty.

A middle-aged Portuguese tailor who speaks almost no English, the father of five small children, is unemployed; a prosperous tailoring business has vanished with the disappearance of a Portuguese colony; the man is untrained in other lines, partially handicapped for laboring work by a physical condition; he is shy, weighted down by feelings of failure, and despairing because of his ineptitude to compete; he is by no means old, feels strong, wants work, and there is no work. Such situations where causative factors cannot be remedied raise many questions in the mind of the worker: By supplementing is she robbing such a group of a privilege or releasing them from the tension caused

by overwork and anxiety? Is she adding to a sense of inferiority and inadequacy or building up a feeling of self-esteem? Shall she supplement the income of an able-bodied man, good father though he is? And what will be the effect on the children? And where financial relief is prescribed as therapy, how shall a family be helped to keep that sense of adequacy which comes with self-maintenance? Is it to be wondered at that a worker, aware of each individual's need for recognition of his accomplishment and worth, should approach her task fearful of her tools, unsure of her procedure because of the danger that lack of skill on her part

may "make the family dependent"?

It is useless to say to the worker that the seeds of dependency are sown in earliest years and that the acceptance of an economic adjustment which involves contributions from relief agencies is not a cause of dependence. "Financial dependence," you say, "may not be indicative of a desire to lean; it may be the result purely of environmental conditions; dependence is of the emotions rather than the pocket book; the giving of relief may precipitate but it cannot cause dependence." That these statements are true does not detract from the complexity of the problem. The impulse for dependence, the desire for support and encouragement, is universal; and its seriousness is a matter of degree. Dependence is relative: in some settings each of us may be a proverbial tower of strength, and in other situations we depend on our fellows for support and encouragement.

Life for many people under seemingly favorable circumstances is full of alarms. True, it is a challenge; but the demands of existence today are great and many are ill equipped to meet the requirements of their environment. This is a frightening realization; people are very conscious of their inadequacies; beneath a good front one's neighbor may conceal a strong desire to evade the issues with which he is confronted, to plot an easy course rather than subject himself to the strain of severe competition and possible failure. And people are lonely. How much pressure can a given individual withstand? What experiences might possibly be for us the factors which would precipitate a

willingness on our part to lean? And what type of experience might enable us to regain our emotional equilibrium? How can one gauge the capacity of another human being for growth? And how can that process of growth best be stimulated? A handicap may serve as a challenge or an excuse. The individual's use of it will depend on the events of his early life, on customary ways of behaving, on the values which he is accustomed to placing on his experiences. It will depend as well on the case worker's ability to interpret the past and to use her understanding of it in planning to meet the problem, for the client's "history" should not set a limit to accomplishment but should serve as a guide post to treatment.

Every human being has been conditioned by life; there is a limit to the capacity of each of us for development. These limits are suggested by past experiences and reactions; but they cannot be gauged with absolute certainty, for strive as we may to gain an understanding of a situation we are rarely in possession of all the pertinent facts. How many people really know us, and whom do we really know? We may approximate a fair estimate of the probable extent of another individual's accomplishment, but who can estimate completely the extent of the effort which he will put

forth in response to a given stimulus?

Herein lies the challenge of our task. For while we may roughly evaluate the probable limits of our client's accomplishment, on the worker's ability to interpret and use information, on her resourcefulness in finding the stimulus which will motivate him, depends in part the use which he will make of his extremity, whether disaster will serve him as a "challenge or an excuse,"

The case of Fred S. illustrates a worker's evaluation of the limitations of her client and her use of "history" in treatment: Fred S., dull, forty, unmarried, is "the only son of his mother, and she a widow"; the family society knew him first when he was sixteen, a "delicate," sensitive boy who had not done well in school, whose life had been a series of illnesses and whose devoted mother was pleased to labor for his support since she con-

sidered it unlikely that "Freddie" would be able to hold a job; his mother's life with her husband had not been happy, but she felt that for any hardships with him she had been amply repaid by the devotion of her son, who, if he did not contribute to the family purse, had no interests aside from home and mother. After twenty-five years Fred S. and his mother again appear; the latter has suffered an injury and is incapacitated for life, the recipient of a very small pension; the couple are burdened with debt and the threat of a "dispossess"; Fred, now the sole dependence, has never worked, has become slightly alcoholic, and the cardiac clinic reports that the symptoms of which he complains are suggestive of malingering. He has been told to "be a man and get a job"; he has been told that there is "nothing wrong with his heart"; he comes to the family society helpless and bewildered; his mother says "Of course Freddie can't work if he's sick."

But after forty years of inadequacy "Freddie" is working; he has had a number of jobs and several periods of idleness, but for a year he has been able to supplement the mother's pension, taking pride in his earning capacity and drinking virtually not at all. Fred S. is easily recognizable as a limited person, both intellectually and emotionally. At forty he had never known the thrill of accomplishment, had never mixed with his contemporaries, competed with them and succeeded; the positive values in his life had come through association with his mother and her loving emphasis on his helplessness. Somewhat hopeful facts, inasmuch as they might indicate dissatisfaction with his rôle in life, were the alcoholism and the development of unusual cardiac symptoms for which the physician could find no basis but which furnished an excuse for continued idleness.

The worker who took up the case, before seeing her client, concluded on the basis of the foregoing information that he would always be dependent on some human being for advice, encouragement, the attitudes which had been those of his closest companion, his mother, and which he would naturally look for in other people; he would always be emotionally dependent but

with adequate backing he might be in a measure self-supporting. And by way of an approach she realized that the admonition to "Brace up and be a man" would fall on deaf ears, for Fred had never known a man well; the outstanding experiences of his life had been the affectionate support of his mother. Moreover, to emphasize the fact that there was "nothing wrong with his heart," without giving him as a substitute some other source from which he might derive a measure of self-esteem, would be to take away a prop which was shoring up his self-respect. The emphasis must be not on past failure and inadequacy but on the fact that in spite of difficulties Fred is the kind of person who can "do it." One aspect of the situation which at first might appear discouraging may perhaps be turned to account; Fred's ego has never been challenged. He has never known the fun of accomplishment, of doing things, and so may yet get a thrill from this type of behavior if he "does it" for someone he cares about.

So the family society becomes for Fred S. the Something-onwhich-he-must-lean, using in treatment two motifs: "How proud your mother must be to have you for a helper at such a time"; and "This is a difficult situation, but you can do it and we are back of you"; in financial crises this backing taking the substantial form of emergent relief with emphasis always on the fact that it is merely temporary because Fred, planful and a "regular fellow," can do it. And Fred, like a child, has responded to encouragement, confidence, and approval, striving to succeed because the worker believes in him and he is doing it for his mother not the motivation desirable either for a child or a mature person, but the motive to use with the handicapped but struggling Fred in the light of his "history."

If, as in the case of Fred, the worker has a nice problem in the necessity for interpreting facts and working out a plan on the basis of findings, she has also a problem when confronted with the necessity for relieving economic stress before she knows her clients and can estimate the possible effect on them of becoming the recipients of "charity"; and yet this initial stage of treatment is a critical one. With nothing to guide her, beyond the as yet unverified statement of the client and her own realization that the situation demands financial assistance, the worker must attempt to initiate treatment in such a way that not only does she not denude another of his garment of self-esteem but leaves him with something positive in his feeling about himself. Knowing little about the recipient, she must give money in such way that, as one client expressed it, he "doesn't feel cheap," and is therefore more capable of coping with the situation. The nature of early contacts can make or mar the relationship between agency and client, because it establishes a basis of mutual confidence or generates in the person whom we seek to aid feelings of suspicion, dislike, and resistance which years of effort may not overcome.

The case of Mr. and Mrs. J. illustrates the way in which one worker handled an initial contact with clients concerning whom she was unable to make inquiry. This couple, about thirty-five years of age, applied one afternoon at the office of the family agency. Obviously they had been drinking; they admitted that it was a periodic occurrence and that the present spree had lasted several days. Their statement was brief: the man had been an attendant in a hospital; he was capable of earning a comfortable living; both had a fair education and were accustomed to good living conditions; and now without funds, humiliated by their plight, they asked for help. The woman, for whom the man was solicitous, was inclined to be hysterical.

Several courses were open to the worker. She might have refused assistance; she might have separated the couple and sent them to lodgings which the society was accustomed to use; she might have admonished and then come to their assistance. However, she saw as assets in the situation the man's intelligence, his interest in his wife's condition, his slight acquaintance with things medical, and his humiliation. She decided to use him, and taking him aside, contributed to his self-esteem by explaining that she did so because he seemed to be in control of himself and doubtless together they could handle the situation. Then with no suggestion of making a moral issue of their condition the worker discussed it, expressed considerable understanding of the

feeling of people in such circumstances, making the point that, as he knew, at some stages of alcoholic indulgence it was useless to give money because people who were drinking were unable to control their desire to continue, while on the other hand later they were quite able to manage their affairs. He was asked whether he felt that they were on the up grade; his opinion was sought as to the wisest course to pursue in relation to the request for money; and his wife's condition was discussed in the light of his hospital experience. The response to this approach, which implied appreciation of his intelligence and ability to share responsibility with the worker, was a lessening of tension and a willingness to discuss the situation freely and to make suggestions. The couple finally left the office with money for one week's room rent and food for a day, the wife in the care of her husband, the man agreeing to return for further conference the following day. These arrangements were carried out.

"Periodic drinkers, chronic alcoholics, prognosis poor"-perhaps; but on the initial contact depended the possibility of a continuing treatment the success of which might be doubtful but which was launched after this direct approach on a basis of confidence of the client in the worker, and increased respect of the cli-

ent for himself.

Hesitation, suspicion, reluctance to help when the family recognizes one outstanding need, that for financial assistance, may nullify all later efforts to persuade them to avail themselves of the services which we have to offer. On the other hand, give without thought, break down the feeling of self-esteem, and you find that apparently the mainspring of the watch is broken; your client has lost his initiative and has made the discovery that if it is not more blessed, it is at least more comfortable, to receive than to give. In each new situation where relief must be given and the background of the client is shadowy, how can the worker fail to wonder whether this is the circumstance which in the case of this particular individual will precipitate the attitude of dependency which she dreads to engender? Is this the beginning of a series of experiences which will gradually wear down the client's selfesteem so that he comes to accept as a matter of course the lightening of his burdens and loses the sense of accomplishment which follows effort? Or is this the "one thing too much" that

puts an end to effort?

Mr. B., a skilled workman, one of whose legs has been amputated, refuses an artificial limb and sinks into a passive acceptance of all the service that his world offers him. Mr. S., the second husband of a woman whose first husband was a paragon of efficiency, loses his job and for ten months has "just helped a little around the house." Who of us has not seen the devastating effect on a seemingly self-sufficient person when he finally accepts him-

self as a dependent, non-producing member of society.

Perhaps the first need of the worker is to discard her fear of relief. To be sure, she faces the fact that for many of the economic factors which create or augment her problems there is no immediate solution. She is aware that every human being subjected to a certain degree of pressure has an inclination to relax his efforts to overcome difficulties; and she recognizes that her clients, in many instances handicapped by inadequate equipment for living, have been subjected to an excessive amount of such pressure. In spite of these facts the case worker can justifiably cease to look upon relief merely as a necessary evil and a possible threat to the integrity of her client; she can recognize its positive values and set herself the task of devising ways in which it can be made a constructive factor of his life.

Every human being requires for his emotional development the satisfaction of certain fundamental needs—the need to love and be loved by someone, to feel that he belongs somewhere, that he has his niche in the world, and the need to respect himself, to feel that he can do something well, that he has a contribution to make to society, that he is as "good as other people." So strong are these desires that where they are not satisfied, much of behavior is a struggle to fulfil them or to convince one's self or others that one's sense of emotional deprivation has no reality. The feeling of security follows when in some measure these needs are filled. Consciously and unconsciously throughout a

lifetime every man struggles to fortify himself against difficulties, to put himself in a position where he will be safe, to feel himself secure in a world which threatens him, the threat of the world being in direct ratio to his feeling concerning his adequacy to meet the demands of the situation in which he finds himself. Probably no one justifiably feels himself to be entirely adequate in every situation, but an individual is secure if he feels that within his personality or his environment are resources which will enable him to meet the difficult phases of his life experience. And of the manifold possible sources of security, none deserves more serious consideration than the financial.

In these days we hear much of "security." So frequently is the word on the lips of the young worker that it would appear as though it were a commodity procurable in bulk to be "given" to the client as the physician prescribes medicine. What is involved in filling this prescription? What is the relationship between the individual's feeling of security and income, for the inadequacy of which relief is a substitute? It is difficult to overrate the satisfaction which may be derived by any individual from a realization that he has an income sufficient to provide what are to him the necessities of life. The ability to satisfy his own material needs, to protect from hardship those he loves, or to offer them opportunities on which his group places a value, may serve to fortify him against those common human experiences which continually shake the individual's belief in himself and cause him to question his ability to be of service to those to whom he is tied by bonds of affection. The poignancy of sickness, disaster, even of death, may be softened for any human being by his realization that those who look to him for the satisfaction of material needs will not find him wanting.

If from the mere possession of money an individual can derive so many feelings of satisfaction, consider the additional satisfaction which may be his by virtue of the fact that his income is earned. Not only may the earning of an income be for the earner an expression of love for home and family, but it symbolizes adequacy to meet the demands of life and it serves to maintain his

status in the eyes of his group. For the world rates accomplishment by its outward manifestations: self-esteem is in large measure a reflection of the attitudes of one's peers. How can a man feel himself to be "somebody" if his performance in life fails to merit from those whose opinion he values two words which mean much to the best integrated personality, the words "well done"? In a word, money, because of the many ways in which it touches human emotions, contributes largely to that feeling of safety for which we all strive; and this being true, how great is the threat to the individual or the family deprived of the satisfactions, emotional and material, which money can provide! To be sure, through the medium of relief we can satisfy material wants; but the money that is given, in that it provides no thrill of accomplishment, may threaten self-esteem, may add to our client's burden of inferiority, and unquestionably injects into a situation a negative element which taxes the ingenuity of the case worker who attempts to deal with it.

Relief, then, we see as one means for meeting fundamental emotional needs; but to the task of administering it the worker should bring genuine artistry in the use of case work techniques and all the understanding of human behavior that has been made available by psychiatry and the psychoanalytic approach to human conduct. This approach is essential, not only because of the difficulty of making relief constructive for the recipient, but also because cases of economic insufficiency frequently present problems of extreme complexity involving subtle psychiatric issues and a network of human relationships in which we find our services requested, not because the problem is complex but because it has a financial aspect which we who have access to a relief budget are in a position to handle. In such cases relief is a key which opens to the case worker a door of opportunity for usefulness.

Illustrative of the entrée offered by a financial difficulty is the case of the G.'s. The family society first knew Mrs. G. twenty years ago when she and her husband with their two children recently arrived in this country sought relief. Over a period of years somewhat superficial contacts were made, health issues

were attended to, but the vociferous requests of Mrs. G. for financial assistance were met with firm refusals of anything but spasmodic and very temporary relief. Mr. G., although sometimes ill and sometimes jobless, seemed reasonably able-bodied; and his wife, a complaining person, obviously magnified the family ills. She periodically threatened the family society that if relief was not forthcoming she would seek the services of "the other company," the reference being to the settlement house in the neighborhood.

After a lapse of years, the family again applied for help, the following situation presenting itself: The twenty-odd years in this country had been for Mrs. G. years of strenuous activity, the hardships of which she had resented with cumulative bitterness. She and her husband had not lived together harmoniously; he was an ineffective, dependent person, and she, being narcissistic, self-loving, had not cared for married life, had resented the demands made upon her, and had felt that he could exert himself in her behalf more than he did; he had sought the society of less exacting women, and his wife's nagging proving too much for his endurance the inarticulate little husband, whose timidity was such that he could never be persuaded to "come to the district office," had used as an escape the "poor man's divorce," desertion.

Mrs. G., with one more grievance against life, humiliated by her husband's defection, turned to her children for security in a threatening world. Life in this country had offered her little that would fill her emotional needs: childbearing, unemployment, financial stress, the fear of deportation, marital disharmony, sickness, had been her portion. The hardships of existence had damaged both her self-esteem and her affections, largely centered in herself; there had been a demand for continual exertion on her part and bearing others' burdens had no charm for Mrs. G. She had sought to wrest from her husband and later from social agencies the necessities and comforts which she felt to be her due. Each stood to her in the relation of a parent from whom like a child she sought unavailingly to wrest favors, and the husband gone, she sought to make of each of her children in

turn, a husband-parent, securing their working papers as early as possible, urging them to help their poor mother, and upbraiding them for failure to give her her due after years of effort on their behalf; thus she endeavored to protect herself against the future and, by a magnifying of her own ills and needs, to compensate for the ego insults to which she had been forced to submit.

With the exception of the youngest, a boy of fifteen, each of the five children in turn had escaped from her possessive clutch. The oldest daughter married young and moved away; she felt that she had served her family well, threw off responsibility for her demanding parent, and devoted herself exclusively to her one little daughter in whose relationship to herself she fulfilled her own wish for a satisfying parental relationship. The second daughter, resentful that her entire wage was appropriated for family use, ran away and later contracted a most unhappy marriage, a reflection of the marital unadjustment of her parents since, like her mother, she nagged and upbraided her husband, comparing him with her inadequate father, punishing the former for the latter's misdoings, and bitterly likening her own lot to that of the mother with whom she identified herself. The second boy, a brawny handsome youth, was hospitalized for tuberculosis. When the society re-entered the case, the promising eldest son, although living at home, was obviously withdrawing from the world of reality and displaying symptoms of a psychosis. He had given up his work, for no apparent reason had broken his engagement, refused social contacts, and hour after hour sat self-engrossed, apathetic, speechless, leaving the house only when driven out by the complaints of his mother. This youth had obviously collapsed under the necessity for assuming a man's rôle. He had no masculine ideal with whom to identify himself. Disliking his father, he was unable to endure the pressure which was forcing him to step into the latter's place and assume responsibility for the family; he could not go through with his own marriage. Circumstances were forcing him into an unbearable position from which he succeeded in extricating himself by partially shutting out the world.

Perhaps nothing in life is more agonizing than the repetition of a painful experience. Perhaps no situation is more difficult to meet than one which re-creates for us events in the past with which are associated unpleasant emotions. Each child who eluded this mother brought back former losses, renewed, and intensified the feelings of humiliation and deprivation which she experienced when her husband, outraging the mores of their Italian culture, left her alone to face the neighbors, a woman who couldn't keep her man. Since her security lay in having someone at hand to care for her, with the loss of each child she had become increasingly emotional, demanding, complaining, turning almost frantically to the last son, an untrained boy of fifteen, urging him also to "work, work" that he might support his mother in her old age; attempting to force him into the place of husband-parent, and, as in the case of her husband, restricting liberty and initiative so that the future appeared to hold for him one of two rôles, that of the youth who casts aside all family responsibility and, less emancipated than protective, disappears, or that of the man completely subjugated, identified with, fixated on his mother.

Three courses were open to the family society: to attempt to secure the participation of the unhappily married daughter in supplementing the earnings of the fifteen-year-old boy; to urge the oldest son to work; or to supplement from the relief budget

of the society. The society supplemented. Why?

The problems of the withdrawn son, the unhappily married daughter, the harassed adolescent, indicated a need for case work. The only need which any member of the family recognized was that for financial assistance. The society represented to this group an agency which years ago had hurt their pride by depriving them of money to which they felt they were entitled. Others had received it, why not they? Now the case worker was to them an unacceptable person; her predecessor had frustrated their desires; with her were associated painful experiences. Her only means of touching the lives of these people was to show some appreciation of their point of view by giving them what they felt they needed, the means for satisfying material wants. So relief

was given, and for the first time in twenty years the aches and pains and complaints of Mrs. G. were heeded. At last the mother received what she felt to be her due-medicine, clinics, comfortable shoes. Sympathy and, above all, an attentive ear in which to pour the gradually diminishing complaints were provided. From this treatment Mrs. G. derived the feeling of safety which she had never had; the attentions of the worker contributed to her self-esteem; her tension relaxed; the atmosphere of the home cleared. The status in the family of the case worker was changed from that of the authoritative person who withheld favors to that of the understanding friend who wanted for them the things which they recognized as good. She next turned her attention to the harassed members of this group. In an effort to lighten the burdens of the eldest son nothing was said to him about employment or the desirability of contributing to the family income. He was allowed to take the initiative in making contacts with the worker. On the other hand, there was concentration of effort on the young boy with a view to developing his interests, giving him the feeling that he was a real person, whose opinion was to be respected. There was an effort to help him see his mother not as an authority whom he must resist or to whom he must capitulate, but rather as a woman who had had a hard life, whose complaints were probably natural in view of the past for which, however, her children were not responsible.

After a year and a half of intensive treatment this mother and her three sons, moved by the society, are now living in a bungalow in the country. The boys have employment in a nearby institution. While they are frequently at home, much of their interest centers in the institution. All three contribute to the upkeep of the home, but they have lives of their own. The plan originated with the older boys, the withdrawn eldest son showing considerable interest in it. He is now able to hold a job in a simple setting and volunteered to contribute regularly to his mother's support. As the demands of the mother have lessened, the children have less need to resist her; and as they have ceased to resist, her tension has relaxed. "I have no more the indigestion; I

have no more the aches," says the mother. Secure against physical want and emotional deprivation she has no need to fill a martyr's rôle.

As in the case of the G. family, the case worker who would make her treatment of economic stress a constructive experience for the client must be aware of the rôle which she plays in his life, must be ever alert in the light of his experiences to perceive what it is that she may typify to him. Each individual who enters our life may waken in us countless associations pleasant or unpleasant; a person may remind us of others whom we have liked or disliked, and our attitude toward him is conditioned accordingly. The worker who handles relief, who holds the purse strings in that she gives or withholds what to the client seem to be necessities, is in a position of authority. What is the feeling of your client about authority? What has been his experience? Has he learned to accept it without question? Does he fear it? Does he resist it? In his earliest authoritative contacts with his parents, did he, in his opinion, get a square deal?

The client who unquestioningly accepts every suggestion, although pleasant to work with, may simply be following old patterns of submission, having in reality fewer potentialities than Mrs. A., who whole-heartedly fought the family society and co-operated not at all. Then a new worker, alert for causes, saw that in every encounter of Mrs. A. with authority she had been imposed upon and worsted, and that she regarded the worker as one more antagonist in a series. So the rent was paid at once, and the worker ranged herself on the side of the client whose feeling of security was voiced when she said, "Now I have someone to fight for me." Identifying the worker with herself rather than with an unfriendly world, Mrs. A. has become the keystone in a treatment plan.

On the other hand, we may be dealing with an adult spoiled child, one who, asking, has always received, or who, never having received what he considers his due, has never ceased to ask for what he wants. In such a situation, first helping the client to derive security from contacts with us and showing him that we like or appreciate him, we may be enabled to withhold relief; or we may give it but in such a way that we leave a margin in the budget to be covered by his effort, and this effort we stimulate as one would stimulate the efforts of a child by the "well done" which has value when it comes from those whose opinion we respect.

Again it is well to be alert for the type of contact which in the past our client may have had with social agencies. Day after day a woman received the worker from the family society with a look of grim resolution, answering in monosyllables. A twenty-five-year-old record unearthed in the files of the society showed us this woman as a child in her own family where alcoholism and poverty were dealt with by methods which included a moralistic attitude toward the father's habit, a critical attitude toward the mother's housekeeping, and a determined and successful effort to commit some of the children. When the worker realized the flood of bitter feelings which doubtless engulfed this woman at sight of her, she was better able to understand and to plan treatment recognizing what relief given cheerfully might mean in terms of contact with a woman whose every association with the worker must have been painful.

Finally, it is well to bear in mind that to many of our clients the society may represent the respectable, successful element in the community. To a group which has no status in its own eyes the mere fact of being considered "good enough" to receive an allowance may stimulate initiative and generate courage. In many instances we work with those who, like the "Hired Man" of Robert Frost, "have nothing to look backward to with pride and nothing to look forward to with hope." Such a family were the B.'s, whose marriage could have no legal sanction, whose children were illegitimate. To their families and to their church they were unacceptable, and under the weight of social disapproval and the resulting feeling of inadequacy they seemed virtually overwhelmed. Relief to them was a symbol of approval. The initiative they have displayed and the struggle they have made since the society showed confidence in them by giving reg-

ularly financial assistance is a nice illustration of the extent to which a feeling of security can liberate energy. One is reminded of an automobile with wheels spinning uselessly in the sand. Throw down a plank and watch it pull.

"Integration," suggests the dictionary, is the making of separate parts into a whole. The case worker who in treatment would relate the various factors operating in the situation of her client must be able not only to recognize and isolate those factors but must also be aware of their interrelationship. To the casual observer the G. family had within itself resources for self-support which to the case worker were merely potential, the possibility of utilizing them and of making them real depending on the feeling of the individuals concerning themselves, their relationship to one another and to the community of which the family society was a part. Although the psychological factors were basic, to have attempted to deal with them without relieving economic stress would have been to add to that stress and to have increased the emotional burdens of the members of the family group, thus decreasing their effectiveness as self-sustaining members of society. On the other hand, to have attempted to deal with the economic situation without taking into consideration the psychological factors would have been destructive, in that material wants would have been satisfied but the resources of the family would not have been developed.

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The causes of behavior patterns lie deep, and, like her client, the case worker has limitations. Success, however, is likely to attend the efforts of that worker who, given a problem of economic insufficiency, takes into consideration not alone income, not alone life experiences, but plans treatment according to the feeling of the client about his situation, its emotional value for him, and the place which the relief agency fills in his life.

"We pay a high price for security," said an experienced and discriminating worker, to which the reply is: "We do if we see the client's feeling of security as a final objective and not as an emotion which he must experience if he is to have courage for the daily task." It is for us so to organize his experiences that from

them he will derive the feeling that in spite of his handicaps, his failures, and the difficulties with which he is confronted, he can

take the next step.

Asked for his case work objectives in a certain situation, a young worker recently said, "To help the client to get going under his own steam" adding reflectively, "and to see that he had some place to go"; by which it would appear that case work objectives have not greatly changed although we have learned something about means for attaining our ends. "Helping the client to help himself," "participation," "self-maintenance," are familiar words and sound objectives in case work. The contribution of mental hygiene has been to help us to see why our client is not self-maintaining and, even more important, why he is not "self-starting"; to help us roughly to appraise the probable extent of the participation and self-maintenance which can be reasonably expected; to be more understanding of causes and in the light of these causes to be increasingly aware of sound means for the attainment of our goals.

Relief is a tool. The task of perfecting herself in its use chal-

lenges the case worker.

# RECIPROCAL ATTITUDES OF PARENTS AND ADOLESCENT CHILDREN WHERE THESE CHILDREN ARE BEING CARED FOR AWAY FROM HOME

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NEASURE the material and physical changes which follow placement is comparatively easy, but the psychological and social implications which attach to the uprooting of a child and his transplanting in a strange soil are exceedingly elusive. Nevertheless, in the interest of an appraisal of what happens when children and parents are separated, a study of this social process was undertaken. Superintendents of children's institutions, directors of child placing agencies and of family welfare societies, in addition to several psychiatrists and social workers were solicited for the results of their observations. The subjective reactions of those who have experienced placement were investigated, but the study was limited to adolescents who, having begun to think of life and its meaning and having discovered new powers of argument and reasoning, are more competent to give free utterance to their feelings. Surviving parents of these children were also contacted.

A number of criteria were established in an effort to fix changes that take place which are directly chargeable to the separation. Such factors as bear upon the resultant attitudes of parents and child, one to the other, were inspected. Is the love or affectional relationship intensified or is there a tendency to estrangement following placement? Does the separation make for a more detached objective evaluation of one another, or does it give rise to a parent or child idealization which prevents such objectivity? Is the frequency or infrequency of contacts with the parents a large factor in intensifying or weakening the bonds of affection on the

part of parent or child? How do the increasingly different cultures of parents and children living thus apart affect the parent and child attitudes?

Parent-child relationships were used as indexes of behavior changes following placement, and since attitudes are the key to one's behavior, the attitudes of parent and child were used as a basis for this study. It was found that the attitudes of parent and child following placement seem to be governed in large part by:

First, the circumstances of placement. Those who are committed by court, whether because of their own delinquency or because of the improprieties of their parents, face a situation which is complicated by the emotional disturbances accompanying forced placement. Their position is appreciably different from that of the children who are placed because of abandonment, desertion, divorce, illness, or the death of a parent.

Second, the relationship that obtained prior to placement. A wholesome love relationship before placement tends to carry over during the separation and to continue on the same level or become more intensified because of the reciprocal idealization of parent and child. A situation dominated by conflicts and antagonisms generally results in estrangement following placement. Many cases were reported, however, in which a greater attachment evolved because the children were thus freed from exposure to the emotional disturbances of parents, and parents were relieved of the burden of care.

Third, age of the child at time of placement. The very young child is more impressionable, plastic, and unreasonable; the older child is more sensitive, has better understanding, and will usually

accept the need for placement at a truer value.

Fourth, the philosophy and program of the responsible childcare agency and the intelligence of its personnel, including foster mothers. Modern child-care agencies include in their educational program the interpretation of parent and child, one to the other. A serious effort is made to give the disadvantaged parent status in the eyes of his child.

Fifth, the placement experience of the child. Successful place-

ment, changes in foster mothers or in house mothers, affect the sense of security of the child and have bearing on his affectional relationship to his parent.

Sixth, continuity and frequency of contacts between parent and child during separation. The regular visits of parents to their children at weekly intervals serve to strengthen the bonds of affection and to encourage family loyalties. Infrequent visits gen-

erally induce parent-child estrangement.

Children's bureaus and family welfare societies are often checked in their treatment plans by the injection of such intriguing terms as "emotional shock," "emotional trauma," "emotional scar," which are popularly accepted as concomitants of placement. Emotional shock is not inherent in the placement situation. The shock is frequently due to one of the many social upheavals in the distressed family long before it has come to the attention of a welfare agency. The development of a first contact technique has done much to ease the child into his first placement. Except where it has been used as a threat, many children look upon placement as a new experience. The so called "parent hunger" does not appear until some time later, if at all.

Placement no longer involves that complete isolation which we knew twenty years ago or less, when children were placed out for indenture at great distances from home to remove them from the evil influences of their parents. Nor does the former condition exist in institutions when visiting was restricted to three or four times a year in order that children might not be exposed to the disease germs or moral turpitude of their parents. Today, institutions and placing agencies encourage frequent contacts between parents and children. Mail and telephone communications are daily occurrences and not only do parents visit their children weekly but they take them out on Sundays or keep them weekends. There are some agencies that permit their wards to spend a week or longer with their parents during the summer vacation.

Child-care experts have observed that intensification of the affectional relationship of parent and child followed separation and that there was mutual idealization in a preponderance of cases. Obviously, parental antagonisms are avoided by reason of the children's removal from home. The daily conflicts arising out of petty annoyances, disobedience of orders, laziness, untruthfulness, theft, street brawls, are thus avoided. Conflicts take place, but the house mothers or foster mothers become the second party to the battle and serve as buffers for the natural parents. These "foster parents" issue orders and demand their observance. They assign chores and request that these be done.

They utter the "don'ts," the essence of all antagonisms.

Again, the natural parents look upon the visits to their children as a special occasion. They make preparations for this event as youngsters do for a picnic. They are careful about their attire; they plan pretty phrases and broad compliments; they bring gifts -clothes, money, toys, goodies; they come radiant and cheerful, with the cumulative emotions of a whole week ready to be spent in a moment of greeting. And the children look to their parents' coming with a lesser degree of emotion but with a verve and excitement that is real. They have much to tell their parents—of their conquests at school, their achievements at home, their progress in music, their victories in games. Or, they have had heartaches during the week, things did not "break" well for them either in school, or at home, or both. Perhaps they believe themselves the victims of some injustice. Where can they find more comfort and solace than with their parents? These latter will always give them the benefit of the doubt. Since "practically all admonitory, correctional, and detail work is assumed by those who substitute for the parents, there is nothing to prevent idealization by actual experience of inadequacy" on the part of either parent or child.

It would be interesting to examine portions of three documents selected from a number submitted by children who were approached on this question. An eighteen-year-old girl who, with her brothers and sisters, came to a far western institution at the age of fourteen, two years after the death of her mother, writes:

I can clearly remember the two years just previous to the time the four of us came to the institution. A very harmonious relationship prevailed in our family. I had no

differences whatsoever with my father. I obeyed him implicitly because it never occurred to me to do otherwise. His word was law. In fact, I believe that before I came to the Home, I never thought about anything outside of my school work unless what I thought was positively in accordance with those things my father thought for me. Any ambitions I entertained enjoyed only an ephemeral existence unless they were synonymous with those my father entertained for me and I was only too glad to be a writer, journalist, or anything else my father desired.

I have since decided that the reason for this was the fact that I loved him very dearly and would not disobey his slightest whim for fear of displeasing him. In view of these facts it is surprising that not long after I came to the institution, this relationship changed perceptibly. It may have been the fact that I was "thrown on my own hook," that I was obliged to think for myself. I could not run to him every time I had a project in mind. This seemed to break the bond that existed between us. I now saw him less frequently, but even so I had little to talk about. I cannot easily explain this change itself, but when my father left for the East, I felt guilty because

I was not greatly disturbed.

My letters to him were almost formal, containing only the necessary information, and I know they were a source of great disappointment to him, coming from his eldest daughter. They contained very little of the usual father and daughter language which I presume should have been included and which I know were abundant in those letters which my sister, Mary, wrote. Mary, I know, missed my father as much as any normal girl with all her interests possibly could. News of my father's return made her supremely happy, while it worried me because I could not respond likewise. I was speaking to Mary lately about this matter but she says she has not thought about it. However, I know from observation and her little confidences to me that she has come to love my father more since the separation. The bond existing between my father and Mary was always greater than the bond between my father and me. For one thing, my father's hopes have always been pinned on Mary because of her versatility and vivaciousness and for this reason he generally fostered her wishes. For another thing, he loves Mary's unchanging gayety of spirit.

A seventeen-year-old boy who has been in an institution since he was ten years old, writes:

When I first entered the Home I missed my Dad a great deal. I always looked forward with great enthusiasm for his visits. At this time my love for him was greater than at any previous period. It was during this time that I built up an ideal image of my father. I saw him only once a week, and for only a few hours. I always had a great deal to talk about and tell him on Sunday. I told him what happened during the week.

When I became about fourteen or fifteen years of age, the ideal image began to disappear. Certain little things which he did differently because of the lack of training, which was no fault of his, embarrassed me at times. My love for him has not decreased, but this ideal image has disappeared, and I am able to see his faults, but do not comment on them to him. I have been in the habit of kissing him when I meet him, but feel that I have outgrown that habit and do not like to do it any more, but I do not stop for fear of hurting his feelings. I seldom talk with him about any of

my troubles or problems, and he does not tell me any of his. This estranges us somewhat. We talk of school, business, and other subjects that are not so personal. I still cherish my Dad a great deal, and know that he has a great love for me. I feel that he has done a great deal for me and I would like, in some way, to repay him. I feel that the personal element is very much lacking after a time of separation, but cannot say whether it is to any disadvantage except that it might lessen the love relation somewhat. The difference in cultures tends to make the child find fault more easily because he has greater opportunities in education and gets a more refined training than the parents.

Another eighteen-year-old girl who came to the institution at the age of twelve, records her feelings as follows:

When I first came here, my love for my father was greatly increased. It seemed to me that the week was ages long until I could see him again. However, as time went on, my attitude changed. I love him, of course, but I am not so dependent on his coming to make my week's waiting unbearable. If he can't come, he can't; and I do not sit down and brood over it. When I first see him, I feel as if I loved him as much as ever, but as soon as we have talked over the events of the week, we cannot seem to find anything to talk about. That, of course, is due to the fact that his life is so different from mine. Or perhaps my attitude can be accounted for by the fact that I am really not very affectionate towards anyone.

I do not think that I have ever idealized my father. No matter how much I loved him, I was always noticing the things he did that weren't exactly right. I have always known that while his ideals are of the highest, in little things he fell rather short of them. By "always" I mean since I was old enough to reason. I reached the conclusion that he is doing things in the way he was brought up and if he is not quite what he should be socially, he is someone to be proud of in other ways. It is not all his fault, either. If things had been easier for him, he might have learned to do those little things right. The contacts I made here were responsible for bringing to a head my ability to view my father unemotionally. The people I met were entirely different from any I had ever come into contact with before. They were all successful and sure of themselves. They knew what to do and when to do it. That started me thinking because I now had some standard by which to measure. But I am glad to say that the only loss my father suffered was socially and economically. In other ways he stood out as well as anyone. His culture may not be what theirs is but nevertheless my father is a very cultured man in his own way.

Time does not permit a full analysis of these statements, but one might infer from them that children placed soon develop a detached attitude toward their parents in contradistinction to the idealization observed by child welfare workers. It should be noted, however, that the children are highly protective of their parents and come to their defense with great vigor. There is much reference to the differences in culture, education, and in-

terests between these children and their parents. Here again, a study of families under social care discloses a similar gap. As a group, the parents in these families have meager cultural backgrounds, have had scant education, and their interests are extremely limited. On the other hand, increase in the compulsory school age and other factors expose their children to more formal education and bring them in contact with people whose interests are richer and more varied. Then, too, adolescence with its significant physical changes, its deepening of the rational powers and its profound emotional alterations commonly manifested in a rebellion against authority, account in large part for whatever estrangement takes place. Neither the parent nor child fully un-

derstands these processes.

Further, if we reduce the answers of a recently used questionnaire to statistical terms, we find first, that twenty-six leaders in the child-care field believe that intensification takes place following separation, while eleven are of the opinion that parents and children are estranged; second, that nineteen of the children questioned stated that their feelings towards their parents were intensified while eleven felt that they were estranged; third, that in the family welfare group, twenty-one social workers believed that parents and children were estranged during adolescence, while nine were of the opinion that there was intensification of feeling; fourth, that twenty child-care experts observed that idealization takes place, fourteen that children are able to view their parents objectively; fifth, that boys and girls who have had placement experience stand twelve for idealization against fifteen for detached evaluation; and sixth, that in the family welfare group, eighteen stated that there was idealization during the period of adolescence, eleven that the children were capable of objectifying their parents.

While children placed divide their attention between house mother or foster mother and natural parent, this is not unlike the attachments that children in the average home develop for relative or teacher. One girl of twenty, who with her brothers and sisters have re-established their home and are taking care of their enfeebled mother, writes, "These house mothers with whom I came in contact, who had so much to give and gave it, who understood my problems and were able to help me with them, they are

my friends. But mother is mother."

A concrete test of the ultimate worth of the alteration of attitudes following separation is one that comes only after the children have become economically independent. A child may voice his love for his parent or be demonstrably affectionate, but the genuineness of this feeling may be determined more accurately by an assault upon his exchequer. When the child is called upon to make a financial sacrifice in order to provide for his parents, we may know how profound is his love. It was found that after reaching economic independence boys and girls who had lived apart from their parents generally returned to their folks and contributed to their support, unless there were unusually deterrent or repellent factors in the home. The consensus of opinion seems to be that a larger percentage of these children accept family responsibility than such children as are raised in their own families when under social care.

To sum up, too little is known of the effects of placement on the emotional life of the child. We are still groping for information. At present arbitrary standards are set up and an effort is made to approximate these standards. We assume that "home life is the highest and finest product of civilization" and that contacts with parents should be continued to the end that the home may be re-established. The effects of placement therefore, are in terms of parental home conditions. Child welfare workers subscribe wholeheartedly to the dictum that under ordinary circumstances children should be kept with their parents at home. However, when there are urgent and compelling reasons for removing the child from his home, social workers should not be deterred because of the fear of permanent family disintegration. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that instead of permanent and irreparable in jury in such cases, separation serves to remove a malignant growth. This ultimately results in a family reunion on a higher level.

Full consideration of parent-child attitudes cannot be given in this brief paper. A few of the major attitudinal changes which derive from the placement situation are listed with some comments.

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First, the change of emphasis on the components of the love or affectional relationship between parent and child. There is a tendency to stress the element of sympathy which arises on the one hand out of the feeling of guilt on the part of the parent, and on the other out of the over-protective attitude of the child. The parent attempts to compensate his feeling by indulging the child; the child establishes a defense mechanism against the real or fancied attack by foster mothers, house mothers, and others upon his expanded personality.

Second, the resentment against such parents as are accused by their children of failing to meet their responsibility. These children believe that had they been kept at home they would have managed to live somehow and would probably have grown to successful adulthood, regardless. The fact is, they are not able to reconstruct the situation as it existed nor do they know that in their cases the material out of which homes are built were oft times decayed and warped and scanty.

Third, the injection of the foster mother or house mother in the relationship makes for a distorted picture of parent and child which might result in serious misunderstanding when the family is reunited.

Fourth, separation interrupts the continuity of family interests, which may or may not later be resumed.

Fifth, the feeling of sympathy stimulated by the separation, which is a causal factor in the acceptance of family responsibility by boys and girls after they have reached economic independence.

Sixth, in cases where the adolescents have parent "fixations" or "complexes" or where an aggressive parent completely dominates his child, separation serves to bring about a liberation from these undesirable relationships.

Seventh, placement away from home makes the child the center of attraction. Under these circumstances there does not take

place the dwarfing of his personality due to parental self-absorption, a common condition in disadvantaged families.

Eighth, separation, in so far as the emotional life of the child is concerned, is neither so complete nor so deleterious as is popu-

larly believed.

Ninth, since "attitudes are for the most part acquired behavior patterns," and "since a parent is the kind of parent he is not solely because of his background but also because of what his children are," child-care agencies are in a strategic position to mutually condition the responses of parents and children. Thus there may be built up a relationship between parent and child which transcends that obtaining in the average disadvantaged family.

# DEFINING THE FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S CASE WORK

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(Introductory material omitted)

UT of all this is set up, for the purposes of this paper, a fundamental postulate, namely, that the biggest and most vital task shared by family and children's case work is the attack upon parental inadequacy and its products—neglect, unsatisfactory character and personality training, and delinquency of children. It is this form of poverty, transmissible as a social heritage from one generation to another that is today's challenge to social case work.

I contend that this is the most vital problem which social work faces. The children of today are the parents of tomorrow. The family of today holds in its hands the fate of the generation of tomorrow. Only as we succeed in helping this family to be adequate to its task do we have the possibility of reducing the incidence of many of our social problems in the next generation. As one begins with the grandfather to produce a gentleman, so must we begin with today's family in order that its children's children may have the personality and character development which will make for the best possible adjustment in life.

Just as the diagnostic aid of mental hygiene shows that most of children's difficulties are seated in the inadequacy of their parents, so does it indicate a significant fact which also must be set up as one of the fundamental postulates of this paper, namely, that there appears to be inherent harm to the child in most of the separations from parents which social workers arrange. This is not to deny that ultimate good often results. It is merely to refute the notion some people have that the separations they see fit to arrange are inherently good, and to set up instead the contention that the situation starts with some harm to the child, emotion-

ally, and its value must be gauged by the extent to which subsequent material and psychological benefits overbalance the original harm done.

If we accept these two fundamental propositions we can proceed on our way to details cheerfully for we now have the two fields, family and children's work, seeing eye to eye the same objective, the preservation of every value in the family situation and its exploitation in behalf of the child, or, to put it in another way, that the best child welfare work is that which results in the least foster care. Furthermore, we will have both fields recognizing that the test of any separation of child from family is the extent to which demonstrable benefits (especially the psychological values) will accrue and overbalance the inherent harm of the separation. I cannot stress these points too vigorously, for in them lies the basis which most of these suggestions and recommendations have been logically arrived at:

First, every new situation or case must be faced in terms of the then existent family life. If there is a semblance of a family it must be regarded as an application for family case work service no matter what notion, conviction, or tentative plan the applicant may first put forward. As it is now, of course, our children's agencies, especially institutions, offer an alternative, competitive

service, of which the applicant is often aware.

Second, the new situation, or case, must be subjected to an opportunity, under case work service and adequate relief, to demonstrate what family values lie in it. Any decision leading to separation made immediately after the best of investigations is after all a prejudging of the case. A good investigation and an honest experiment over a reasonably long period of time constitute the only basis for such a decision.

Third, during such demonstration period, or during any family case work project, the family agency should use the specialist values of the children's agency, for consultation service, diag-

nostic help and even intensive case work.

Fourth, any decision for separation involving temporary or permanent care must be participated in by both family and children's agencies. Fifth, final determination of treatment after separation must rest with the children's agency. With the opportunity and the obligation for treatment must go the privilege of diagnostic determination.

Sixth, the children's agency must carry the family along and work toward rehabilitation for the time when the child will return to the family.

Seventh, we might have set up as one of our fundamental propositions that children nearly always return to their families, or at least to a family. Therefore, the children's agency must, above all things, prepare the child for life in a family. This appears somewhat like a challenge to the institutions where it is so difficult to simulate family life, but it is no less a challenge to child placing with its danger of domestic slavery at one extreme and spoiled star boarders at the other.

Eighth, the necessity of an experimental period before separation is no greater than for a follow up period after reuniting, to demonstrate this time that the situation is stable and equal to reasonable strain. Whether children's or family agency carries this out must be a joint case work decision, governed by many factors including the length of time each has known the family, by the spirit of the contact and by who has the most faith in the family.

There are implications herein vastly different from the relationship which exists in many places. There are dangers and difficulties aplenty, it must be admitted. Some of them might well be discussed.

From the point of view of the family society there is the implication of a very real increase in case load. Most of them are overburdened and understaffed. They are more interested in the hopeful, so called "constructive" cases, where careful budgeting of relief, health work, and so on will produce a happy, satisfying result. How many family societies would be willing to transfer their best and keenest workers to these cases where a breaking up of the family is imminent, where gains are so slow as to be almost imperceptible and where tremendous and constant effort is necessary to hold these gains, that seem to fall so far short of our standard of satisfying, acceptable family life? One of the great

pitfalls of social case work is that our attempts at perfectibility have crystallized points of view and standards. No more unfinished task is to be found in social case work than that of exploring the standards and norms of acceptable family life, defining them in reasonable fashion and devising means of applying them flexibly to our case work situations. Certainly for a group of people with a supposedly common body of knowledge and technique we are possessed of a tragic diversity of opinion as to moral, emotional, and cultural norms of personal and family life. Consequently we ofttimes witness an arbitrary application of objective standards, especially by immature workers, and an unwillingness to work along with cases that do not present the possibility of coming up to that objective standard. How much easier it is to be able to file the record with the notation, "Children transferred to Children's Aid Society." Is it not true that the problems of family case work have been many times solved by this process of evasion? It is evasion, for it is not based on a thoroughly informed judgment of the real outcome. It uses the objective material standard and is smugly satisfied because the children are in a home so much better (materially) than their own.

Is it not also true that the children's agencies have failed to tell the truth about what really does happen—failed to admit that although material conditions are better, the final outcome is often enough nothing to chalk up on the credit side of the board? To be sure, they often do not know that themselves, for their standard may be a purely material one, their perceptions may be clouded by smugness, or they may not follow the child long enough to see. The more shame to them, for they have failed in their real

task.

Another serious handicap on the side of the family society is the inability to command funds which might bolster up family life. The obverse of this might be stated in terms of the curse of public funds and institutional resources easily available once the child has been taken away from the family. In one city alone, with which many are familiar, there are institutional resources representing at a conservative estimate \$150,000,000. Think what it would mean to that city to have anywhere from \$6,000,000.

000 to \$8,000,000 annually to be used through family case work for the preservation of family life. Progress in the direction outlined in this paper will probably be marked by the rate at which we succeed in devising ways and means of diverting the resources available for children to our use for families—of substituting the ounce of preservation for the pound of care.

As one studies those instances in which there are signs of a trend in the direction which this paper discusses one sees many of the dangers in reality. In one group of agencies throughout which this trend is definitely apparent, one sees the tendency to overload the family agency, without transfer of resources. The notion of merger, consolidation, economy, and efficiency so easily obscures the field of vision. On the children's agency side there is a loss, for with its decreasing case load its status and influence may decrease, its technical value and its advantageous position on the firing line be lost sight of.

Too much cannot be demanded at once of this new approach. It depends not only on point of view and transfer of funds, but upon more and better trained personnel, and therefore upon technique. It depends, too, upon a more widespread recognition of the idea of generic case work and acceptance of the fact that training in the two fields is fundamentally the same. Quite possibly our professional technique is not sufficiently developed in this direction. Certainly we have neither sufficient nor proper assistance from the law and the courts, for instance.

Furthermore, there is the handy pitfall of the specious notion that only family welfare societies can do family case work. Certainly there are practical administrative reasons for centralizing much of the work in their hands, but centralization must not be confused with exclusiveness. On the contrary, no piece of children's work should be done anywhere which does not protect its integrity with a family case work point of view and the ability to use the family case work method wherever indicated. One of the most significant trends in children's work, and one which alone would justify the position taken in this paper is the tendency on the part of the progressive agencies and institutions to start their

whole process with a family case work point of view and method, and throughout the process to keep the family in the forefront.

This is probably the time to re-emphasize a point of view of this paper. Although for the sake of conciseness I have used the terms "family society" and "children's agency" frequently, it is by no means to set them up in juxtaposition, or give them a very real entity. I do not admit that twenty-five years from now there will even be such terms. I do know that there are places where one or the other does not exist, yet it has not prevented the working of such functional relationships as I have discussed. The title of the paper definitely uses the term "family and children's case work" and I have tried to confine myself to that no matter what mechanical forms may surround them. Like the elemental concept of a college, Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and the student on the other, so we might have the simple set-up of one family case worker and one children's case worker, in terms of the functional relationships herein set forth.

Anyone who is a bit stiff-minded, or who clings readily to the good old traditional ways could find reasons galore for never attempting to work out such relationships. But for those of us who would go adventuring—for those who believe that social case work has sentient, fluid qualities, for those who can see that social work like the mighty Mississippi cuts, with its own currents, its channels deep—here is a stirring opportunity. Let us not sidestep the underlying concept that together we are waging war upon things inimical to child welfare. Our first line of defense is the family case work service, spread out over the entire front. In a smaller sector lies the specialized task of child-caring. The effectiveness of the entire attack depends upon coordination—the proper carrying out of functional relationships. I can only say to you, out of the depths of a wholehearted attempt at such relationships on the part of the Family Welfare Association of Baltimore and the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, that if two agencies have faith in their own and each other's motives, mutual respect for each other's case work ability, an understanding of generic case work and the same fundamental training, the battle can be won.

## THE PROBLEM OF RELIEF

### THE COMMUNITY CHEST AND RELIEF GIVING

Robert W. Kelso, Director, Community Fund, St. Louis

HERE are 350 community chests in the United States. All, without exception, collect contributions and appropriate the same to member agencies for the relief of distress in families. In discussing relief giving this morning, we refer, not to general service to the dependent, such as free bed care in hospitals, child support in orphanages, and the care of the aged in congregate homes; but rather to that more limited field which we may call outdoor relief.

In order to find the boundaries of our question, we ought to know something of the amount of outdoor relief given through community chests; but we shall not be able to do so since no uniform method of assembling such data has yet been worked out. We can learn from the American Association of Chests and Councils the total amount appropriated by chests to member agencies classified in the dependency group; but no uniform standard for classifying agencies, either inside or outside of the dependency group, is yet available; nor is there common agreement as to what items in relief agency budgets were to be classified as outdoor relief. With these limitations, let us get as clear a picture of the extent of outdoor relief as we can.

The American Association reports for thirty chests, the total number of their member agencies, their classifications, their aggregate expenditure budgets, and the amounts appropriated to each by the chest, for the year 1929. By this tabulation, there are 706 agencies in the dependency group. Their combined budgets totalled \$26,374,286.22. Of this amount, the chests gave them \$14,147,190.25. The aggregate funds held by the chests were

\$35,679,164.32. The amount appropriated to the dependency group therefore represented 39 per cent of all chest funds.

If now we try to separate into one group the relief agencies that are not institutional and that ordinarily give outdoor relief, we shall find a total of 141 agencies in these 30 chests, with budgets aggregating \$8,459,544.44, receiving \$6,392,385.12 from the chests, an amount representing 18 per cent of the total funds held by the chests. Let us save from these data this one significant fact, namely, community chests in the United States are devoting approximately  $\frac{1}{5}$  per cent of their funds to the di-

rect relief of dependency.

We come now to a second consideration, which is important in this discussion: From whom, and upon what plea, do community chests secure their money? The givers to community chests are chiefly the wealthy, but it is the dramatic quality of the chest movement that it democratizes the support of welfare enterprises. The common experience of chests is that a few hundred or a few thousand givers in the year preceding the establishment of the chest have increased quickly by double, treble, and quadruple fold. The wealthy give as before, but with the new impetus, those also of moderate means learn the worth of giving, and laborers in great numbers give as much often as a day's pay out of a slender pay slip. We shall find this circumstance important, before we have finished our discussion.

And now as to the plea. As a usual thing charity springs from denominational auspices. For the most part this remains true of institutional enterprises. In the field of family relief there are more activities on a civic basis than in other branches of welfare, even not excepting leisure time organizations. But if we look at the whole broad field of dependency, including child care and the conduct of homes for the aged, we shall find the church impulse again predominating; and the purpose, the relief of those who are poor and in distress. The time honored plea with which we are all familiar is that of the helping hand in charity. Its typical illustration is the Good Samaritan. Considered as a broad observation, this is the only plea which the public appreciates. What

is more natural, therefore, than that the community chest, undertaking to consolidate all pleas to all people, should take the out and out appeal to sympathy in the name of charity, as the base of

its approach—make it the sole plea in most instances?

Scientific interpretation in the welfare field is only five years old. We are at the merest beginning of effective method in presenting the cause of the common welfare to the commonalty. And it is still true that our chests beg funds for charity, and spend them for charity plus other forms of social work. Every chest executive is familiar with the common assertion of the press, of the labor union, of the single track thinker in business or the pulpit, that the chest is a sacred trust for the feeding of the poor and must not be used for anything else. There is some excuse for this error because the plea has been an appeal to sympathy. It has said precious little else.

Thus far we have noted some of the outside facts regarding the extent of chest appropriations for relief giving, and we have made a point of the fact that we are still appealing for chest money substantially on the sole basis of sympathetic charity. Let us turn now to a third phase of this question, namely, the fundamental nature of a community chest. What is it for? Why do we have it? How is it that chests increase so rapidly in the United States? Is it the imitative instinct? Is it the ignorance of successful business men, who think they can run welfare in the same way that they carry out mass production of automobiles, or widgets? Is it a conspiracy on the part of hungry welfare agencies to milk the town dry? If there is color for suspecting the chest movement of any of these things, might there still be something deeper in the chest movement?

The functions of a community chest fall into four major phases; first, the securing of contributions for the use of the member agencies within their several expressed purposes; second, the distribution of the funds so obtained to the several members, not pro rata but upon three distinct principles, namely, the needs of the receiving agency, the efficiency with which it performs its functions, and the needs of the community, not only

for this service alone, but for this service in comparison with all other services represented by the membership in the fund; third, the development of a rationally integrated program of welfare work for its community, which it does through a process of constant survey and deliberation, in which not only all its member agencies, but other agencies in the community eligible to such a common forum, are involved. This is the Council of Social Agencies, which is the fundamental feature in a successful chest. The fourth function is the interpretation on the one hand of the social problems in the community, and on the other hand of the various remedies in operation and proposed, as ascertained by all means of study and appreciation available, but chiefly through the process of community council survey and deliberation, named in our third point.

There are many incidental services, such as uniformity in book-keeping, the sound quality of funds, and the development of sound technique in social work, that should be rendered by a community chest, but these may be held generally to fall within some one of the four general phases I have mentioned. One particular service of a community chest, however, I reserve for the next major point of my statement. It is that a necessary function of the community chest on its community council side—for you note that I include the two operations in the great single unit by the name of the community chest—is to develop in its membership a thorough understanding and an appreciation of the obligations of government in the field of social welfare, and to interpret this to the public.

Let me illustrate this point. It has become a principle in democracies, that the people through government, out of taxes, should underwrite the relief of want. A city, let us say, in a state which accepts this principle, nevertheless makes no provision for the outdoor relief of the poor, either by way of case work service through overseers of the public welfare, or for the relief of mothers with dependent children in their own homes. As a consequence, the whole volume of relief is thrown upon the relief agencies in the community chest. Two results follow: first, the

relief agencies demand and secure a disproportionately large share of the entire community fund, to the detriment of hospital social service or well baby clinics, of park and playground associations, of day nurseries and the like; and second, even with this disproportion, the relief agencies have not enough money with which to meet even the most pressing needs. The community chest seldom does, but assuredly must in the near future, establish a permanent front, backed by thorough study and the marshaling of facts which organizes public opinion and citizenship influence to demand of government, the appropriation and the efficient personnel for such services. This feature of the chest goes upon the principle that broadly speaking, private enterprise in welfare work is the experiment, and that government is the final adopter of social work processes shown to be for the benefit and the vital concern of all tax payers.

There is one further fundamental which needs to be expressed before we reach a conclusion in this statement, and that is this. Social work of today and of the future does not rest in the sectional or factional matrix of denomination, class, clan, or creed. Its necessities are found in the economics of everyday life. Its solid basis is therefore civic. Regardless of the phase in which we find it, it is the concern of all the people irrespective of section or faction. On this principle it may be said as a general observation that the community chest movement in America is a movement by which social work processes of today are being broadened beyond their initial limits to a civic basis. Now it may be observed that outdoor relief has advanced farther than most social work processes toward this civic basis. It is the chief exhibit of the chest movement in its transition from the old order of things to the new.

Now let us summarize for a moment. We have our community chests throughout the United States appropriating approximately 39 per cent of their funds to the relief of dependency, a half of which goes to family or outdoor relief. We find these chests still appealing to the community for funds, almost exclusively on the basis of the sympathetic relief of misery. At the

same time we discover the fundamental nature of the chest to be that of a trust, not only furnishing adequate support for social work, but engaged in the business of building a rationally integrated program of welfare service. We learn that it functions not merely as a collection agency for its members, but rather as a trustee and servant of the community, seeing the whole field of need with an impartial eye. Finally, we discover it to be the great new interpreter of social needs, and of the social program for meeting them. The relief of human misery we find to be the backbone of welfare activities in any community still; and we recognize our community chests as the builders of public opinion in the direction of sound governmental undertakings in social work.

With this background, I venture this conclusion, which is the purpose of my address, namely: The evolution of sound individual case work in outdoor relief is the strongest guaranty for the success of the community chest movement; it is an essential part of that movement, and can in no wise be separated from it; and finally, by requiring as the chest movement does that family relief service be intimately related to every other phase of social work in its daily operation, our profession of social work shall make certain of the well rounded growth of our social work program of the future.

#### THE COMMUNITY FUND AND RELIEF GIVING

Linton B. Swift, Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City

ALTHOUGH there has been much discussion in the last few years of the problems arising from the tremendous increase in relief expenditures, we do not seem to have progressed very far in finding a way out of the dilemma.

The nature and the extent of this increase has been so much discussed that we need do no more here than refer to the study made in 1926 by Dr. Hurlin of the Russell Sage Foundation under the auspices of the Family Welfare Association of America and the Association of Community Chests and Councils, which showed that ninety-seven public and private agencies were spending more than three times as much for relief in 1925 as in 1916. With the present industrial depression, this increase has been

greatly accelerated.

Although the resultant financial difficulties in family welfare agencies and community chests may be serious, to me they are but a minor aspect of our whole problem. The primary purpose of the community chest is no longer merely the raising and disbursing of funds; it is serving more and more as a channel for social agencies and the community in the development of a social program. The tremendous relief pressure from the community disrupts these purposes of the chest as it does the constructive case work program of the family agency. Therefore I am treating this problem as one to be met in common, and not as a question upon which there are opposing sides. Wherever the pronoun "we" is used here it has that common significance.

Areas of relief pressure.—I have not time to present, as a background for my discussion, the many possible factors for what we are now calling "the rising tide of relief." These factors have been enumerated elsewhere; I only wish to call attention here

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to the fact that they arise primarily within an area of social and economic causes in which case work is not primarily effective.

The primary sphere of case work, within which we may use relief most effectively as a tool of treatment, lies in personal maladjustments which would make it difficult for the individual to maintain himself even in the most favorable environment. This area of relief need is relatively stable; the number of maladjusted individuals may vary, but not as rapidly as the second

and greater general area of relief needs.

This second area, related to the first through its environmental effects upon the individual, consists primarily of social, economic, and industrial conditions which are subject to rapid and widespread change. This area includes ultimately all that portion of the population whose income is insufficient to provide a decent standard of living. It presents relief needs which are incalculable, which no group of voluntary agencies can meet with relief, and which are not primarily the sphere of social case work.

We can deal effectively with personal maladjustment only through assisting the individual to develop his own capacities, using relief merely as a tool of treatment. But we can attack social, economic, and industrial ills only through common social action in which society has not yet learned to use relief merely as a tool of social treatment. This difference between the case work aspects and the social aspects of relief should lead us to question whether, though we may not fear the use of relief in case work with the individual, we are actually pauperizing the American community through stimulating increased reliance upon relief in meeting social and economic problems.

Experience throughout history has shown that any large relief program within this area is inevitably self-increasing. I believe that in the extent to which we have assumed responsibility for relieving general community needs, we may find the cause of a large part of our dilemma. And, considering the public "addiction" to relief methods, I believe that we have been led into that dilemma through the mere inclusion of relief in our joint appeal

to the whole community.

Wholesale vs. retail methods.—Miss Richmond has called the case work method of giving relief the "retail method," as distinguished from wholesale or indiscriminate relief giving. But although we still individualize the giving of relief by use of the retail method, charity organization societies began to raise relief by wholesale methods even before the days of community funds. The inconsistency between these two methods of raising and of administering relief funds may be responsible for a part of our difficulty.

In the early days most charity organization societies used the retail method in raising as well as in giving relief, and it was then possible in each instance to individualize and to define relief purposes. When the charity organization society began, however, to build up a large central relief fund raised by wholesale appeal and without clear definition of its purposes and its limitations, it created a hiatus between its relief raising and relief giving methods. It has become increasingly impossible to confine our relief responsibility to instances in which case work can be reasonably effective; and that responsibility, with the focusing of public attention upon a still larger fund raised by the community chest, has inevitably been expanded into the whole area of community needs.

The many consequences which have followed this inclusion of relief in an appeal to the whole community are a familiar story, and for some of them the family welfare agency is largely responsible. It should be understood here that I am raising no question as to the value of the community chest in stimulating, coordinating, and financing the service programs of its member agencies. I am merely raising a question as to the effect of the wholesale relief appeal upon the social program of the chest, its member agencies, and the community, whether that wholesale appeal be conducted by the chest or by a single agency.

The presence of relief in a joint community appeal inevitably creates a vague public idea that a major part of chest funds go to relief; it fastens upon the chest a community relief contract which it cannot fulfil; it creates inevitable public criticism and

dissatisfaction, which is now focused upon the family agency but extends also to the chest and other agencies; and it is the greatest complicating factor not only in budget making but in the in-

terpretation of the service programs of all chest agencies.

And finally, I wonder whether, in making use of the wholesale appeal for relief, we have not been merely fostering a community relief psychology which has already gone beyond our control, is "spilling over" into pressure for the development of public agencies and into community demands for new types of governmental relief such as old age pensions? And may not all of this gradually result in a great governmental relief system, the more dangerous because it is not consistently planned but created category by category? These questions go beyond the immediate purpose of this paper, and I raise them only to call attention to our responsibility for leadership in the study and public interpretation of tendencies which are already apparent.

If we are not careful, a continued use of the wholesale appeal for relief is likely to lead us into a situation where a real individualization of human needs will be impossible, and in which we and later the government will become merely the almoners of in-

dustry and of society.

Community fund program.—The foregoing discussion has perhaps given some hint of the questions which I intend to raise. I should like to see the community fund and its member agencies freed for a more adequate and better balanced approach to a social program, and for concentration in the community fund campaign upon the interpretation and support of that program. I should like to see the chest and the case-work-relief agencies freed from any direct or implied responsibility for the relief needs of the whole community. And I wish to raise a question as to whether this cannot be best accomplished by confining our general community appeal to support for service programs, elimi nating the wholesale relief appeal as far as possible, and substituting other methods of raising relief funds.

There are several ways in which we can thus substitute the retail for the wholesale method. Before discussing some of these possibilities I wish to suggest one which at least has the merit of clarifying many issues: Should the community chest place its entire emphasis upon interpreting, coordinating, and financing only the case work and other service programs of all its member agencies, announcing that it does not raise and is not responsible for "outdoor" (non-institutional) relief? And on the other hand, should the case work agencies, in connection with continuous interpretation of their case work function, assume entire responsibility for raising such relief funds as they require, by various methods throughout the year and without any wholesale relief campaign appeal?

This would be in effect an offer by case-work-relief agencies to assume all the responsibility as well as all the resources which come with the relief appeal. Such a plan would defeat its own ends if it were not carefully designed to decrease the proportionate emphasis upon relief in public interpretation by individual agencies as well as the chest; and if it did not make it easier for the case work agencies to define and limit their case work and relief functions. Its purpose should be not to secure more money for relief, but to lessen the relief pressure by decreasing the channels through which that pressure is now stimulated.

I am not now advocating the adoption of this plan. I am not sure that in any community it would be accepted by all casework-relief agencies. On the surface the idea seems not only revolutionary but unsound and unworkable. As one goes deeper, many surface objections disappear, but it still presents many difficulties. I therefore suggest it merely as a basis for discussion, because the very objections which it raises constitute new challenges to our usual methods. Ultimately some such plan might be worked out to the benefit of both the chest and its member agencies; if not, perhaps when we have recovered from its "shocking challenge," we may be willing to adopt some of the lesser suggestions which go with it.

What are the objections?—It may be said, first, that this plan would deprive the community chest of its chief campaign argument; that the chest could not raise its goal without the relief ap-

peal; and that the case-work-relief agencies would get too much money if they had all the resources as well as all the responsibilities which go with the relief appeal. This of course amounts to an assertion that the case-work-relief agencies do not now receive the relief funds which the public vaguely intends them to have. If the objection is valid it points out the indirect cause of much public misunderstanding and criticism. It clarifies a situation which must be corrected anyway, either through clear and frequent public statements showing what proportion of chest funds are appropriated for relief, and to what agencies, or through some method of ascertaining and carrying out the public's intentions.

Second, it may be said that allowing case-work-relief agencies to raise relief funds independently would be a complete violation of the chest principle of "immunity" to contributors, even under the safeguards which I am suggesting later. But the idea that one gift "immunizes" the contributor against other opportunities is already being modified in progressive community chests, through additional appeals in emergencies or for special purposes, and through encouraging case work agencies in the use of the "case appeal" method.

Third, a more valid objection is that it would be unfortunate to separate the service and relief appeals, from the standpoint of interpretation. Here I can only ask you to examine carefully the procedure which I suggest later, to see whether it would not, on the contrary, offer case work agencies a freer opportunity, in the chest campaign and throughout the year, to interpret their case work program, and to interpret relief merely as a tool of treatment, without the present confusion as to the purpose of chest

contributions.

Fourth, a still more valid objection is that this proposal apparently ignores the relief factor in every form of free service, save case work. Logically, this is true. Logically, every form of free service, particularly free institutional care, is essentially relief. I can only raise a question as to whether in meeting an illogical public attitude there may not sometimes be a value in being

illogical, through isolating the object of misconception and reinterpreting its relation to other forms of relief. In any event, this objection challenges our present obligation for a more frank interpretation to the public of the significance of relief in its many forms.

Fifth, since the substitution of a restricted retail appeal for the wholesale relief appeal would result in less community emphasis upon relief, it may be said that it will be less possible to make relief such a community burden as to force other social remedies. Here, among other questions, it would be interesting to note whether other great public relief systems in the past have forced or retarded social action.

I could list other objections but you may do that yourselves, seeking in each instance possible answers or safeguards, and studying the questions which they raise as to our present practice.

However conclusive these objections may be, I believe that there are at least more numerous advantages in giving case work agencies the responsibility of raising their own relief funds. But here again I leave to you the task of analyzing the benefits to the chest in getting rid of our impossible "community relief contract" and the resultant inevitable criticism, in allowing more elasticity in time, amounts, and methods of money raising, in freedom for concentration upon social program, and in stimulating agency responsibility for both money raising and interpretation.

What benefits would there be to the case work agencies not only along the above lines, but also in making it easier for them to define, limit, and interpret their relief responsibilities in accordance with their case work function? What advantages would accrue to non-case-work agencies in the removal of relief from the chest campaign, from chest budgeting, and from a generalized responsibility which they now share? And finally, what social values would there be in eliminating a type of appeal which now focuses the attention of the whole community annually upon relief giving?

Some necessary steps.—And now let us consider a few essen-

tials in any such program. Most of these steps are essential in any solution of our present dilemma, and some of them have already been initiated in progressive communities. As for the most disputed feature, it should be remembered that the amount of money to be raised by the agencies would usually be only 10 to 20 per cent of the total chest funds, and that the responsibility

would be shared among several case work agencies.

The first essentials lie in a more frank and adequate program of interpretation: first, there should be constant joint study and public interpretation of the fundamental and varied social needs of the community, of the significance of relief in its various forms as incidental to treatment, and its values and dangers compared to other methods of meeting social and economic problems; second, each agency should assume direct responsibility for interpreting its service program in the chest campaign and throughout the year; third, we should make clear the fact that neither the chest nor its member agencies can attempt to meet directly all the relief needs of the community, the responsibility of each agency being determined by its function and resources; fourth, each chest contributor should understand that no gift for general purposes absolves him from his natural direct responsibility toward particular individuals; fifth, the chest should announce that it finances only the service programs of all member agencies, delegating to case work agencies the responsibility of raising such relief funds as they need during the year, and making clear the small proportion of such funds to the total chest budget.

There should be joint planning by all case work agencies requiring relief resources for discharge of their special functions: first, this planning should include agreement as to their relative case work function, and the purpose and extent of their relief programs; second, there should be an agreement with the chest as to which chest contributors may be approached, and when, and by what agencies, with absolute freedom for all in approaching non-contributors to the chest; third, any wholesale relief appeal should be avoided by these agencies, through adopting the following order of preference in money raising methods, accom-

panied by constant interpretation of case work and of the functions of the chest: (a) development of the natural relief resources of each family to the extent justified from the case work point of view, (b) use of special case appeals to other sources, (c) appeals for special purposes (types of relief) to appropriate sources, and (d) the balance of the amount required (a small central fund) in each agency, to be raised not in a special cam-

paign, but as needed during the year.

There should be careful coordination by the chest of its own money raising efforts with those of the case-work-relief agencies, through: first, agreement as to which agencies shall raise and give relief, how, and for what purpose; second, giving each contributor in the chest campaign a chance to designate whether he wishes no additional opportunity to give to any agency for any purpose during the year; third, provision in the budgets of casework-relief agencies for the necessary publicity and money raising facilities; fourth, offering the agencies a positive financial service, through advising them of prospects (who may or may not be contributors to the chest) for special appeals, the type of approach best suited to each prospect, and so on.

Finally, there should be continual joint study of: first, the extent to which it is wise to encourage relief giving (governmental or private) as a method of meeting community social and economic needs; second, the development of non-relief methods of meeting such needs, and the relative responsibility therein of industry, government, and the various groups in the community; third, the careful development of such governmental relief methods as may seem wise on the basis of the above program.

A few alternatives.—I leave to you the question of whether, with these and other safeguards which may occur to you, it would be wise to adopt these particular methods of raising relief funds. If your final verdict is negative, perhaps you will be ready to consider some half way measures.

It may be proposed that, to clarify the intention of contributors to the chest, they each be allowed to designate the amount intended for relief. Frankly, I don't like this alternative at all. Such designations now do not ultimately mean anything. If they were made really effective they would undoubtedly force the appropriation of more money to the family agencies, but they would also mean a still greater wholesale emphasis upon relief, introducing impossible complications in budgeting, fastening a community relief contract more firmly than ever upon the chest,

and disrupting our whole service program.

I like somewhat better the suggestion that we adopt all of these steps save the entire elimination of the relief appeal from the chest campaign, making it clear to the public that the chest and its member agencies cannot attempt to meet all relief needs which may be referred to them. The trouble with this suggestion is that it still involves an actual or implied wholesale appeal to the community for relief funds; and I doubt whether such an appeal on behalf of a federation of agencies (a community project) can result in anything but a vague, wholesale, and unlimited responsibility.

I am, however, willing to suggest a compromise. Briefly it is again a proposal that we adopt all of these steps including the elimination of relief funds from the chest campaign, but with this difference. Give case work agencies the proposed freedom in the development of natural resources and special case appeals, but retain in the chest the responsibility for raising the balance needed during the year, without any additional campaign.

If the agencies do their part, the relief fund to be raised thus by the chest should be but a small fraction of the present chest budget; it should offer a real basis for appeal to many who are "missed" in the regular campaign, or who are willing to supplement their regular gifts; the amount raised could be appropriated to the case-work-relief agencies in proportion to the amounts they raise independently, or on some other basis. Thus, the chest relief appeal would not only be restricted to a smaller portion of the community, but it could also be dovetailed in many ways into the efforts of the agencies.

I leave to you the analysis of this and other possible alterna-

tives. But you will see that while I am not afraid of appealing to the whole community for support of our joint service program, I am trying to find a substitute for the wholesale relief appeal, which brings us an unlimited responsibility and increases the community reliance upon relief methods. Playing upon the public's addiction to relief as a means of securing support for our whole constructive program is like plying a man with liquor as a means of persuading him to subdue his appetite.

## THE PROBLEM OF LABOR REPRESENTATION ON THE BOARD OF THE FAMILY SOCIETY

A. J. Muste, Chairman of Faculty, Brookwood Labor College, Katonah

IshOULD like at the outset to report the result of a preliminary survey of the facts as to labor representation on the boards of family societies made a year or so ago by Miss Dorothea de Schweinitz, chairman of the Industrial Problems Committee of the American Association of Family Social Work. A letter was sent to its member societies which asked three questions: First, have you a representative of organized labor on your board of directors? Second, have you on your board of directors a professor of economics or sociology who is especially interested in industrial relations? Third, have you such representatives on

special or district committees?

There were 152 answers. They revealed the following facts: 8 societies had a representative of labor on the board; 3 had a representative of labor on a committee; 19 had a professor interested in industrial problems on the board; 8 had such a professor on some committee; 6 had both representatives of labor and an interested professor on the board; 2 had both a representative of labor and a professor on some committee; 3 had both a representative of labor and an interested professor on both the board and on committees. In other words, 11 societies, or 7 per cent of those who answered, had some sort of a voice from labor; 48, or 32 per cent of those answering, were making some effort at understanding the problem of labor relations either through their board or committee membership. The percentages here given are generous, when it is borne in mind that some of the letters later received by the committee indicated that the "labor representatives" were men who held union cards and were closely connected with labor elements in the community, but who had become lawyers or were connected with state departments of labor and not any longer occupied at a trade or in active trade union membership.

It is interesting to note that the cities which reported labor representation included Tulsa, Oklahoma; Tucson, Arizona; Hamilton, Ohio; Wilkes-Barre and Scranton, Pennsylvania; Lincoln, Nebraska; Austin, Texas; Waterloo, Iowa; Columbia, South Carolina; and New Orleans, Louisiana. These are pretty well scattered over the country, so that the problem does not seem to be a sectional one necessarily. It may be noted also that there are both industrial and predominantly non-industrial communities in the list, though the former are in the majority as might be expected.

The kind of experience with labor representation reported by those who have had it is most varied, yet on the whole favorable. At one extreme we have a report such as this:

Our society's experience with the labor representative on our board has not been a very profitable one. He is inarticulate and ineffective. We have attempted to get him interested in the serious problem of unemployment and have found him disinterested.

In between are cases where no harm has been done but also no apparent good results achieved, or where there has been a good labor representative who has died or moved away and it has been found difficult to replace him.

At the other extreme are cases such as the following:

We have had a man prominent in labor circles of our city on our board of directors for the last ten years. Two men have served in this capacity. The first one was a carpenter by trade—at one time head of the carpenters' union and later the local agent for all labor unions in the city. He was a highly respected man and influential in the community. He became very much interested in our work and through him our work and our ideals were brought directly to the men in their union meetings. He later served as president of our board for two years. . . . .

We feel that the interest these men have taken has been of great help to this organization. They have presented our work to the labor organizations, have suggested men for committee work, helped us in several difficult case situations with the unions, and bring to the meetings the general labor situation of the city. We hope that we can always have such a member on our board.

Let us consider briefly now, first, the general or theoretical argument for the desirability of labor representation on the boards

of family societies; second, the specific ways in which such representation might be of service to the family societies on the one hand and to labor on the other hand; then, some of the practical

problems encountered in putting the idea into effect.

Why have labor representation? There are three general considerations which seem to make it essential to have labor representation and absurd not to have it. They can be very briefly stated though that of course implies omission of many pertinent factors in the problem. In the first place, the people who are the "cases" for our family societies are in the vast majority of instances working class people. If, therefore, the family society is to be in fact and not merely in name a community or communal enterprise, and not an agency by which one class in the community does something to another class, if it is to be an agency for working with and not for working on, if it is to stand for social service and not for charity, it seems essential that the point of view of those who represent a very large percentage of the population and probably a still larger percentage of the people actually dealt with by the society, should be adequately represented.

Secondly, a substantial part of the income of societies comes from these same working people and in most places an increasing amount of pressure is brought to bear on them to contribute to the social agencies, which again entitles them to representation.

Thirdly, the organized labor movement, from which in most instances labor representatives must be secured since it is obviously difficult to have representatives of the unorganized, is a very important social force in the modern world, which deals in a fundamental and constructive way with those social, economic, and industrial conditions out of which the "cases" of the social worker emerge, by seeking to establish for the masses of workers standards as to income, hours of work, conditions of work (safety, sanitation, lighting, a sense of participation in the management of their own lives in the midst of a highly complex civilization, and so on), without which a decent life for the individual and for the family is out of the question. The organized labor movement and the scientific and honest social agencies are, therefore, work-

ing in related if not identical fields, and whatever may be the difficulties in the way of cooperation in this concrete situation and locality or that, it seems to me clear that there must be cooperation or we have an unscientific, unsocial, and anomalous condition indeed!

How may cooperation help the family society? In discussing the concrete advantages which the family society may gain from having labor representation on its boards and committees and the service it may in turn render to the labor group, it is again necessary to state our suggestions in summary fashion. Among the advantages which the society may obtain, assuming that it succeeds in finding a fairly capable representative of the labor group, are the following: First, such a representative can state and interpret to his colleagues on the board or committee the general psychology of the labor group, its attitude toward social work, toward the particular society involved, and toward specific methods or projects of the society in connection with which it should certainly have the reaction of working people if it is to work effectively and to avoid serious mistakes, alienating unnecessarily sections of the community; second, he can furnish information about general labor conditions, trends in unemployment, working conditions in various establishments, all of which constitute the background of the problems which come before the society; third, he can explain union standards as to wages, hours, conditions of work, and so on, and the importance of not breaking down general standards for an entire trade or section of the population in trying to minister to a few individual cases; fourth, he can often help in specific cases with advice, facilitating admission to a union, having injustice which may have been committed by a union agent corrected, uncovering possible jobs, and so on; fifth, he can give information as to what unions can do and ought to do for their members by way of unemployment insurance or relief, "out of work pay," etc., and enable the society to establish active contact with unions; sixth, since his presence on the board will serve to some extent to make workers generally and organized labor in particular feel that they have some part in the work of the society, this may serve to facilitate the raising of funds and on the other hand may expose, before too much damage has been done, the use of unfair pressure upon workers in raising funds for social work through community chest organizations or other means; seventh, finally, if such cooperative relations are established in normal times, immeasurable good may accrue to the society and the community in general in time of serious crises, such as business depression and strikes. Understanding of the real issues is essential in such cases, but unobtainable if there have previously been no regular and helpful contacts between the labor group and other elements.

How may the labor group be helped? Labor in turn might benefit from this cooperation in various ways, as for example: first, union members and other workers would gain a knowledge of help available to them and their friends in emergencies; second, through their representatives the unions would be assured that relief and welfare work would not be managed in such a way as to break down union standards; third, union members and other workers by being put in touch with social agencies would have their worst needs met and so would be under less pressure to "scab," to accept non-union wage rates, etc.; fourth, many unions would benefit by learning something of the technique of case work in their recreational, welfare and relief work for members and their families; fifth, in crises as, for instance, lockouts, strikes, or organizing campaigns, the contacts established might help to bring to the unions the understanding and the moral and financial support from the liberal minded in the community so necessary in such crises.

Let us consider the difficulties in carrying out the idea. The objection to having labor representation may come from other than labor elements. If this is due to some prominent labor individual who is genuinely objectionable or to the hangover from some incident like a strike or lockout which has left bitter feeling, the case must be treated, of course, in the same way as are similar difficult situations which develop in every society and in which labor is not involved. We need not dwell upon the matter here. If, however, other elements in the community generally look

down upon labor as unintelligent, perhaps, or "Bolshevik," as some employers do; if the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively is not recognized, then there exists a thoroughly vicious situation and the community sorely needs to be "re-educated." So long as that condition obtains and a great section of the community has an inferior status and is regarded as having no contribution to make to the family society, the latter is bound to be an agency of charity and not a genuine social agency. The society might well point out to anti-labor elements in such a situation that if labor were indeed anti-social, the best way to keep it so would be to debar it from participation in community activities, for then it would presently inevitably have no sense of responsibility for the community at all. No self-respecting social worker could continue indefinitely to accept employment in such a situation, unless, that is, there were definite progress toward reeducation.

On the other hand, objections to cooperation may come from the side of labor. There may be cases where anti-union employers or employers who have bad management and labor policies which throw people out of work needlessly and make them dependent upon social agencies, are much too prominently connected with such agencies to make it possible for labor to cooperate with self-respect. It may be that private agencies are doing work that should be cared for by public means. There may be resentment because of the way funds are raised or applied. In so far as these charges have merit, labor is justified in withholding cooperation. In so far as labor has no sound reason for suspicion, the best way to remove suspicion is to induce some labor man or woman to try sitting in on the board for a while, and it will usually be possible to find such a venturesome spirit.

Where no such general difficulties obtain, it may yet be hard to obtain a suitable man or woman. A likely candidate may hesitate to accept because he lacks a formal education and thinks he may be embarrassed in the presence of "high-brows" and society ladies. The trade union movement in a given city may be in incompetent or vicious hands. There may be internal rivalries

which make it difficult for good men to serve. In many cases a labor leader with sufficient training is hard to find. Most competent leaders are overwhelmed with work and may be unable to get the time to serve a family society. In very many cases in this country the unions include only a very small percentage of the working population and a union leader may therefore represent only a minority working class opinion, may in fact positively misrepresent the viewpoint and needs of the majority of the workers.

All this has a bearing on the question whether unions should be asked formally to designate their representatives or whether union or labor people should be picked out and co-opted by the board of the family society. It is of course in general a sound principle that a group should designate its own representative. However, in cases where other elements do not formally designate representatives, as where boards are elected by the membership, there is doubtless sound reason for not making an exception in the case of labor. Furthermore, for reasons already suggested, it may often be inadvisable or impossible to get labor officially to designate a representative, but this ought not to deter the society from making an effort to find a person who can function in this capacity. In that case of course careful inquiry should be made beforehand so that the person chosen really has sense and intelligence and possesses the confidence of labor. In some instances the best that can be done may be to get a lawyer, for instance, who has a labor background and connections or a professor with both theoretical and practical knowledge of labor problems.

Where there are both American Federation of Labor unions and independent unions in a community, or where there are large elements which are unorganized, care should be taken to have all points of view so far as possible represented. Often members of these various groups can be induced to cooperate in some neutral field as individuals, whereas obstacles might be put in the way of their serving together as official representatives of their respec-

tive organizations.

Various agencies may be consulted for advice in these matters, such as local unions of various trades, the central labor union in a

city, the Women's Trade Union League, the women's auxiliaries connected with some of the unions, the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, and in the case of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers frequently unorganized, such agencies as workers' welfare societies, neighborhood clubs (political and social), foreign language societies and papers.

These, however, are matters which each community must in large measure work out in its own way, and which in many instances can be worked out once the principle is recognized that labor should have a status of equality and self-respect in the community and that organized labor is an essential and highly significant social force whose voice must be heard in every phase

of life in the modern industrial world.

### TWO DECADES IN INDUSTRIAL IN-SURANCE

(A REVIEW OF PROGRESS SINCE JUSTICE BRANDEIS' ADDRESS AT THE CONFERENCE IN BOSTON IN 1911)

### PROGRESS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE IN AMERICA

John B. Andrews, Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation, New York City

EARLY twenty years ago, in this city of Boston and before this Conference, Louis Brandeis presented a paper on "Workingmen's Insurance." Perhaps no clearer statement of the case for social insurance in the United States has ever been made.

Mr. Brandeis reminded us that most of the financial dependency among wage earners arises from sickness, accident, invalidity, superannuation, unemployment, and premature death. These, he said, are ordinary contingencies in the lives of working people; and just as business provides reserves for losses caused by fire, depreciation, and other risks, so society should make provision for these social evils which so profoundly affect the well-being of our country. The United States, he declared, will not achieve a democracy of politically free citizens until its working people are protected from the constant danger of becoming financially dependent upon the goodwill of others.

Mr. Brandeis recognized that the cost of such provision would be large. But against this cost he pointed to the savings which would result from a comprehensive system of social insurance. He concluded,

If society and industry and the individual were made to pay from day to day the actual cost . . . . consequent upon excessive hours of labor or unhygienic condi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1911, pp. 156-62.

tions of work, of unnecessary risk, and of irregularity in employment, those evils would be rapidly reduced. We need a comprehensive system of workingmen's insurance as an incentive to justice. We need it: "Lest we forget."

Workmen's compensation.—When Mr. Brandeis, in June, 1911, presented the case for social insurance in the United States, in only one state was a workmen's compensation law in operation.<sup>2</sup> Up to that time, an injured worker, or his surviving dependents, if killed, had the sole recourse at law of suing the employer for damages. He could win only when he could prove the employer had been negligent. When an injured wage earner could not get damages, which happened in the vast majority of cases, he and his family were often thrown upon charity. Even if successful in his suit he was obliged to split his award with his lawyer. Meanwhile during the months, perhaps years, of time-consuming litigation his family was left dependent.

State after state adopted workmen's compensation, until at the present time upwards of 17,000,000 workers are included within the scope of the existing 51 American workmen's compensation acts. These laws are paying to the families of disabled or killed workers something like \$150,000,000 a year. This is probably more, concludes Bailey B. Burritt, than is expended for all charity relief by all the public and private wel-

fare agencies of the country combined.

Steady progress has been made throughout the years in providing more nearly adequate benefits, more efficient administration and more complete medical attendance, which are so essential if an injured man is to return to his job as quickly and with as little disability as possible. However, benefit provisions in many existing compensation laws are in woeful need of improvement, for example, the \$18 weekly maximum and the 300 week limit on death payments in Massachusetts are two outstanding inadequacies in the law of this commonwealth.

When a worker receives a permanently crippling injury, he is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The original inadequate federal act of 1908 applying to a limited number of government employes—later happily superseded—was the only law actually paying compensation benefits.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Workmen's Compensation Keeps the Family from Charity," American Labor Legislation Review, 1928, pp. 377-84.

usually unable to continue in the work at which he was formerly employed. Today, all but four states—Delaware, Kansas, Vermont, and Washington—are cooperating with the federal government in re-training industrial cripples. Already nearly 39,000 disabled persons have been rehabilitated, many of them earning more than before they were injured. At the close of the 1929 fiscal year, 16,000 crippled workers were in process of rehabilitation.

Although substantial progress has thus been made in the field of industrial accident insurance and its new phase of rehabilitation, much remains to be done. Four states—Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi and South Carolina—have thus far failed to adopt the compensation principle. Moreover, seamen and railroad workers in interstate commerce are likewise without this protection, the labor organizations in both instances being still opposed to the abandonment of the damage suit system. Mr. Brandeis did not say what the policy of social insurance proponents should be when the workers themselves oppose the adoption of this legislation designed for their own protection. Very likely the thought did not even occur to him that outstanding leaders in the American labor movement would oppose workingmen's insurance.

Mr. Brandeis predicted that if society were made to pay the cost of insuring wage earners against contingencies which cause financial dependency, those evils would be rapidly reduced. And there has been an organized effort to reduce compensable accidents. It is generally agreed that workmen's compensation has been the greatest single stimulus to this preventive movement. However, the rapid introduction of new machinery and changing processes in industry and the development of new employments, have created many new hazards. It must be admitted, after twenty years, that, although the constant economic pressure of accident compensation has held down the accident rate below what it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> An analysis of the work accomplished over a period of five years in a mid-western state shows that the total annual earnings of 1,036 persons had increased 232 per cent over their reduced wages before rehabilitation.

otherwise would have been, nevertheless accidents have continued to increase. It is significant that this continuing human waste is absorbing the attention of those directly concerned with the cost of accident compensation who most fully appreciate the importance of still more effective work for accident prevention.

Mothers' pensions.—Great progress has also been made since 1911 in the establishment of mothers' pensions, extending protection to widows and orphans left helpless by the premature death of husband or father. Only four states are without this legislation—Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and New Mexico. It is estimated that approximately 200,000 children are at this moment benefited by these laws which now provide yearly about \$30,000,000 in family relief.

Old age pensions.—The logical extension of this pension principle, in the form of assistance to aged dependents, likewise had its inception subsequent to 1911 when Alaska, in 1915, adopted the first old age pension act. The shameful neglect of our aged poor, who after years of useful service were often compelled to accept the humiliating experience of spending the rest of their days in a poorhouse, has led to the increasingly widespread demand for old age pensions which are designed to keep families together in decent and familiar surroundings.

The federal government under the retirement act of 1920 is leading the way to adequate provision for public employes who are no longer able to support themselves because of old age. There were 16,500 annuitants from the civilian service on the pension roll during the last fiscal year with disbursements amounting to nearly \$11,000,000 for the year. Seven states have also provided retirement systems for state employes. And there are of course literally hundreds of similar plans for municipal employees.

By 1929, ten states<sup>5</sup> and Alaska had enacted universal old age pension systems, and in 1930 New York and Massachusetts have made similar provision for benefits to their aged dependents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Montana and Nevada in 1923; Wisconsin, 1925; Kentucky, 1926; Colorado and Maryland, 1927; California, Minnesota, Utah, and Wyoming, 1929.

Voluntary efforts.—As evidence of growing appreciation of the problems for which social insurance is being developed, reference may be made here to the establishment of many voluntary benefit funds and the extension of medical and hospital service for industrial employes. Trade unions are also making some provision for benefits to their members—sixty-one unions reporting nearly \$11,000,000 paid out in the fiscal year 1928—chiefly for premature death and old age. Significant likewise is the rapid growth in group insurance, from \$13,000,000 of insurance in

force in 1912 to \$5,600,000,000 in 1928.

Increasing need.—During the past twenty years, in dealing with these particular problems of accident and old age and premature death, there has indeed been progress. But it must also be recognized that the problems which social insurance is designed to meet have also grown prodigiously. The industrialization of American society and the rapid mechanization of industry have exposed an increasing proportion of the people to the contingencies of a wage earner's life. The rise of new industries and the decline of old, the speeding up of production and the changing habits of consumption have each added to these risks. All that Mr. Brandeis said in 1911 applies, therefore, with increasing force to the present urgent need for a comprehensive and adequate system of social insurance.

Those deeply concerned over this need find themselves squarely faced with the cost, which will admittedly be great. In the state of New York alone the cost of family relief on account of accident compensation, mothers' pensions, and old age assistance, is already about \$100,000,000 a year. There is still to come the more expensive provision for sickness and for unemployment. This is a large cost for any state to contemplate unless other commonwealths will adopt the program. When may we expect that all of the states will go forward together in the adoption of the complete social insurance program?

This includes an estimated \$80,000,000 on account of workmen's compensation; \$8,000,000 on account of mothers' pensions; and an additional \$12,000,000 for old age assistance.

Sickness insurance.—It is increasingly apparent that the cost of adequate medical care in America cannot be met without insurance against sickness. In 1919 the campaign for a universal system of workmen's health insurance had been advanced to a point where a well considered bill was passed by the New York Senate. That promising movement was temporarily checked by disingenuous appeals to prejudice. Upon those representatives of the private insurance companies who joined with a certain element in the medical profession, in a period of post-war hysteria, and denounced health insurance as "made in Germany," rests the responsibility for blocking social progress in meeting adequately our sickness problem.

Unemployment.—Turning to the problem of involuntary unemployment, we face a situation that demands not only serious consideration but immediate action. Three times within fifteen years bread lines have stretched themselves out in this wealthiest country in the world. Again and again national and local conferences have been held to discuss unemployment—the greatest blot on our capitalist system. And always liberals and conservatives have counseled moderation, holding out the promise that "employers on their own initiative" would stabilize employment and that the government would help by providing free information about work opportunities and by the advance planning of

public works.

What progress has actually been made during these years of promises? A few employers have seriously attempted to stabilize employment and set up establishment funds for out-of-work benefits; the successful examples are so few that they stand out conspicuously as well worn figures for purposes of classical illustration. A few public employment offices have likewise demontrated the possibility of serving the community impartially and efficiently. But the only method which practical experience has demonstrated will supply sufficient funds for the necessary country-wide system is opposed by the organized manufacturers. If further practical demonstration were needed of the imperative necessity of advance planning of public works it came during the

nervous months following the stock market crash of October, 1929. But in spite of this recent experience the program for pub-

lic works planning still languishes.

It must be confessed by liberals and conservatives alike that their hopes have thus far been sadly disappointed. At this very moment, the unemployment proposals passed by the United States Senate, for better employment statistics, for intelligent advance planning of public works, for adequate federal-state employment offices, are in serious danger of being buried by the

House of Representatives.

Why this inaction? Why should organized manufacturers call upon the political leaders to block these modest constructive measures? One answer is suggested by a recent publication issued by the leaders of the opposition. At a time when there is no strongly organized legislative campaign anywhere in progress on this particular subject, and when earlier bills scarcely are topics for popular discussion, the National Association of Manufacturers has suddenly published an elaborate pamphlet against unemployment insurance! This oddly timed pronouncement is an indication that the nervous attack now being made against the modest proposals in Congress arises from a fear that full and accurate information concerning unemployment conditions will lead to an insistent public demand for insurance against unemployment. Meanwhile, sober citizens, deeply concerned about the future welfare of our country, are saying earnestly to one another: "Something must be done about unemployment. We simply cannot continue to have millions of industrious people periodically thrown upon the street to bear unaided the crushing burdens of involuntary unemployment."

From a dozen different angles one may see the tide of disillusionment rising as industrialists in one business depression after another fill the air with promises of effective action through the voluntary initiative of employers; as year after year our so called political leaders eloquently favor in principle a program, which in spite of widespread public demand, they do not put into practical effect. This cannot go on indefinitely unless the people of our country are dumb.

Groups of citizens who have the heart to continue the long campaign of education for workingmen's insurance, and who can carry on against the madness of political indifference and commercial stupidity, should be encouraged to persevere. From time to time it is a duty to show clearly not only the need for action but the responsibility for inaction. It is well that once in twenty years we sum up the progress made and, while viewing in perspective the gains in social insurance as well as the discouragements, we ponder the sound social philosophy of Louis Brandeis—lest we forget.

## CAN MANAGEMENT PREVENT UNEMPLOYMENT?

Paul H. Douglas, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago, and Acting Director, Swarthmore Study of Unemployment

HERE are two very distinct signs to indicate that in the field of social legislation the American public is awaking from its long sleeping sickness. They are the recent enacting of old age pension laws in California, New York, and Massachusetts; and the realization that the problem of unemployment has not been solved by that new economic era which has been so confidently hailed by the high priests of prosperity. It is the second of these portents that I shall discuss.

Many voices in our midst are declaring that by stabilizing, business can prevent unemployment; that while Europeans, in their fatalistic acceptance of malign fate, may feel compelled to compensate the hapless victims of unemployment American management, accustomed to changing the face of the universe, can render any such action unnecessary in this country by preventing

unemployment.

What then are the causes of this unemployment which it is said management can eliminate? My recent study indicates that of the average unemployment of approximately 10 per cent which apparently prevailed during the thirty-one years from 1896 to 1926, approximately 6 to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent resulted from seasonal and chronic causes, and from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent from cyclical causes. Because of the fluctuations of our weather and the changes of our styles—the latter being the characteristic of all societies where social position is fluid and not determined by birth—seasonal unemployment is much greater in this country than in England. We tend to buy clothes in the spring and fall, to purchase automobiles from March to July, to buy ice cream in the sum-

mer, and to occupy our new houses in the fall. With the demand of consumers for many commodities accumulating spasmodically instead of being evenly distributed throughout the year, it is but natural that production in many businesses should fluctuate rather violently from season to season and hence create unemployment.

There can be no question that some business firms have made extraordinary progress in reducing seasonal fluctuations. Mr. E. S. Smith's investigation of this subject, shows that nearly two hundred enterprises have made notable progress in this direction. Five years ago, the example of the Dennison Company, Hills Brothers, Hickey and Freeman, and the Columbia Conserve Company had become well known. This year the achievements of Procter and Gamble, Packard Motor Car Company, Fels-Naphtha Company, Eastman Kodak Company, Bausch and Lomb, Leeds and Northrup, and a number of others entitle them to the respect and admiration both of the general public and of their fellow-managers.

The methods followed by these and other firms, which have been very clearly related in such books as Feldman's The Regularization of Employment, entail the preparation of a production schedule for the year and provision that this yearly quota will be turned out in twelve approximately equal monthly fractions. Goods are thus produced during the months when ultimate demand by the consumers is low and put in storage to await the demand which will come in later seasons. Sometimes the goods are stored by the manufacturer; sometimes by the retailer, although with the growth of hand-to-mouth buying this latter resort is diminishing; sometimes the consumer is induced by means of advertising, or price discounts, to distribute his purchases more evenly. Sometimes side lines are built up for the off season, as in the historic case of coal and ice—a marriage now sadly damaged by the blows which electric refrigeration has struck at one member of this fusion.

Any such program involves many problems and some costs, but with few exceptions, the manufacturers who have adopted it believe that it has saved them money. First, they are enabled to

expand the total volume of their business without a corresponding increase in capital equipment and to grow through a fuller use of the plant during what would otherwise be slack months. While they need more storage space than before, they nevertheless need less factory space, and factory space is more costly than is storage. Second, they are enabled to maintain a relatively stable working force and thus reduce the costs of labor turnover. Where business fluctuates widely, large groups of workers are hired only to be regurgitated when the slack period arrives. When this in turn gives way to the busy season, the firm must hire new workers and go to the expense of breaking them in. This loss is avoided by the stabilization of jobs leaving the losses to come only from the unstability of men. Third, they are generally enabled, because of supplying more weeks of employment a year than their competitors, to pay their workers a somewhat lower hourly rate. This is not a loss to the workers for this diminution is generally not proportional to the increase in employment. The workers thus receive higher yearly incomes while the employers obtain lower labor costs per piece. The gains of regularization are thus split both ways.

Such efforts reflect credit upon the imagination, the intelligence, and the daring of these managers, and it is to be hoped that many others may follow their example. As they do, the volume of unemployment will be reduced and they will find themselves at the same time leading more interesting and prob-

ably more profitable lives.

But—and here I come to the hub of the question—is this all that is needed? Can we depend upon the force of example and trust to management to abolish unemployment? Now, while I have the greatest respect for many of the progressive leaders of the management movement who claim that we may, I submit several very definite reasons to show why, in my opinion, they are demonstrably wrong, and why, although stabilization by individual employers will reduce the volume of unemployment it will not eliminate it.

In the first place, a large percentage of employers will continue

indifferent and callous to the problem. The great masses of business men are likely to be deterred by the initial difficulties and expense which are necessarily attached to any regularization plan. In consequence, because of inevitable defects in the human instrument, unemployment will not be reduced to the lowest point to which it is logically susceptible. In the second place, the success of stabilization thus far has been achieved predominantly with either standardized or quasi-monopolized products; but the possibilities are far less in the case of commodities subject to pronounced style and weather factors and produced under competitive conditions. Women's clothing, for example, is as perishable as green groceries and styles decay with a rapidity equal to that of radishes and celery. It is impossible therefore for a manufacturer to produce to stock because the style may be quickly obsolete and retail dealers will refuse to buy more than the bare margin for current sales. The manufacture of women's shoes is now in a similar situation, brought about largely, it is amusing to note, by zealous manufacturers who sought to stabilize their business by producing side lines and "fillers" for the summer and winter months. In trying to stabilize, however, they disorganized the industry by introducing a fever of style changes which broke down the old sets of lasts and prevented any appreciable production to stock. With its violent oscillations from season to season, the weather will moreover continue to make some trades seasonal. More building can undoubtedly be carried on during the winter than is now the case but it is futile to hope that as much can be done then as during the months from April to October. Because of the high cost of storing building materials, the value per cubic foot of which is small, we may expect that the business of supplying building materials such as stone, cement, and timber, will also move on a somewhat seasonal basis. The best of management, therefore, cannot prevent entirely even seasonal unemployment.

In the third place, if we turn to technological unemployment, the case is even clearer. Here good management consists in introducing technical and administrative changes which will increase per capita output and lower costs. Sometimes, to be sure,

this does not displace labor because the reduction in the price of a commodity will lead to so great an increase in its demand that the same number of workers or even more, will be employed. But sometimes when the demand for the product is inelastic, as is the case with most agricultural commodities, the increase in the quantity demanded is not sufficient to reabsorb in that industry all of the displaced workers. Ultimately, to be sure, these workers will be re-employed because of the fact that the consumers who will now be spending a smaller total sum for these commodities will be transferring their surplus to the purchase of other commodities and hence giving new opportunities of employment, equal in number to those which have been destroyed in the industries where the technical advances have taken place. But it takes considerable time before these ultimate effects can be realized and in the transitional period, as Lubin, Myers, and Clague have shown, large numbers of men are likely to be unemployed. Here therefore efficient management creates unemployment rather than lessens it.

Finally, there is of course the business cycle. Last summer, Mr. Hoover's Committee on Recent Economic Changes, in its report implied that the problem of economic balance had largely been solved. Writers on the business cycle began to replace the term "depression" by that of "recession." It is evident, however, that we have been and are suffering from a rather severe business depression which has already brought the index of employment of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics to a point 10 per cent below its level of last spring, and which, when the statistics on unemployment are finally tabulated by the census may show from 12 to 16 per cent of those normally employed in non-agricultural industry to have been unemployed on April 1 of this year. Now, when business is going through a depression, an individual enterprise is largely helpless. In the face of a falling demand and a declining price level it cannot produce to stock when its product may have to be sold ultimately at a lower price. Consequently a business curtails even though it may mean laying off men, destroying purchasing power, and thus setting into effect

There is little prospect that we shall in the immediate future control the business cycle. The delay of some public work to periods of depression would help. Most of such work, however, is carried on by state and municipal agencies, and governors and mayors are not likely to postpone construction which gives them abundant opportunity for spoils and patronage from prosperous years when they are in power to depression years when they may not be. Furthermore, opportunities for employment will be largely for building workers and construction laborers, while the men laid off from industry will be largely those producing capital goods such as machinery, iron and steel, etc., and intermediate goods such as cottons, woolens, etc. The latter cannot be readily transformed into the former.

Real control of the business cycle will involve, in my opinion, the stabilization of the price level. To achieve this we need a concerted and unified monetary and credit policy on the part of the banking interests of the world, and this, with all the progress of the last decade, is still slow in coming. Perhaps also the world will have to move from a nominal gold standard to a gold exchange standard with internal "managed" currencies. But these are questions for the future. For a long time we shall have business cycles with the unemployment which recessions or depressions always create.

Since a considerable percentage of unemployment therefore seems to be inevitable, the problem arises, What shall we do with and for the unemployed? My suggestion is to meet the loss it occasions as we do in the case of fire—insure against it. Insurance against unemployment is as sensible as insurance against fire. Ultimately its logic will make it inevitable despite the fact that middle class opinion now identifies it with the "dole," which in theory it opposes, although in practice we are paying large "doles" in the form of public and private outdoor relief to help meet the burden of unemployment. When we come to introduce unemployment insurance, as come we shall, we need not and

should not slavishly imitate the European models. The unemployment insurance systems of England and Germany were installed when these countries had no statistics of the fluctuations in employment. Their rates are therefore uniform between industries, being so much per worker in Great Britain and a given percentage of the payroll in Germany. No financial incentive is furnished under either of these systems for employers to stabilize their factories and reduce unemployment.

Here in America however we have the best employment statistics of any capitalistic country in the world. It is possible to group industries according to the amount of seasonal and cyclical unemployment which they may have caused and to fix the average rates for the industry accordingly. Employers with better than the average record for the industry could then have their rates correspondingly reduced while those with bad records would have their rates increased. Thus employers would be rewarded if they stabilized production and punished if they did not. The costs of average seasonal employment would be placed on the consumer and fresh purchasing power would be given the worker during the periods of depression, and this would help to check the decline in business. Insurance is not therefore an alternative which may be avoided by independent stabilization but rather an integral part of any program of stabilization and an agency to spur business into renewed action to reduce unemployment.

# A MASSACHUSETTS EXPERIMENT IN SAVINGS BANK LIFE INSURANCE

Alice H. Grady, Deputy State Commissioner, Savings Bank Life Insurance, Boston

INETEEN years ago Louis D. Brandeis, addressing this Conference said, "Men are not free while financially dependent upon the will of other individuals. Financial dependence is consistent with freedom only where claim to support rests upon right and not upon favor." He urged the adoption of an adequate system of workingmen's insurance, to cover the contingencies of sickness, accident, superannuation, unemployment, and death.

At that time the Massachusetts system of savings bank life insurance was in its infancy, the first policy having been written in June, 1908. The system undertook to provide for insurance against death and old age, and also indirectly, through the medium of savings bank deposits, against unemployment. Today it has had twenty-one and a half years of practical experience, and the amount of insurance in force is \$74,475,769, representing

88,000 policies.

Banks identified with the system number 116. Of these, 14 have established insurance departments and the other 102 act as receiving stations for the 14 insurance banks. In the practical operation of the system, the premium for \$14,000 life insurance, or for \$2,800 annuity, is distributed among the 14 insurance banks, in this way tending to avoid concentration of quick capital in the hands of a single institution. Other provisions of the savings bank insurance law conduce to the same end. For example, the insurance department of a savings bank may not accumulate a surplus to an amount above 10 per cent of its legal reserve. The law specifically requires that all of the net profits each year shall

be distributed to policyholders excepting only such amounts as are by law required or permitted to be set aside to surplus.

The system is surrounded with many restrictive safeguards in the interests of policyholders, some of which are as follows: the insurance departments of the savings banks may not employ solicitors; no bank may write more than \$1,000 insurance on any one life; only persons resident in Massachusetts or regularly employed therein may be insured; policyholders must share annually in the net profits of the business; the mortality experience in all banks is unified at the end of each year; the system is administered by seven trustees appointed by the governor, who serve without compensation; only such policies may be written by the banks as are prepared by the state actuary for savings bank life insurance, and only at rates fixed by the same official, who is employed by the commonwealth and over whom the savings and insurance banks have no jurisdiction whatever; only such persons may be insured as are approved by the state medical director, over whom the savings banks exercise no jurisdiction whatever; the insurance departments of the savings banks are under the joint supervision of the commissioner of insurance and the commissioner of banks; all life and endowment policies must guarantee to the policyholder a cash surrender value after premiums have been paid for six months or more.

Because of the last named provision lapsed policies are practically unknown, the number of lapsed policies in savings bank life insurance now representing only 1.26 per cent of the number issued. This is a noteworthy accomplishment, when contrasted with the fact that the commercial life insurance companies average 25 per cent lapse on their ordinary policies, and 59 per cent

lapse on their weekly premium policies.

The system rests solidly with the principle that the cost of providing for death and old age is a part of the cost of living in youth, and that this cost should be recognized as a fixed charge upon current wages. It is not, as some persons have assumed, "state insurance." The state's participation in it consists of supervisory and administrative control in order to secure uniformi-

ty of cost and procedure throughout all branches of the system. The state also employs two instructors who devote their entire time to explaining the benefits of the plan to the people. This administrative control, and the instruction work will represent a net cost to the state in 1930 of about \$23,000, and a steadily decreasing amount in each subsequent year, until in 1934 and thereafter the insurance departments of the savings banks will repay to the state the total cost of supervision each year, thus putting the system on an absolutely self-supporting basis. This repayment is arranged for in such a way as not to disturb in any respect the scale of dividends to policyholders already well established, and which have made possible for the persons insured under this plan the lowest cost legal reserve level premium life insurance in the United States.

Those who derive financial benefit from the operation of the savings bank insurance system are not by any means confined to persons who have subscribed for insurance in the savings banks. The concessions forced from the weekly premium insurance companies by the establishment of this system now represent a saving to our Massachusetts people of about twelve million dollars annually, and a very large percentage of the entire population of Massachusetts is in some measure affected by this enormous saving.

The first of these concessions took effect on January 1, 1907, when the savings bank insurance bill was introduced in the Massachusetts Legislature; the second on July 1, 1909; and the third on January 1, 1918. As indicating the powerful influence which the establishment of the savings bank insurance system had on the weekly premium insurance companies, it is significant that for a quarter of a century prior to 1907, the benefits to the policyholders under the weekly premium policies had never been increased but had, on the contrary, been several times decreased.

Individual policies are written on the straight life plan, on the limited payment life plan, on the endowment plan, and also on the five-year-term plan. There are also deferred annuities and immediate annuities. The latter are paid for by a single premium, and may be had on the cash refund plan, or without cash refund. It is worthy of comment that during the two years ended October 31, 1929, the premiums received on account of annuity contracts amounted to \$677,740. This represents 15.88 per cent

of the total premium income during the two years.

The deferred annuity plan is especially attractive to the detached man or woman whose chief concern is individual economic independence during old age. For instance, beginning at age 30 a man deposits \$10.70 a month, and continues this deposit during 35 years, that is, until he reaches age 65, at which time he ceases to make deposits. The banks then begin to pay to him an annuity of \$1,000 a year, this payment to continue as long as he lives. It will be observed that during the 35 years his total deposits have aggregated \$4,494. It is estimated that he will have received dividends amounting to about \$630, so that his life income of \$1,000 a year has cost him net only about \$3,864. The nature of this contract is such that if the annuitant should die before reaching the annuity age, his estate would be entitled to receive an amount equal to the sum of his deposits (on an annual basis), plus interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum compounded annually.

Employers of labor throughout the commonwealth have established agencies for the convenience of their employes, and automatic deduction of insurance premiums is made from the pay envelopes, a single check being sent by the employer to the bank covering all premiums so deducted. Medical examinations for the insurance are made in the hospital room at the plant, and when the policies are ready for delivery they are sent by the bank to the paymaster for delivery to the employes. Through this automatic deduction plan there has been evolved what is popularly known as the dollar-a-week plan, which combines \$1,000 life insurance with a savings bank account. As bearing on the problem of provision for old age, this dollar-a-week plan has developed very interesting possibilities. For instance, for age 30 at entry the insured makes an initial deposit of \$6.00 and is immediately insured for \$1,000. Thereafter he deposits \$1.00 weekly, so that

at the end of the first year his deposits have totalled \$57.00. Four quarterly premiums of \$5.36 each have been deducted to pay for his insurance, amounting to \$21.44. The balance of \$35.56 remains in his savings bank account to earn interest. At the end of the policy year the dividend on his insurance policy is applied to purchase paid-up additional insurance, the face of his policy thus increasing with each policy year. At the same time his deposit account also increases. If this systematic saving is continued for 35 years, that is, until he reaches age 65, he may surrender his policy and his bank book and receive in cash (estimated) \$3,807.69. His total deposits during the 35 years will have amounted to \$1,825.00. It is therefore clear that the amount available to him at age 65 is \$1,982.69 more than the sum-total of his deposits, and he has been insured for an amount rising from \$1,000 during the first year to \$4,600 in the thirty-fifth year. Having reached age 65, if he chooses now to invest his \$3,807.69 cash in a savings bank annuity, it will yield him a guaranteed income of \$458 a year throughout the balance of his lifetime.

Employes' group insurance is also written under a blanket policy issued to the employer, covering not less than 50 persons, and not less than 75 per cent of the employes. The premiums on the group policy are paid either entirely by the employer, or jointly by the employer and employes, usually on a fifty-fifty basis. For the group insurance no medical examination is required, and if the insured person leaves the employ while the policy is in force, he has thirty-one days within which to convert his insurance, without physical examination. About 18 per cent of the total in-

surance in force is on the group plan.

It is apparent that any system of life insurance which can operate without the payment of commissions to agents out of premium income must effect a considerable saving in cost to the policyholders, and it is pertinent to ask what the actual cost to the policyholder is under such a plan. The following will illustrate: at age 28 a \$500 straight life policy may be had for a monthly premium of 86 cents; at the end of the first year the policyholder receives a dividend of \$3.43 and his insurance has cost him

only \$6.89 for the year; if for any reason the insured should wish to terminate the contract at the end of the first policy year he is entitled to receive a guaranteed cash value of \$3.34, thus making the net cost of his \$500 insurance for the year \$3.55; reduced to a daily basis, this averages less than one cent a day for \$500 protection.

A person age 28 at entry whose straight life policy was issued in 1908 will receive on the anniversary of his policy in 1930 a dividend exceeding 65 per cent of his annual premium, and there has not been a single year during the 22 years that he has not re-

ceived a substantial dividend on his policy.

In view of the fact that the system was established as a constructive protest against the high cost of life insurance in the commercial companies, it is now a fair question to ask "How much cheaper is this insurance than that written by the commercial life insurance companies?" It is of course impossible to answer this question categorically for all ages. It may be stated, however, that for age 35 at entry the net cost of \$1,000 straight life insurance over a period of 20 years is, on the average, 26 per cent less than that furnished by the commercial life insurance companies. This assumes the comparison to be made with an ordinary policy issued by the companies. If a comparison is made with the weekly premium policies issued by the commercial life insurance companies, then it will be found that the net cost of savings bank life insurance is at least 50 per cent less.

### ECONOMIC OLD AGE

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#### THE PUBLIC LOOKS AT THE PROBLEM

Glenn A. Bowers, Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., New York City

CONOMIC old age may be reached at various years after mid-life, depending upon one's physical and men-Ital condition as well as previous working experience. Economic old age is, therefore, that period of a person's life when he cannot find employment because of his age or physical condition due to age. He may in reality be a better person for certain jobs than younger workers, but if no one is willing to hire him or if he cannot otherwise support himself he is economically old. Sometimes the justification for such unemployment is difficult to find. Industry is society's workshop. The public expects industry to produce economically the things which people want, assuming that proper standards in working conditions are maintained. Furthermore, industry is in our day competitive and according to the rules of competition the more efficient crowd out the less efficient. In periods such as the present when several factors have contributed to a more or less serious unemployment situation, the tendency is for industry to shake out the less useful of all ages, and among these the older workers are often the most conspicuous even where they are not the most numerous.

The public does not, or at least ought not, expect that industry will maintain within its ranks workers—young or old—who have outlived their usefulness. On the other hand, the public may expect of industry that the ranks of employes be not filled with physically immature children merely because their labor is cheaper than that of older workers. There is a widespread impression

that the average age of gainfully occupied persons is decreasing. Such a picture fortunately is not borne out by the facts.

It is not within the scope of this paper to expose the fallacy that hiring age limits in employing companies are at the root of the old age dependency problem. True it is that the employment rules of some companies are applied at times with a harshness that shows lack of human sympathy and at times may deserve public disapproval. It may be, however, that even such companies are more effectively serving their communities as well as themselves through maintaining a working force which is neither too young nor too old, particularly if they provide a system of retirement with pay for those of its employes who have long service records. Such retirement plans may be looked upon by the public as tending to prolong independence in old age for at least a limited group of workers.

Modern industry has become a complicated affair. The individual to an ever increasing degree must adjust himself to economic forces and learn to live and to work with others for mutual advantage. In this melée the highest type of self-interest of the individual demands that economic independence shall be approximated. Each person is therefore charged, upon attaining the age of maturity, to work and save. In this personal responsibility, often owing to circumstances entirely beyond individual control, some succeed and some fail. Although the public may reasonably expect of its citizens the fullest exercise of their energy, ingenuity, and thrift, it may also look to those in control of industry so to conduct their financial relationships with employes that they may accumulate a reserve for old age. Not only should rates of pay and regularity of work be such as will permit a steadily increasing standard of living and a saving for later years, but sound facilities for savings and investments may be arranged when lacking.

Factories and offices are decentralized units of society, not agencies alien to society. Our population is one large integrated organization in which industrial engineering and social engineering are carried on side by side. The significance of this fact is that public viewpoints and industrial viewpoints are not inherently opposed to each other. The problem is to coordinate all efforts to attain the common goal of economic independence for every one in old age. Issues are frequently raised in discussions such as is provided by today's program which cloud the basic question, namely, Shall citizens of the United States who have reached economic old age or economic dependency be supported by public funds or from private charity? Who is to pay the bill? Granted that an individual should do all he can to support himself and that his own family has a prior moral obligation, it seems to be settled in all civilized countries and specifically in the United States that state relief will be rendered according to need. Exception must be made of course for that extremely small minority of individuals who would eliminate from the functions of the state any responsibility for protection of the individual against the hazards of life.

Once the principle of state care for the dependent aged is accepted in public opinion, it is for the legislatures to determine the extent and manner of its application. The county poor farm and the almshouse for a long period were the accepted types of public aid for the dependent aged. In more recent years, along with the growth in favor of outdoor relief for all dependent groups, states have undertaken to reorganize their relief systems for the aged. Since the adoption of the Alaska law in 1915, twelve states have passed so called old age pension laws: Montana and Nevada in 1923; Wisconsin in 1925; Kentucky in 1926; Maryland and Colorado in 1927; California, Wyoming, Utah, and Minnesota in 1929; and New York and Massachusetts in 1930. Agitation for similar relief may be found in many other states and in the federal Congress.

The explanation for this apparent sweep of public opinion favoring better systems for care for the aged may be traced to the conviction that the needs of this group are not being adequately met by existing private and public agencies and that the public conscience is being aroused regarding this problem. The example of Mr. Alfred du Pont in privately surveying the extent of the

need in Delaware and in personally carrying the cost of old age relief in that state pending action of the next legislature is a dra-

matic example of the changing attitude in industry.

We come finally to the question of the right to public support of the person who has reached economic old age. It has been argued that he has acquired a right to be supported by virtue of his former contribution to industry, that society has an unpaid debt and owes him a living. Such justification if standing alone might indeed leave many to die—those who have done little to warrant the assumption of such an obligation by society. Indeed society might have been better off had they never been born. But these delinquents did not ask to be born, which leads to another and perhaps more acceptable justification for public support. This is the modern social code already mentioned, that the strong shall support the weak, those able to bear the cost shall be taxed to support those who would otherwise suffer. To place this form of public aid on the grounds of financial debt for services which may have been liabilities as much as assets is a form of rationalization which the American public in 1930 does not understand. On the other hand, need is a definite criterion, while right is a most indefinite and intangible one. As a practical matter, the granting of a pension as a right to which all would naturally be entitled irrespective of financial condition would entail a tax burden which probably no country or community would tolerate even if it could.

In conclusion, the remedies and relief for economic old age in the United States are yet in an experimental stage. Experience with state old age relief laws and voluntary industrial pensions is still too fragmentary and too inadequate to warrant judgment in favor of present prevailing forms. Far more research and study are needed on the extent of old age dependency, on amounts required for relief, and on administrative techniques. The part which industrial pension plans will eventually play, the extent of coverage under insurance company annuity policies, and the possibilities of contributory schemes, both private and public, are to date relatively undetermined factors in the coordinated system which will eventually be developed.

#### INDUSTRY LOOKS AT THE PROBLEM

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MERICAN industry, particularly the manufacturing industry, is constructively benefiting and aiding the older worker, and continually endeavoring to meet new problems which arise.

In 1928 a study of employment relations activities was made in the eight leading manufacturing states—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Connecticut. It was an analysis of 4,655 establishments, each having 50 or more workers, a total of 2,505,815 workers, and yields the following interesting information: 464 plants employing 279,069 workers provide a supplemental bonus for length of service; 432 plants employing 623,853 workers have some form of stock purchase for employes; 697 plants employing 1,012,722 workers provide death benefits through mutual benefit associations and 820 plants with 1,098,390 workers similarly provide sickness and accident benefits; 1880 plants with 1,130,217 employes furnish group life insurance; 662 plants with 364,290 employes furnish group health and accident insurance; 660 plants with 989,983 employes have pension plans for long-service workers; 494 plants with 627,164 employes have organized savings plans for employes.

Various size groupings of plants have pension plans as follows: plants having I to 49 employes, I.2 per cent; those having 50 to 100, 3.7 per cent; those having 101 to 500, II.9 per cent; those having 50I to 1,000, 27.5 per cent; those having over 1,000, 41.6 per cent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Economic Status of the Wage Earner in New York and Other States, National Industrial Conference Board.

You will be interested to know that the Employment Relations Committee and Board of Directors of the National Association of Manufacturers recently adopted the following statement:

The National Association of Manufacturers urges the continuing study by employers of existing experiences with private disability and retirement systems. It urges their establishment wherever practicable and where means of the employer permit; it suggests the further study of private collective or group systems of age retirement where individual employers may not find it feasible to individually establish such systems.

It is sometimes alleged that few workers are employed long enough to be eligible for plant pensions, but such statements are fallacious, being based on a length-of-service analysis of all employes and not on the length of service of the older workers. Our analysis of the length of service of the 12,101 older employes of 25 industrial concerns, selected at random, employing a total of 140,807 employes (all but 2,500 being in manufacturing establishments) gives the following results:

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS IN AGE GROUP

Years of Service with Present Firm	55-59		60-64		65 and Over		Total 55 and Over	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
30 and over	713	12.5	760	20.9	685	24.7	2158	17.8
25-29	399	7.0	272	7.5	175	6.3	846	7.0
20-24	511	9.0	312	8.6	289	10.4	1112	9.2
15-19	692	12.1	443	12.2	353	12.7	1488	12.3
10-14	1347	23.5	797	22.0	499	18.0	2643	21.9
5-9	1185	20.8	659	18.2	543	19.6	2387	19.7
Under 5	852	15.0	385	10.6	230	8.3	1467	12.1
Total	5699		3628		2774		12101	

We find that 42.6 per cent of the 55-59 year old employes have been with the same firm 15 or more years; 49.2 per cent of the employes 60-64 years old; and 54.1 per cent of the employes 65 years or older. We discover, then, that about 54 per cent of employes 65 years of age or over employed in industry will be eligible for pensions if with plants having such plans.

The increase which was observed in the proportionate number

of workers 65 years of age and older in manufacturing and in all other industries from 1900 to 1920 has continued. A detailed analysis of 1,189,006 workers in 1923 and of 2,632,822 in 1928 shows a higher percentage of workers in the older age groups the latter year. In 1923, for all workers over 40 years it was 31.88 per cent; for all over 50 years, 14.49 per cent; for all over 60 years 4.65 per cent; for all over 70 years, .74 per cent; while in 1928 percentages were respectively, 33.74; 15.03; 4.92; .87.

With reference to group life insurance analysis of the amount in force in the United States December 31, 1927 (figures of ten leading companies, doing about 88 per cent of the business) gives the following division:

Industrial Classification	Number of Lives	Amount of Insurance		
Manufacturing	2,283,611	\$2,899,637,411		
"Transportation and Public Service" .	773,898	1,290,256,084		
Commercial ("Trade and Service")	295,769	451,649,741		
"Clerical and Professional"	370,988	859,278,365		
All other	221,386	370,325,985		
Total	3,945,652	\$5,860,877,586		

This table, covering practically the entire manufacturing industry, shows the average manufacturing group life insurance policy to be \$1,265; the 2,595,011 lives covered (we have included estimate for the smaller companies doing 12 per cent of the total group business) constituted 31 per cent of the 8,353,325 wage-earners in 1927 shown by the United States Census of Manufacturers.

Group life insurance was launched in 1911; the amount has steadily risen, the volume in the United States being (in round figures): 1912, \$13,000,000; 1913, \$31,000,000; 1914, \$64,000,000; 1915, \$99,000,000; 1916, \$153,000,000; 1917, \$347,000,000; 1918, \$627,000,000; 1919, \$1,146,000,000; 1920, \$1,662,000,000; 1921, \$1,599,000,000; 1922, \$1,847,000,000; 1923, \$2,469,000,000; 1924, \$3,195,000,000; 1925, \$4,299,000,000; 1926, \$5,426,000,000; 1927, \$6,379,000,000; 1928, \$8,034,000,000; 1929 (estimate), \$9,300,000,000.

We find, too, an increasing number of industrial companies intelligently considering the question of adapting older employes to jobs. For example, of 316 Kentucky industrial firms investigated 171 or 54 per cent were found by the State Department of Labor to have regular provision for changing the older workers

to less laborious and less dangerous positions.

As an illustration of how industry is applying itself to constructive study of this problem I present a typical example, the Norton Company of Worcester, Massachusetts. This company believes that the average worker wants to keep active in factory work as long as possible, also recognizes the danger of overloading the organization with workers who are paid more than their services are worth. It has adopted a plan which has three distinguishing characteristics: first, considering individually each older man to determine his actual working capacity; second, keeping each in the best of physical condition possible under the circumstances; and third, so arranging the work that each man is physically able to use the large experience which he has gained during his productive years with the company. The plan is administered through the cooperative efforts of the medical, production and employment departments. The employment department transfers the older men who because of physical reasons are unable to work any longer in one department, to another for which they are physically fitted, the decision being made after consultation with the medical and production departments. It has been found that there are at least 32 types of positions in this plant which may be filled by older workers with profit to themselves and the company. An allowance fund has been established which is drawn upon to pay each older worker the difference between what he actually earns and the amount he is paid. This prevents a hidden charge against production. The fact that at present, of 39 men 65 years of age and over, only three are unable to earn fully the wages paid them is an indication of the satisfactory operation of the plan.

I have endeavored to present briefly a birdseye view of those

parts of industrial relations problems which relate, directly or indirectly, to the programs of post-industrial old age in which you, as social workers and students, are interested. I wish, however, to declare most emphatically that it is unfair for individuals and groups to criticize industry because any of those plans are not in universal use throughout industry. It should be clearly understood: first, that no single plan is a solution for industrial or social problems and that one which may meet conditions in one plant and work well there may not be at all suited to another plant; second, that industry should receive credit for its widespread interest in all phases of employment relations and for the increasing experimentation with and use of constructive measures of improving management-employe relations and the welfare of industrial workers both while employed and in their post-industrial years.

We next consider the attitude of organized industry toward the public position on post-industrial economic old age. The National Association of Manufacturers favors a sound and efficient state system to relieve destitution in old age.

a) It is for each state to determine in terms of its own conditions whether such relief is to be institutional or otherwise or through a system in which institutional care is supplemented by other well considered methods.

b) It is for each state to determine in the light of its own conditions whether such systems of relief should be administered through a central agency or through counties and whether the plans adopted are to be mandatory or optional in form.

The National Association of Manufacturers just as definitely, however, declares itself opposed to

adoption of any general system of public old age pensions by any state predicated upon a declaration that arrival at a certain age with a minimum amount of property or income constitutes evidence of destitution, and thereby assures a definite monetary income to such individuals.

Right at this point, it appears, we need more precise general understanding of the terms used. What do we mean by "public old age pensions"? We must first carefully differentiate and distinguish from public old age pensions the following: public pensions for military service; public pension or retirement systems for judges, teachers, civil service workers, and other classes

of public servants; public or private relief provisions for carefully discriminating care of actually indigent persons in their own homes or in institutions, and industrial or plant pension retirement plans. The principles of none of these are opposed by organized industry. The essential elements of the public old age pension laws and proposals to which organized industry has declared its opposition are three, namely: first, definite age at which payments will begin; second, payments in money only; third, definite actual or maximum amount of such monetary payment specified.

Such public old age pension plans may or may not provide restrictions as to the amount of income or property the recipient may possess. Most American laws and proposals arbitrarily assume that an individual is "destitute" and in need of a "pension" if he has property valued at less than \$3,000-\$5,000. These pension plans may or may not have citizenship, residence, non-criminal record and similar qualifications and provisions, and be contributory or non-contributory in character. None of the ten state laws or the various state and federal proposals provide for

contributions by prospective beneficiaries.

It will be observed that I have referred to only ten state old age pension laws, whereas the preceding speaker mentioned twelve, including the 1930 New York act. Properly speaking, the New York act is an old age "relief" measure, and not an old age "pension" law. The New York law does not provide that the relief given shall be exclusively by monetary payment but, on the contrary, permits relief in the form of rent payments, food, clothing, medical care, and so forth, as may be deemed necessary in the individual case by the proper local authorities. Nor does it specify any definite or maximum amount of relief which shall be given in individual cases. As adopted the bill was advocated by the Associated Industries of New York, representing the organized employers of that state. Such an old age "relief" measure seems much more in accord with the increasing use of social case work, as advocated by Mary Richmond and Sir Charles

Loch, than a provision for monetary public old age pensions, which must necessarily be non-discriminating in character.

It is not, indeed, the comparatively modest financial provisions of present state old age pension laws and proposals to which we object. But we all know that if a bad principle is adopted it tends to spread, and we know further that initial costs are only a beginning which will later bring vastly greater costs imposing an uneconomic burden upon industry.

We are, as I have indicated, opposed to the fundamental idea of assuring to individuals a definite monetary income from the public treasury upon arrival at some fixed age. Such a principle if applied lessens incentive to individual energy, ingenuity, and thrift; by lessening these qualities the public not only harms the individuals concerned but tends to lessen the economic efficiency of industry, which must employ workers with decreased energy and ingenuity.

American industry is increasingly studying the problems of economic old age within industry and is increasingly removing the necessity for public or private economic relief for retired employes. American industry is heartily in favor of state relief of "destitution in old age," either through institutional care or such care "supplemented by other well considered methods." It opposes any public policy, such as embraced in public old age pension laws, which recognizes and establishes the principle that individuals can count upon a definite monetary income from public funds upon arrival at some given age. Such a principle in practice impairs the exercise of that individual energy, ingenuity, and thrift upon which depends, in the final analysis, not only personal achievement and character, but industrial efficiency and national prosperity.

# THE INDUSTRIAL WOMAN LOOKS AT THE PROBLEM

Caroline Manning, United States Women's Bureau, Washington

Paradooxical as it may sound many a young girl of 29 in search of a job suddenly discovers that she is an old woman. A glance at the "help wanted" columns in any newspaper shows the preference for young girls of 18 to 21. Rarely is an applicant over 25 hired in the large telephone exchanges, and recently a personnel director who employs thousands of girls, in discussing the subject of age limits in hiring said that it was the firm's policy to employ only girls under 30, and that she dreaded to see an older woman enter the office. Of course, she added, "the rule is not so hard and fast but that some flexibility is possible for special cases, since fitness for the job occasionally requires an older woman, for example in the capacity of a matron."

In a report of the National Industrial Conference Board upon Industrial Pensions the statement is made that in a few limited situations the maximum hiring age limit for women is 10 years lower than for men, and that more of the firms reporting gave 30 and 35 as the maximum hiring age for women than gave the same low limit for men.

Today girls of 25 or so realize that it is hard to get through the employment gate. The experience of Anna, aged 28, is typical. Last summer the cigar firm for which she had worked 12 years abandoned its plant, so Anna, like all the other 200 or more girls who had been employed there, was hunting for work. The fact that she had advanced to the position of forelady was little recommendation in new places, and she soon learned that she was "too old now to get a good job." For three weeks she worked in a store, but the pay did not cover her room and board. For another two weeks she worked as an examiner in a hosiery mill—

one of the poorest jobs there, she said, with little chance of advancement. Everywhere she applied she was asked, "Are you experienced?" but nowhere was she given a chance to become experienced. When interviewed she had worked only five weeks out of the three months since her lavoff, and although as forelady she had earned \$23.00 a week her wages in her two subsequent jobs had been only \$8.50 and \$10.00 a week. A friend of Anna's also suddenly discovered when this factory closed that she too was old at 25. "I spent my youth there and here I am knowing nothing else to do," she said, describing her efforts to find a job as follows: "Before seven o'clock dozens of girls are waiting in line. They want young girls and seems like hundreds answer the ads. Those girls work for nothing to get a job, even \$7.00 a week. Then I hunt all over and put my name in every place I pass, stores, mills, any place but they all want experienced girls and young girls."

The following are comments of other girls out of work also "old" before they were 30. "Unless you have a friend it is no use to ask. Only younger girls get jobs now." "Always my luck to find lots of others hunting at the places where I went. Younger girls seemed to get the places, and I couldn't afford to work for

\$12 a week." "I lied but I didn't lie enough."

When women at the border line of 30 find it difficult to get jobs because of age, the problem is naturally more acute for women in their thirties as the following comments illustrate: "The ads ask for girls 16 to 24." "Told at the silk mill they prefer girls 16 to 18." "When you are old (39) nobody wants you in factories." An active woman of 38 received a brutally frank rebuff from one superintendent who, pointing to a sign for help wanted, said, "It reads 'girls wanted,' not old women."

To the woman of over 40 forced to seek for a job, the situation seems almost hopeless. Listen to some of their comments: "They'd ask 'how old' and then say they have nothing for one of my age"; "I know I'm old but not old enough for this" (referring to her dependency upon her married daughter). "My

husband and I seem to have passed the age when we are expected

to live" (the speaker was 46).

These remarks are typical of many made by women visited during the course of a recent survey by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. During the interviews no especial emphasis was put upon age as a handicap so that these

comments were wholly identical.

About one thousand women hand cigar workers were visited during this survey in order to ascertain the effect upon their employment of the recent introduction of the automatic cigar making machine. It has been roughly estimated that the machine can maintain the same production rate with only half the working force that was required in the old method of making cigars by hand. This change in the method of manufacture was accompanied by a marked tendency towards centralization in a few plants and migration from small towns to metropolitan centers. Cigar workers had the distressing experience of witnessing cigar factory after cigar factory close its doors and firm after firm leave town, but they had no way of knowing that many of these firms were consolidating in one, two, or three large machine-equipped factories in metropolitan districts elsewhere. As an illustration of how the industry has been merging and at the same time migrating within the past few years, one large corporation has closed fifteen factories that were operated by hand and now confines its manufacturing to five plants, three of which are equipped with new automatic machines, not one of them located in a community where the former hand plants were. The total number of women employed since the reorganization is about the same but the personnel is entirely changed. Years of experience as a hand cigar maker are of little value in machine operating; and now the older skilled cigar maker must compete with the inexperienced young girl in the relatively few communities where there are still opportunities in the cigar trade. In other communities the former cigar maker was forced to look for a new job and her chances of adjustment varied inversely with her age and wages decreased as age increased. "I was too old to get a chance to learn

a decent job again," one said. "Never had a full pay envelope since," said another.

A comparison of the earnings of these women, both before the change and in subsequent jobs, shows how much greater the handicap was for the older women. In their former cigar jobs the median wage was highest for women between 30 and 40 but in subsequent jobs it was highest for women under 30 years old; in subsequent jobs the median wage runs down the scale from about \$14.00 for women under 30 to about \$12.00 for those 40 or over years of age. Women not yet 30 had seen the pay envelope shrink from almost \$17.00 in their former cigar work to about \$14.00 in a new job; women between 30 and 40 had seen the contents of the pay envelope dwindle from about \$18.50 to \$14.00; for women of 40 years or over weekly earnings had dropped from about \$16.00 to \$12.00.

Next in importance to wages is the steadiness of employment. Some women who had been thrown out of work by the closing of cigar factories were able to make an almost immediate readjustment into other jobs, but over 800 had been out of work involuntarily for periods varying from a few weeks to the entire time since the cigar factories, which had given the regular employment, had been abandoned. As in the case of wages, the oldest woman had suffered relatively more from longer periods of unemployment than had the younger ones. Roughly while almost half of the women of 40 years had been without work as much as 40 per cent of the time, only about a fourth of the women under 30 had lost as much as 40 per cent of the time. On the other hand, the order is reversed when those who had lost less than 20 per cent of the time is considered. While about a third of the women of 40 years or over benefited by the shorter periods of lost time, almost half of the women under 30 so benefited.

Another important factor in readjustments is the kind of work offering opportunities for employment. For the displaced cigar workers there was a natural trend into other cigar factories wherever possible; next it was a fairly natural step to go to other lines of manufacturing. Adapting oneself to an entirely different kind

of work is the more difficult, and although the proportion of such changes was small, it reveals interesting trends, some indicating industrial progress and others quite the contrary. Stores furnished employment for some of them; a very few became clerical workers and telephone operators; a few were self employed in their own family business ventures; more were in dressmaking shops. A different and depressing picture is presented by the larger numbers who got jobs in hotels, restaurants and laundries, by the many who are cleaning offices or were in domestic service, doing washings and all kinds of heavy day work or house work, and by the few who tried to make a living at canvassing, or at industrial home work of some sort, when everything else failed. The age distribution in these various miscellaneous industries is worth noting. More of the jobs in stores and laundries were held by the women in the youngest group, while no women of 40 or over had work in offices and none of 30 or over in telephone exchanges. On the other hand, the vast majority of the domestic service and home-work jobs fell to the lot of the older women.

Without question there is evidence that beyond the age of 25 or 30 industrial employment becomes increasingly precarious. Although women as young as 25 complain of the age barrier in seeking new jobs it has not yet been proven at what definite age maximum efficiency is reached or that production automatically decreases upon reaching a certain birthday. Industry is acting upon the assumption that you cannot teach an old dog new tricks and has not used practical tests to demonstrate fitness for simple jobs; nor has it proven that other qualities may not compensate for loss of speed.

But if a woman of 30 can learn to run an airplane or one of 50 to drive an automobile, she certainly should have a chance to show that she can watch an automatic weighing machine, or pull

the lever that starts or stops a wrapping machine.

#### THE CHURCH LOOKS AT THE PROBLEM

Rev. Joseph F. Thorning, S.J., Director, Social Research De-Partment, Georgetown University, Washington

HE Church looks at this problem from the standpoint of the inherent value of the human personality. The individual, young or old, in the eyes of the religious leader true to his calling is composed not merely of body, but of body and soul. This soul, both in the octogenarian and in the infant, is made to the image and likeness of God. It is the soul, immortal, spiritual, and free, which gives worth and purpose to life.

This is not the view that prevails in modern society. In the majority of colleges and universities of this country it is taught that man is a mere reflex machine, constituted wholly of matter and reacting like any elaborate complex of exclusively physical and chemical forces. Industrialists, no less than the general public, cannot fail to be affected by the false teaching of a grossly materialistic psychology and sociology. Why shouldn't a worn-out valve, a loose connecting rod, or a scotched bearing be junked dispassionately? If a man or woman beyond forty or forty-five years of age shows signs of wear and tear and is merely a collection of singularly alert molecules, what is to save him or her from the same fate? This mechanistic point of view disregards the human personality and is responsible for the heartless discarding of the weak and old. It is the duty of the Church to try to correct that attitude among both students of social science and the people at large. A philosophy which disregards the soul as a distinct, superior, spiritual entity is freighted with despair and holds neither mantle of protection nor message of hope, either for young or old.

The old themselves are apt to forget this important fact. They desire to keep pace with youth in the physical sphere and in the

pleasures that have to do with physical stimulation. Their play life is ebbing and they have no substitute. The novels, tabloids, movies, theaters, department stores, cafés, and beauty parlors cater to the view that physical pleasure is the only enjoyment worthy of the name. In the overemphasis placed on athletic achievement many universities tend to confirm this belief. What middle life should be is really a period of acquiring the more enduring, appropriate pleasures of mental and spiritual activity to balance the diminished degree of physical sensory and motor response. Dr. Nascher in his book Geriatrics mentions three factors as crucial in old age: mental stimulation, food, exercise. But why is the major emphasis placed on food and exercise? Why do so many do everything imaginable to alleviate the physical sufferings of the aged, and yet do so little to stimulate them intellectually or spiritually, to broaden their interests and develop their sympathies, to lift them out of the dullness of daily life and work? The dignity of man and the sanctity of age should be impressed upon the old as well as the young.

The Church, therefore, is not ready to jump to the conclusion that governmental action or social legislation is a sure solution of the problem. It looks upon federal aid as a refuge of last and dubious resort. Nor is the state, the unit of local government, to be invoked for wholesale methods of relieving dependency. The Church believes first in self-help, then mutual help, various types of unemployment insurance, voluntary and compulsory, and particularly stresses the obligation of the employer of labor to regard his employes as endowed with a spiritual as well as a material nature. It is undeniably true that the mere payment of a living wage would enable many a worker to provide against the

day of enforced idleness.

But the employer's duty is not fulfilled by paying a living wage. He is likewise bound in charity to provide opportunities for gradual advancement to his workers, enabling them to utilize their experience and their mature wisdom in the problems of industry. The Church herself furnishes an admirable example of how this may be done. The more experienced priests and min-

isters enjoy wider influence with a consequent lessening of physical exertion, receive positions of trust and responsibility, are often withdrawn from the strenuous labors of parish and classroom in order to accept the direction of institutions or to serve on the hierarchy. Nowhere is respect and proper placement for those advanced in years more marked than in the religious orders of men and women. Those who have borne the burden of the day and its heat are frequently employed as spiritual fathers, directors, novice-masters, advisers, and consultors. The Church recognizes that certain tasks are best left to the wise and old. She inculcates unceasing respect for the aged. There is nothing more beautiful than the veneration paid by young religious to those who have grown gray in the service of God. This is due to the emphasis, a much needed emphasis, on the soul as paramount to the body. Both modern industry and modern society would do well to ponder this example.

Signs of a proper evaluation of the older workers are not lacking. According to James M. Daly, president of the workerowned Golden Rule Shoe Company of Lynn, Massachusetts, prejudice against the older worker in industry has been built up on false ideas of efficiency. Mr. Daly at the age of 45 assumed control of a small shoe factory at the request of fellow employes, and in six years built it up to a point where 2,000 workers are employed in four plants, and output averages 12,000 pairs daily. He believes the older worker is one of the most valuable adjuncts of industry, and says: "I hired a man last week who is 65 years old and some of our most reliable employes range in age from 50 to 75 years. We pay better wages, operate on a five-day week plan and pay regular dividends of from 7 to 10 per cent. All this is in spite of the fact that older workers constitute a large

part of our working force."

Similar intelligence is exhibited in the letter of James F. Adams, general manager of the John A. Manning Paper Company, of Troy, New York, to Governor Roosevelt's Committee of Stabilization of Employment. In describing the methods employed by his company Mr. Adams declared: "Our machines are run for short periods, when orders warrant, at higher than normal speed, at a rate which the men could not sustain for a prolonged period, but which make enthusiastic cooperation practi-

cal for a short period."

This should make feasible short rest periods which have been adopted with incredibly good results in many plants today. Ten minutes' rest at midmorning and at midafternoon, although they were originally looked upon as a waste of time, have proven a real stimulus to output and quality of product. They prevent overfatigue and help to banish unpleasant reveries and mental depression that come to the overtired. Rest periods are of particular value to the older workers. Much unhappiness, discouragement and depression clear up under a well balanced program of work and rest.

Rest periods, however, are only palliatives. The radical need is to remove unpleasant reveries, dreads, and fears. Is it not a pity that old age is the period of life in which the least is known regarding its laws of mental health? The psychology of senescence has contributed little or nothing as to application of appropriate mental hygiene. For example, revery is as old as life but what has been done to eradicate fixity of thought or improper thought habits in the old? What methods have been devised to reinspire courage for new undertakings, to dispel suspicions, hypersensitiveness, and hostility to change? Why lavish infinite care on the mysteries of birth and infancy, why invoke medical science to lengthen the span of life, if we are not to elaborate a proper technique for extracting the important values of old age? Here again, when we have arrived at the place of looking at old age as a period of life rather than as a bodily condition, we shall give it the intelligent and detailed study that we have applied to infancy, childhood, and adolescence.

It is gratifying to note the interest in this subject shown at the recent New York meeting of the American Psychological Association. The need of studying the problems of workers above 40 who cannot find employment was discussed by Dr. Lorine Pruette and Professor Robert S. Woodworth of Columbia Univer-

sity. Dr. Pruette cited figures in support of the statement that "tomorrow we shall have more old people and less children," and asked "if maturity is not secure and rewarding, of what good is all our work with children?"

The most usual complaint made by the employer is that the old worker is too slow. This is no doubt partially true, but slowness comes, not as the inevitable accompaniment of added years but from a sustained habit of mental slumping, a broken attention, a looking backward rather than forward, and often from a dislike for the particular kind of work in hand. And yet old people have much unused, untapped power. "Second wind" was the happy phrase William James gave to it. "Once show the older worker," says Dr. Lillien J. Martin after a study of 263 cases between the ages of sixty and eighty-six, "how his speed may be increased, his depression banished, his fears allayed, his paralyzing emotions superseded, his happiness increased, and he will not be slow in seizing and championing the ideas that make for self-preservation." In other words the employer must recognize the need of helping the employed old. The most economical method of insuring the old worker a job is to rehabilitate him before he attempts to acquire one. The employer should familiarize himself with perfected economy of movement and its influence on output, the value of rest periods, the influence of food, light, temperature, noise, fresh air, amusement, and laughter, of mental stimulation and freedom from anxiety, in short the principles of scientific management. In one factory in England the workers were taught the best way of handling china with the result of a saving of 55 per cent to the firm from breakage and an actual lessening of fatigue to the workers. And it is gratifying to observe that as a depreciation fund is maintained to replace old machinery, there are numerous plant pensions to benefit the aging employe.

Inasmuch as economic old age is fundamentally one phase of technological (not merely seasonal nor cyclical) unemployment, the remedy proposed by Dr. John A. Ryan, director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, should not be overlooked. The radical difficulty in the present situation is that there are not enough jobs to go around and obviously this is a defect first felt by the old. You can create new jobs, declares Dr. Ryan, by reducing the hours of work of those now employed as well as by increasing wages in order to expand purchasing power in the hands of those who will buy large quantities of consumption goods. This method would remedy the specific evil, besides providing for the general unemployment situation. Care for the workless is bound to be an ultimate charge on industry or society, and why shouldn't the individual be given an opportunity to write off this charge by some constructive contribution? In insisting that the worker retain his self-respect, the Church is reiterating her age-old demand for a proper esteem for the soul and for human personality.

### OLD AGE ASSISTANCE: THE MASSA-CHUSETTS PLAN

Richard K. Conant, Commissioner State Department of Public Welfare, Boston

HEN Governor Allen signed the old age assistance bill, he gave to our department and to local boards of public welfare the opportunity for a great adventure in the care of aged persons. This new law opens the way for a development of social service for the aged, which we hope will become as widespread and as generally effective as has been the development of social service for children which has taken place during the last seventy-five years.

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Children's work has been so appealing and so constructive that in comparison with it the needs of aged people have been neglected. It has been comparatively hard to interest private agencies, public appropriating bodies, and the rank and file of social workers in service to old people, while children's work has been having such a period of growth. Still private and public agencies have made certain important beginnings in social service for aged persons. In Massachusetts, for example, the Boston Provident Association, the Bureau of the Aged of the Family Welfare Society, the Committee on Beneficiaries of the Home for Aged Men, and the New Bedford Home for the Aged which takes care of all its people without maintaining an institution, these societies and others throughout the state have developed excellent case work methods in caring for approximately eleven hundred persons over seventy years of age. These methods have been applied to a greater or less degree by the public agencies which care for over twenty-six hundred persons over seventy outside of institutions.

The challenge of the old age assistance bill lies in its broad ex-

tension of this partially developed system. It is as noteworthy an advance in our relief laws as was the mothers' aid law in 1913, and is one of the progressive achievements of Governor Allen's welfare administration.

We believe that the administration of this law upon good social service principles is of far greater importance than the admittedly great benefit which the money assistance will provide. We must provide the necessary social service for an estimated number of 8,000 persons over seventy years of age who are expected to apply for old age assistance. We intend that this system of administration shall, before many years have elapsed, be found

adequate to care for old persons of whatever age.

The medical side of the undertaking will be as important as any. Medical social service for children has been highly developed, with extensive resources, public and private, by way of medical clinics, habit clinics, and mental clinics. No such program has been developed for aged people, and yet it is one of the first essentials in a plan like this which contemplates the care of aged people outside of institutions. With children it is comparatively easy to secure a thorough medical and mental examination. With the aged person it is much more difficult to insist upon this, and vet the result must be accomplished and skilled general physicians must be employed to make a diagnosis and to prescribe treatment and diet, to prevent as far as possible the need of institutional care. Our state-wide system of cancer clinics serves 2,500 persons a year, and many chronic diseases other than cancer are being discovered and treated in their own homes. We look forward to the time when we shall have state-wide systems of clinics for arthritis, heart disease, and other chronic diseases, such as exist to a limited extent at Boston hospitals. The district nursing system will be of far reaching importance in this work. We have now in Massachusetts over 730 district or public health nurses to assist us on the medical side of this problem.

The great principle of children's work, that the child must be cared for at home whenever possible, will be found to apply

equally as a first principle in work with the aged. The new law expresses this in the words, "Such assistance shall, wherever practicable, be given to the aged person in his own home or in lodgings or in a boarding home," and in its provision that the boards of public welfare must consider the ability of children and others to support the aged person. And yet there is not, I believe, as great an objection to institutional care for many aged persons as we have raised against institutional care for children. For the person whose family ties have been entirely broken, there is a great feeling of security and companionship in a good home for the aged; for the chronically sick person the hospital or infirmary care will be more comfortable than the mere provision of a lodging.

Institutional care is necessary, we believe, for nearly all of the 1,750 persons over seventy years of age who are now being cared for in Massachusetts infirmaries. We have for some years developed the policy of giving relief outside the infirmary for all who

should be cared for outside.

We accept this opportunity to complete and perfect our system of public social service. This reform will be the logical outcome of a group of reforms in public welfare administration which have come about during the last two decades. In 1911 the old law which limited outdoor aid to \$2.00 a week in summer and \$3.00 a week in winter was changed so that this limitation was removed. Beginning with that change and very largely influenced by the mothers' aid law of 1913, the amounts of aid which have been given in the home by state, cities and towns have become increasingly adequate in Massachusetts. The mothers' aid law specifically required adequate relief and enforced this requirement by the provision for state reimbursement and especially through its new principle of state supervision. The expenditures by state, cities, and towns for aid in the home have increased from \$1,216,041 in 1913 to \$9,497,245 in 1929.

We expect to use the influence of this old age assistance movement just as we used the mothers' assistance reform of 1913 to strengthen rather than to overturn our administrative machinery.

Instead of setting up new machinery to administer the mothers' aid law, we put the burden upon the existing boards. As a result of state supervision the local boards were forced to employ trained visitors. Paid visitors now handle the work of the welfare boards in all of the 51 Massachusetts cities and towns, which have over 15,000 population. These cities and towns contain 76 per cent of the population of the state. These 51 cities employ 131 agents or visitors, exclusive of clerical workers. Almost all of these visitors are regarded by our state supervising visitors as being thoroughly competent and all but 23 have had some training in social service. They are protected by civil service and have a salary scale which compares favorably with the scale in private agencies. In the 304 towns of under 15,000 population, which contain 24 per cent of the population of the state, the work is for the most part done by members of the board, who are usually the selectmen of the town. In 40 of these towns there is a paid parttime welfare worker. Most of these towns make free use of the state visitor as an expert to help them solve their problems, and in all but 9 of the 304 towns there is excellent cooperation between the local board and the state visitors. Visitors are frequently invited to attend the weekly meetings of the local board or receive frequent telephone calls for advice.

In reforming the old system of poor relief to make it a modern scheme of public welfare, we have changed the Elizabethan name "overseer of the poor" to "board of public welfare," and we believe that we now have a firmly established and well organized framework for local administration under state supervision. We have in Massachusetts a very strong feeling of local responsibility, which has come down to us from the early Colonial times that are being celebrated this year in our Tercentenary. In those days every town was a watertight compartment. Newcomers were warned out and refused aid, and there was no care for the unsettled person. The colony at first attempted to dispose of unsettled persons upon the various towns, but this plan was unsuccessful. The strength of local compartments of government in the end forced Massachusetts to do what no other state, as far as

I know, has done—embark upon an extensive program of outdoor aid for people who have no local settlement. This began in 1675 when the inhabitants of Deerfield were driven out by the Indians and the colony enacted appropriations to care for them. This principle was extended very widely during the period of immigration, which began in the nineteenth century, and the Board of Alien Passengers Commissioners was the forerunner of The Board of State Charities. The Board of State Charities was founded upon the care of unsettled persons, and this is the basis for our expenditure of \$5,000,000 annually today. The 6,000 or more children in foster homes, whom we care for, are largely children without local settlement. This development has made state supervision of local welfare work possible. As the state more and more assumed the burden of caring for unsettled cases, state supervision developed and has provided us, we believe, with the fundamentally correct system to enable us to attack this great problem of old age assistance.

Another of the series of reforms in the poor laws which we have been making is in the changing of almshouses into infirmaries. The great development of outdoor aid has made it possible for us to establish the principle that a person should not be sent to an infirmary for poverty alone. Obsolete and little used almshouses have been gradually abandoned. The number of these institutions has decreased from 211 in 1902 to 121 in 1930. Under the guidance of our well known expert, Francis Bardwell, new infirmaries have been built in several cities and towns during the last few years. Haverhill has built an excellent infirmary of 60 beds; Brockton built an infirmary of 70 beds and, since the fire at its old city home in February, has begun a new fireproof infirmary of 60 beds; the new Cambridge City Home, finished last year, is a model infirmary of fireproof construction with hospital and dormitory accommodations for 220 persons, and with every necessary hospital convenience—hospital beds, call lights, a sterilizing room, small tables in the dining room, a model kitchen and adequate and comfortably furnished quarters for the nurses.

Mr. Bardwell's view of the new law indicates the spirit in which we expect to have it administered. When it went into effect he said:

Because of it, aged people can be placed so that the element of happiness enters into their everyday life. Life, with a reasonable amount of consideration as to how they want to live it; to preserve their independence of spirit—to still be somebody; to live where they will be in daily contact with others who will show them little kindly attentions, or in an environment where there are little children; where the world treats them with the courtesy with which they treat the world, or where they can discuss their past with attentive listeners; near the church of their choice and enjoying the peace that should come with the close of a life of struggle.

A third important reform has been the elimination from the statutes of the word "pauper." We have practically removed the old stigma of "pauperization" by public relief by revising the language and by taking the word out of all forms and books and

by the consequent reform in practices.

These reforms in our poor laws have prepared the way for a complete and adequate welfare system which this new law will, we believe, make secure. Although the expenditures have increased so largely, the amounts from which they started were pauper doles and there is still need for greater increases to secure adequate aid. In Boston, for example, a needy aged person who is living in a room in the South End may get \$5.00 a week from the Boston Board and \$2.00 or more a week from a private agency. This is not sufficient to provide the dignified and suitable care required under the new law. The new law does not fix a maximum of \$7.00 a week. It has the important advantage of elasticity. We shall be able to enforce family responsibility as far as there is ability to support, and if a person is provided with clothing and shelter we can assist with a few dollars per week, or if he is entirely without resources we can give according to the need \$12.00 or \$15.00 a week. We shall be able to give assistance to a person to keep a small homestead, and many people will apply who are now ineligible for assistance on account of a small amount of savings or a small equity in real estate. The boards of public welfare are already aiding 2,655 persons over seventy years of age at an expenditure of approximately \$600,000, or an

average of \$4.34 a week. We estimate that the new law will add 5,400 persons at an expenditure of \$2,728,000. The old age assistance is likely to average \$8.00 a week per person.

We expect that this standard of adequacy and the amount of case work which will result for persons over seventy will in a few years so affect the methods of assisting all aged applicants, sixty-five years of age and many of sixty years of age, that the same principles will be applied to their care.

In a law of this sort there is no reason for an age limitation, except the practical one of the initial burden of expense. We can expect soon to take care of all needy aged persons long before they reach the point of absolute destitution. We are doing so to-day for those who apply, and the new practice will be more liberal in its view of the person's need to make an application for assistance.

Many administrative details are left to be covered by the rules and regulations of our department. Matters so left include the amount of property which a person may have and still be aided, the length of time he may be absent from the state and yet have his residence deemed continuous, the method of application, the type of persons for whom institutional aid will be prescribed and the delinquencies which will prevent a person from being held "deserving." It is the practice in Massachusetts not to write into the statutes too much detail. Rather than to have matters of this sort tinkered with year after year by the legislature, they are usually left to the rules and regulations of the departments. The policies which our department established under the mothers' aid law, after conferences with local boards and private agencies, have worked well and it has been possible to adjust them as occasion has arisen.

The law provides for adequate assistance to citizens seventy years of age or over who are in need. This assistance is to be given by city or town boards of public welfare under the supervision of the State Department of Public Welfare. The state will reimburse one-third of the cost in settled cases and the whole cost in

unsettled cases. Children will be required to support their parents if they are able. The theory of the law is to enforce family responsibility and not to substitute the state for the family. No new boards are set up, although the boards are to create divisions of old age assistance within their present organizations. The law goes into effect July 1, 1931, giving us time to secure appropriations and to plan policies. The underlying principles of the measure are adequate assistance at home, individualized treatment of each case, and local administration with state supervision.

# THE SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM, AS THE SOCIAL WORKER SEES IT

Harriet L. Herring, Research Associate, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

N A sense this topic presupposes a relationship between social workers and the industrial problem which exists chiefly in the activities of mill welfare or community workers, who are only incidentally—and accidentally—social workers. Social work and social workers in the professional sense of the term touch the mills and their employes only slightly. This is because of the scarcity of social workers and social agencies in the South, especially in small towns and rural areas, while the mills are chiefly in small towns or in villages of their own building. Practically the only regular social workers who serve the mill villages are county public welfare workers as in North Carolina and Alabama, and in an adaptation of the system in Georgia. But these workers have a wide territory to cover and a wider range of duties, and so their contact consists, for the most part, in relief and assistance in cases of extreme maladjustment. If such a county worker has a poor village in his territory he assumes that it will furnish more than its proportionate number of calls; if he has a good one he assumes that it will furnish a very few calls.

Now the attitude of the social worker toward the mills and the mill people, much like that of the general public of which he is a part, grows partly out of these relationships and partly out of the historical background of the industry. Rising out of a time of exhaustion, it seemed—and to a great extent was—a means of economic and social salvation brought about by public spirited local leaders. This concept has been kept current by the newspapers and chambers of commerce, not so different from those of other parts of the country, in the doctrine that building mills and furnishing work to people and payrolls to towns is good

per se. It is not strange that the public in general accepts the mill owners and their programs somewhat at their own evaluation. The mill operatives were recruited mainly from an underprivileged and poorly esteemed class; and cotton mill work and cotton mill villages have nowhere, in England, New England, or the South, raised their workers in the social esteem. It is not strange therefore that the public in general accepts them as a bit "different."

To be sure there are evidences of change in this acceptance of the general attitude by social workers. With the increase of agencies and trained workers there is beginning to be shown disapproval of the fact that some mills are unwilling to let the regular social agencies function in their villages as in other communities. Employes are becoming acquainted with these agencies and show signs of preferring them to the services of representatives of the mill. It is perhaps only fair to add that some mill managements have willingly turned over to the social agencies functions which they used to carry on. Indeed I have even found managers and mill welfare workers who complain that they do not get the service to which their taxes and contributions entitle them.

Most of the social work in the mill village is done, as has been suggested, rather incidentally by mill welfare workers, and any consideration of this subject must include their activities and attitudes. Now they have several more important limitations when it comes to dealing with the industrial problem. There is the limitation of training and outlook. Most of them are employed because of training or ability as domestic science teachers, nurses, recreational leaders, athletic directors, and what not. They proceed to do the best they can with whatever problem or need that arises, from organizing a foreman training class to having a dose of 606 administered, from adjusting a family quarrel to putting on a community fair. The wonder is that, untrained for most of these duties and spreading themselves so thin, they do any effective work at all. And yet they do much adjusting, much educational and preventive work, and so keep

many potential cases from going to the county public welfare

departments.

There is, secondly, the limitation of control by the employer. Part of this is actual, forthright, and inevitable—the old story of the right of him who pays the piper to call the tune. Part of it is subconscious, because I know from my own experience and that of my acquaintances that many an employer raises no objection to practically any line of activity which the welfare worker wishes to develop. The feeling that he might do so is often chiefly in the mind of the welfare worker herself. But at any rate, this control by the employer and the job is selective; only those undertake the task, certainly only those stay with it, who consider it worth while as it is generally run, who sincerely find in it many of the deepest satisfactions of social service.

There is, thirdly, the limitation of the situation. Mill welfare workers who find it necessary to make adjustments, to solve the problems of an individual or a family, must do so in terms of the mill and village, and of that particular mill and village rather than in terms of the needs of the client. They are not free to use to the full the agencies of adjustment, meager as they are, nor all the opportunities of the community. They must either ask in an outside agency to take the case, or in the absence of such an agency, let the people drift away to some other solution if

they can.

These attitudes and limitations of both general social workers and mill welfare workers which exist in normal times carry over powerfully into periods of industrial stress. For the social worker is expected to deal with cases of acute maladjustment and also to assist in maintaining morale, preventing disorder, and hastening settlement. So far we have had several instances where social workers have measured up finely in administering relief and in cleaning up the situation after the struggle was over. On the other hand there have been one or two instances where it would appear that they have held aloof from the whole business. I have not learned of any instance where social workers have taken any particular part in the adjustment of the actual diffi-

culty. Most often leadership in this phase has come from the

civic and religious elements of the community.

It may be said that it is hardly the business of the vastly overburdened social worker to do more than answer the increased calls incident to industrial strain, but we can hardly excuse the mill welfare worker so easily. The whole raison d'être for mill welfare work, theoretically at least, has been to furnish and develop leadership, to raise standards of civic and social responsibility as well as standards of health and conduct, to interpret the operatives to the management and the management to the operatives, to keep the people satisfied. With any such platform or purpose it is plain that just, as their best work in individual or family maladjustment is in prevention, so in group maladjustment, they can serve by education and interpretation to prevent at least the worst extremes of suspicion and distrust and impatience on each side with the other. And yet as we have seen, mill welfare workers are by training, by control, by the very situation, poorly fitted to prepare for such a crisis, or to meet it when it comes. The management has usually made them play hands off of anything relating to the actual mill, so that they often do not know the simplest facts about their own plant, to say nothing of the general economic condition of the industry, of wages, of working conditions, of union objectives or tactics. No wonder the management does not rely upon them to deal with the problem in a period of strain, or that the operatives, especially those led by organizers opposed to company welfare work, consider them agents of the mill and have no confidence in them; no wonder they have no confidence in themselves. So the result is that they have refused to admit that there is any crisis. I have seen them individually and in group sessions refuse to recognize it sufficiently to even talk about it, to discuss what welfare workers ought to do if such trouble should threaten their own community. Given all the factors I have enumerated, I do not see how it could be different, but it is not an encouraging situation.

For by all rights the social worker and the mill welfare worker both should be of great service. The present serious and well

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planned effort to organize the southern textile workers is complicated by the efforts of rival unions, by the economic difficulties of the industry, by the conservatism of the southern operative, by the opposition of the owners and the public. We shall probably have many stormy and painful episodes. In the immediate future, therefore, the challenge to the social worker and the mill welfare worker alike is to keep an even keel and to interpret the employes and owners each to the other and both to the public. The owners and the public need education in the rights of the employes; the employes need education in the new responsibility that comes as they gain power. It is not an easy task, this keeping an even keel in the midst of extremists on both sides. One is in danger of being driven into the ranks of the radicals by a certain type of owner who believes that the ownership of a mill invests him with the divine right to run it as he will, that the way he is running it is divinely right and wise. One is in danger of being driven into the ranks of the reactionaries by a certain type of organizer and zealot who deals in untruths and holds out false hopes. Our southern people are inexperienced in labor organization, its methods, its language, and its possibilities; they take far too literally its promises, and are too easily wrought upon by the evangelistic appeals to which they are subjected.

This function of interpretation is one for the immediate future. There is a still greater challenge in the farther future. We have been saying for two generations now that the cotton mill is a step in the evolution of the southern worker. We must look to it that it does not become an end. In New England the cotton mill has been a stepping stone for generations of native and immigrant people to a better economic and social life. We have claimed that by providing a better wage, better social and educational advantages it has done the same for the family from the tenant farm and the mountain cove. But our people are staying in the mills, must stay in them if the mills continue to be manned, for we have no influx of immigrants to push them out and up, and will have none. Replacement by the Negro awaits an industrial development that must first take up an enormous white

labor supply. Technical, mechanical, and managerial improvement make fewer workers necessary. Those will be given the preference who are trained, who have grown up in the industry. The problem of individual adjustment, of community development, and of social progress will have to be worked out—perhaps fought out—on the front as it now exists, for we cannot run away from the situation any more than the whole body of textile workers can move away from theirs.

Are we to develop in the South a social class and presently a political group based on that most inexorable of controls, economic caste? Are our model villages filled with upstanding citizens to become part and parcel of our wider communities? Are our seedy, slovenly villages sheltering people with an inferiority complex to cease to exist? The social and welfare workers hold a key to the situation that will help to unlock the willingness of the owner, the intelligent self-expression of the operatives, and the understanding cooperation of the public.

### CURRENT PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

#### WHAT LABOR IS DOING

Agnes Nestor, President, Women's Trade Union League, Chicago

IT IS said that the average workman can do with a machine about five times the work he could do formerly, so that such a machine throws four men out of production. Out of every 1,000 men unemployed it requires a year for 700 to get back into steady employment. Every time a consolidation of business takes place another elimination of employes takes place. Two million persons have changed occupations in the United States within the last eight years. During the same period there has been a net decrease in the number employed in American factories of something like 917,000. Add to this 300,000 who have left the farms and 240,000 or more who have been relieved from work on railroads, and the picture is complete. Under normal conditions 9 per cent of the working population is steadily unemployed.

What increases in employment have taken place since 1920? The numbers of garage workers and chauffeurs have increased 760,000; life insurance has taken another 100,000; new enterprises, like electric refrigeration, light and power, oil heating, and construction work have taken on 200,000; there are 230,000 more teachers and professors required than in 1919; motion pictures have placed 125,000 additional on their payrolls; the barbering and hairdressing trades, and the service branches of hotels and restaurants, have added 695,000 in the last ten years.

Ethelbert Stewart, commissioner of the United States Bureau of Labor, discussing the statement that the new industries are absorbing workers in numbers equal to those thrown out by industrial processes, said: "The trouble is that we don't know whether this is true or not. In most cases a complete and industrial re-education will be necessary, and in many instances the men will have to be separated entirely from the industry in which

they were employed."

New England labor organizations have made an approach recently to this problem. About two years ago the Workers' Education Bureau called conferences on unemployment in ten selected cities throughout the country. The New England conference voted to organize an institute to study new industrial opportunities, on account of the changing industrial conditions in that part of the country. In October of last year the trade unions of New England held that institute in Worcester. To the conference were invited technicians, economists, public officials, business men, and representatives of management, who have set about seriously and intelligently to the task of self-examination and joint planning for the future.

The Cleaners' and Dyers' Union in Chicago has adopted an agreement with their employers providing for unemployment insurance. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Chicago adopted the unemployment insurance plan in cooperation with the employers in the men's clothing industry in 1924. Receipts have been \$6,500,000, and payments \$5,500,000; and this plan has stood the test through one of our most difficult industrial periods. Under this plan the employers pay 3 per cent and the

union members 1 1/2 per cent.

Another interesting practice that has come into the last-mentioned trade is the payment of what is called a "leaving wage." A few years ago the Hart, Schaffner and Marx Company found it necessary to dismiss about 350 cutters because of changes in their industry, so they made an agreement with the union to pay each man \$500 as a settlement in order to reimburse the cutter to some extent for the loss he would suffer while securing new work and getting adjusted in a new employment. This "leaving wage" varies with the kind of employment—\$500 being the maximum amount paid.

During an unemployment crisis such as we are now confronted with there is the effort in general by the labor movement to have public work planned to take up as much of the slack as possible of the skilled as well as the unskilled workers. Several committees were appointed from a Chicago conference of trade unionists early last winter to work on trying to get several projects started, including the building of the Chicago post office. These activities are being furthered by local and state labor movements throughout the country as well as by the American Federation of Labor.

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One important piece of work being done by the American Federation of Labor for the past two and a half years is the collection of accurate information on employment conditions throughout the country. Each month a postcard is sent to each local union of the affiliated national and international unions in twenty-three industrial cities asking for reports on the employment of their membership. With the card is sent a report on the labor conditions for the previous month for their city or locality, so that the local unions may have this information direct. A new information service is available to the labor movement and interested individuals, through the publication of a Monthly Survey of Business by the American Federation of Labor, since August I of last year. This furnishes a general analysis of the economic conditions in our country-information that is not usually available to our trade union members.

It is the custom of industries to lay aside a reserve fund to provide dividend payments to stockholders in dull periods when profits are low. If a similar reserve were set apart to maintain wage payments, then the problem would be well on the way to solution. A most interesting chart is printed, showing a line of dividend payments, rising rapidly in each quarter since the summer of 1929, and another line for wage payments falling rapidly. Dividend payments to stockholders during the first quarter of 1930 were \$360,000,000 above the third quarter of 1929; payments to wage earners were \$310,000,000 below the third quarter of 1929. The payment of these dividends to stockholders was made possible only through reserves held over from the profits of 1929, for earnings of industrial corporations, as of the twenty-five industrials listed, fell off rapidly during the fourth quarter of 1929 and the first of 1930. No such reserves were available for wage payments, therefore the wage earners have borne the brunt of the industrial losses through unemployment and reduced incomes.

Discrimination against older workers is a problem that is giving the American Federation of Labor deep concern. The convention voted to have the Executive Council continue its investigation and study of this important question, with a view to formulating some definite plan whereby the discrimination against older workers may be brought to an end. The committee on this subject said that industry as a whole should be made to understand that economic arrangements must be made whereby every person who desires employment may have an opportunity to work, or failing in that society, through the various political divisions, must make arrangements whereby those who are discarded by industry may be cared for at public expense.

A steadily widening knowledge of the rules of health is lengthening the span of human life. Not only must ample opportunity be given for the continued employment of the middle aged, a need so apparent that it should require neither expansion or argument, but places must be made for those entering that period which was formerly regarded as near to the end of

the human trail.

Because it is essential to have accurate information regarding the employment situation in our country, the president of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, worked to have the unemployment clause put into the census bill, and he was later made a member of the commission appointed by Secretary of Commerce Lamont to determine the questions to be asked in collecting information called for by the census law. The unemployment census provided for will be the first of its kind taken by the United States, and will prove of immense value, in that

statistics of unemployment will become much more accurate than at present.

President Green appeared before the Senate Committee on Commerce on April 1 in support of the three Wagner bills which have since passed the Senate. He estimated that 3,700,000 wage earners were out of work in the month of February and that they lost over \$400,000,000 in wages.

The program advocated by Mr. Green for the American Federation of Labor calls for more than emergency measures such as are put forth in an unemployment crisis. It calls for public employment services supplemented by a federal employment service, to connect workers wanting jobs with work opportunities. The displacement of workers because of changes in industry and the increased use of machines, referred to today as technological unemployment, needs an information service which can give employment counsel so that the replaced worker may be transferred to new work without loss of income or lowered standards of living. Vocational training opportunities should be available. For the worker who is discriminated against in favor of younger men there is a need of job analyses in order to find suitable work for those of this older group who are still able to work. Cyclical unemployment, such as we are suffering from at this time, calls for intensive programs of public work which should be deferred and kept ready to be initiated for such periods. We should not have to wait until a crisis is upon us, but should have plans worked out so that they could be put into operation as soon as the need arose.

Labor believes that unemployment can be eliminated as a social and economic problem. If the recommendations outlined by Mr. Green for the American Federation of Labor, and the program advanced by the American Association for Labor Legislation, are carried out by the government without further delay we shall have made a big advance in meeting the unemployment problem, such as is today being paid for by human suffering and lowered standards of living.

## WHAT EMPLOYERS ARE DOING

Ernest G. Draper, Vice-President, The Hills Brothers Company, New York City

If VIEWED from the standpoint of percentages alone, the showing of employers who have accomplished anything at all in stabilizing their labor turnover is a sorry one indeed. Out of more than 200,000 manufacturing concerns in this country, less than one-half of I per cent have shown any active interest in the problem of industrial idleness. Fortunately for us employers, this bare statement does not tell the whole story. Society at large is almost as much to blame for present conditions as industry. Only in the last twenty years has the germ of unemployment been isolated, so to speak, and recognized as an industrial rather than as a charitable problem.

It was in 1910 that Sir William Beveridge wrote his classic study, entitled *Unemployment a Problem of Industry*. This book was the turning point in an attitude of mind. For the first time it showed, with scientific detail, that men out of work were not habitual loafers and drunkards but were the victims of industrial conditions over which they themselves had no control. Twenty years is a comparatively short time for such a change in point of view to acquire general acceptance. Is it any wonder, then, that so little relatively has been undertaken by the rank

and file of employers in attacking this complex evil?

While the numerical strength of employers interested in this problem is slight, achievements in individual cases are amazing. Let me call the roll of a few of the more prominent: International Harvester Co., United States Rubber Co., Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, Procter & Gamble Co., Tennessee Copper & Chemical Co., Packard Automobile Co., American Radiator Co., Endicott-Johnson Co., Dennison Manufacturing Co., and others. Of the smaller con-

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cerns there are Walworth Manufacturing Co., Knox Hat Co., Columbia Conserve Co., Dutchess Manufacturing Co., Leeds & Northrup Co., The Hills Brothers Co., and a score of others.

All of these concerns have gone about the study of regular employment in their own plants as though it were, as of course it is, one of the major problems of production. They have included stabilization in their daily thinking just as the average employer regards protection against fire and avoidance of accidents. Rather than enter into a detailed description of how a reasonable amount of stabilization can be brought about, perhaps I can best indicate just what such a procedure means by giving a list of questions which each employer must answer to his own satisfaction if he is to stabilize the labor in his plant with reasonable effectiveness. The employers of every one of the concerns mentioned above have answered these questions by appropriate action in their own companies. In fact, they have gone far beyond such elemental changes as these questions suggest. First, they ask, is our business seasonal? Second, if so, at what seasons of the year is our business most slack? Third, what measures can we take to speed up our business during these slack seasons? Can we, for instance, stretch out our sales peaks over a longer number of months by advertising, by some device of salesmanship, or distribution, by price discounts? Can we introduce a new product that will sell well in the slack season and yet fit into our general business? Can we adapt our present products for other uses than those now in use and so stretch out the selling season? Can we manufacture for stock during off seasons? Fourth, what changes will a stabilizing plan require in manufacturing, purchasing, financing, office personnel? So far, you will notice that this discussion has been confined to what some manufacturers are doing in trying to overcome some seasonal unemployment—that is, unemployment mainly caused by slackness in work due to the seasons. An even greater cause of unemployment is cyclical unemployment—that is, that kind which comes upon us as a result of gigantic booms and their succeeding depressions. Individual employers, regardless of the size of their concerns, cannot prevent such catastrophes but, by skillful fore-casting and shrewd management, they can mitigate the effect of the avalanche. The best known example in this field, of course, is the Dennison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Massachusetts. The remarkable success of this firm in anticipating the depression of 1920–21 is one of the bright spots in the history of management. The story is well known. I shall not repeat it here except to remind you that in the depression year of 1921, the average number of workers on the payroll of this firm was only 4 per cent less than the number in the boom year of 1920.

Another example is that of the American Radiator Company. Mr. Clarence Woolley, its president, wrote an article about the company's experience in 1921, part of which is as follows:

After the Government ceased price control, when the war was over, pig iron went down to \$26.75 and then up again until it stood at the general level of \$46.00 a ton in July, 1920. At the same time we saw interest rates at  $8\frac{1}{2}$ , 9, and 10 per cent and

prices greatly inflated.

Our directors decided that depression was in sight. We liquidated our inventories, paid our debts, cut down production, and got ready for the storm. We had come, by experience which brought understanding, to place implicit reliance upon our ability accurately to forecast the logical trend of finance and business by skillful interpretations of our economic charts. The business cycle was no longer a theory. It became for us a veritable compass to guide us through the gathering mists of depression.

Now we come to 1921. At the beginning of this year our charts showed us a large increase in the number of building permits issued. Other charts showed that prices of building materials were declining. At the same time interest rates were coming

down.

We decided that it was to be a moderately prosperous year for us. It was time to expand. We speeded up our factories, made a big reduction in selling prices and, while the first six months were below normal, the last half was the largest of record, up to that date. Our order books were crowded with unfilled orders, giving the necessary back-log for uninterrupted production throughout the winter.

These examples illustrate what employers are doing and can do towards mitigating the unemployment over which they have some control. Even more important in its potential influence upon future action is what employers are thinking, as well as doing, today. This is the first time in the industrial history of the United States that a real depression has not been accompanied by

a general drive on wages. Such a change in attitude upon the part of the average American employer is all the more striking when you realize that the change has come about in less than a decade. It was in 1921 that American employers made their last general push against the wage scale. "We must liquidate labor," they said, and they went about doing it. The American open shop plan, backed up by some of the largest employers in the country and designed to smash union wage schedules, began to get under way. Fortunately for labor, and for employers as well, the plan was a failure. Then the employers went off on another tack. They resolved to make machinery do what labor would not consent to do in bringing down production costs. The wheels of industry began to turn. They have been turning faster and faster ever since. In spite of the set-back in 1929 it is reasonable to assume that the era of industrial prosperity will continue for some time to come, even if in modified form.

What caused the change in the minds of management? The reasons are many. Chief among them, I think, was the realization that the workman was a consumer as well as a producer. Business men finally discovered that men on strike or men out of work are not desirable sales prospects. This fact was brought home dramatically to the writer when the sales of one of his company's products fell off 30 per cent in Pennsylvania at the time of the coal strike in that state.

There is, of course, a danger to this theory of the efficacy of high wages. Some argue, for instance, that when prices of certain capital goods fall 30 to 40 per cent (as they already have done in 1930), how is it possible to restore the buying urge in the public if wages are not brought down more in line with prices of raw material? They point to the statement of Professor Henry Clay of England, who maintains that the inflexibility of the present English wage scale, buttressed as it is by the present unemployment insurance laws, is the most important cause of England's continuing depression. There is much in this claim, but not everything. There are many other ways to aid the return of prosperity before we adopt the way of slashing wages. Cheap

money is one way. State and federal construction is possibly another. It seems to be good business as well as good citizenship to try every feasible alternative before falling back on the oldest and most cruel method of coaxing prosperity's return.

From this extremely brief presentation, I hope you will agree with me that employers as a whole are not entirely oblivious to the problem of unemployment, and that some in particular are most active in grappling with it. What we business men need, what we all need as individuals, is the motive to follow the gleam of a worth while desire. Up to recently the motives have been largely money and power. They will not do permanently, as most intelligent business men now realize.

In the ancient days it was a custom for citizens of Athens to slowly climb the hills that surround the city and there, in the late afternoon, watch the sun go down. The ceremony was a quiet one. No conversation ensued. Hardly a sound was heard except, perhaps, the sigh of an enthralled onlooker as he mur-

mured: "Athena, Athena, how beautiful thou art."

Help to inculcate in us that spirit of unselfish love for our Republic, the spirit of actively desiring to create a state in which poverty shall be banished and there shall be opportunity of work for all. Aid us to seek that gleam, and you will find the unsolvable problem of unemployment solved before your very eyes, just as so many other so called unsolvable problems have given way in the past to the genius of an awakened American industry.

## WHAT ONE FAMILY AGENCY IS DOING

Charlotte E. Carr, Industrial Consultant, Charity Organization Society, New York City

Y DISCUSSION must be limited to a review of what one family agency, the New York Charity Organization Society, has been doing to meet its unemployment problem. It should be made clear that many of our plans for last winter have merely served to emphasize what had been the usual procedure of the organization in other unemployment periods. Neither do we claim having originated all those features which are new. We have looked for ideas from many agencies, and are particularly indebted to the Associated Charities of Cleveland.

Last November our society began to lay the groundwork for plans to meet an impending unemployment period. The statistical department showed us that our unemployment cases had jumped from 14 per cent of the active case load in October, to 17 per cent in November, an increase to be sure, of only 3 per cent over the November figures of the previous year. But there were many other indications of a bad winter for employment, if one looked at the facts and avoided the "prosperity" editorials and the "Forward America" posters.

The first step in our plan was to ascertain how best we could use the placement agencies in getting jobs for our clients. We had no intention of setting ourselves up as a placement agency, not only because this was not a function of the society, nor because it would tend to flood us with applicants who had unemployment problems only, but more important, because placement service to be really effective must be carried on on such a large scale as properly to be the function of the state. Not that we had any illusion that the State Employment Bureau could really meet our problem. This was before the present director, Fritz

Kaufmann, was in office, and even now he must have a much greater appropriation and a much larger staff of trained workers before his work can come up to the standards we all know he and Commissioner Perkins have for it.

We made a survey of all the placement agencies in town likely to be of any assistance to us. The non-profit-making agencies were well known to us, but our knowledge of the fee-charging agencies was through clients who told us they had a promise of a job with the such and such agency if the society could pay their fee. A visit to a fee-charging agency to learn if there were any jobs for the client often ended in a determination not to patronize it, for many of them were run on too irregular a basis to assure us that any position referred through them would be a desirable one. By January, however, we had selected more than fifty fee-charging agencies, which were on our preference list.

Where the unemployment problem represents about 13 per cent of the active cases, and since 1928 we have had no month when it was less than that, it is not impracticable for each visitor to make her own contacts with the placement agencies she believes can employ her clients. But where the proportion of unemployed clients creeps up to 20 per cent and finally, as in March of this year, to 32 per cent of the active case load, there is going to be a great onslaught on the agencies if every case worker daily is to make personal appeals to them.

It was our plan, and except for unusual cases, our practice that one person for each district designated as employment representative should make the agency contacts for her district. This meant nine instead of eighty persons being in touch with the agencies, and a relationship was developed which we believe gave

us the maximum service.

If we ever used to refer applicants as "Mr. S. who has a wife in the hospital and needs work very badly," instead of as "Mr. S. who is a plumber's assistant with a good reference for four years' service,"—we have stopped it this year. And this year, in general, we have known what that Mr. S.'s reference was. For the case worker had not written for it; she had gone in person to get it. Hers was a double purpose. She not only wanted to get the reference for the client, but she hoped she might bring about his re-employment. I am confident that our best service to our unemployed clients has been when we have been the medium for their return to former employers. I am also confident that because we have been able to give agencies reliable information as to our clients' work ability, we have helped the clients more than if our appeal had been based on their family needs. But an organized effort to assist clients in getting jobs, of course, did not affect any very appreciable proportion of the many out of work.

The second and possibly more important part of our plan was to make a very careful study of our employment difficulties we wanted to know how effective our efforts at helping clients really were, and what were the real causes back of their unem-

ployment problems.

In theory, we could have read the records of a representative number of cases. In fact, this would have been an almost impossible task, for at least 500 cases would be needed if any conclusions were to be reached. Also it was probable that because of the many other problems which come up in every case, much of the industrial data needed for such a study might not be recorded. We therefore determined on a questionnaire—a most unselfish decision on the part of our visitors, who unanimously assumed this additional burden at a time when their regular work was heaviest.

This questionnaire, used during the three-month period of February I to May I, gives information as to the schooling and industrial training of the unemployed client. It describes in full with dates, the last three jobs he has held and other important jobs, up to six. It gives information as to his physical, mental, and behavior employment handicaps. It records every referral that has been made through the society in an effort to help place him, and it lists any temporary or permanent positions he has been able to get, and how he obtained them. This questionnaire has been filled out in detail for 900 unemployed clients—a representative sample, we believe, for our study.

It is too soon to report the findings of this study, for we have had less than a month to work on our analysis, but I can outline some of the things we hope to learn. Of the 900 unemployed persons studied, 53 per cent were still unemployed, and 37 per cent had been placed by May 1. There were 2 per cent who had become unable to work, and 8 per cent who had part time employment. Shall we find a correlation between age and ability to get placed? Will our Porto Ricans and non-English speaking Italians be the groups most frequently unplaced? Of the 900 unemployed clients who had applied to our society, what proportion had begun work before 16, or before 14 years of age? What proportion had no training for their job other than that gotten on the job itself? Is the employment market flooded by women who apply for work because their husbands cannot find jobs, or children because their fathers are unemployed? How long is the chief wage earner unemployed before he appeals for relief? Can he be said to have a trade? Is his unemployment due to the seasonality of his trade? Has the demand for his trade permanently decreased, putting him in the class of the technologically unemployed? Is the general cyclical depression the explanation for his unemployment? Are a very high proportion of our clients marginally unemployable—persons who because of physical disabilities, mental handicaps, or general attitudes towards work are the last to get placed? Does their work history show the majority to be on the down grade or the up grade industrially? If on the down grade, what in their industrial experience seems to have brought this about? Do the majority need more personal service in getting placed than can be expected from our regular employment agencies? Is there a need for a placement service for persons handicapped by behavior problems and work attitudes, as well as a service for persons with physical handicaps? What placement agencies have been most successful with our clients? Did many of the positions obtained through fee-charging agencies prove to be temporary, ending when the fee was paid? Did the majority of the clients, in spite of all our efforts, get their jobs on their own? When they got

their jobs, were they the kind of work they wanted? Have they had to take work less skilled and at lower earnings? What hours do they work, and under what conditions?

Do we close cases when the chief wage earner is still unemployed, and under what circumstances? What money has been spent by the society in those cases where unemployment was the only problem, or was unemployment ever the only problem? Does the case close when the chief wage earner gets a job?

These are some of the questions we hope to be able to answer in our study. By answering them we shall have done three things. We shall have analyzed the type of unemployment problem which our visitors must meet in their daily work, we shall have re-emphasized some of the causes for unemployment, and we shall have opened our eyes to the importance of unemployment among the problems which we are trying to solve.

## WHAT THE SCHOOLS ARE DOING

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

HE schools are concerned for three groups of children: first, those of working age, perhaps between fourteen and eighteen years or fourteen and twenty-one, who have left school and gone to work and have lost their jobs; second, those of the same age group who have not left school but are tempted to do so now by the lowered family income; third, those below working age in whose families there is an acute situation because of the unemployment of the adult members of

the family.

The services for the unemployed children take the form of attempted replacement, or of securing the attendance of the child at school; the services for the school children of working years take the form of attempting to prevent the child's leaving school in order to supplement the depleted family income. This is done by sound and adequate vocational counseling; by supplying educational opportunities appreciated by the child and his parents as giving hope of later satisfactory employment; and by furnishing scholarships that cover the cost of carfare and luncheon money, and sometimes other forms of aid, such as shoes, or milk, or relief in some other form. For the children in school below school age, in this country it is occasionally necessary to give relief in the form of milk or other diet, together again with the aid in the form of carfare, luncheon, or other aids that make school attendance possible.

With reference to all these groups it should be said that unemployment simply intensifies problems that are always present. The presence of great numbers of unemployed children and the threat of many children being tempted by their poverty to leave school strengthens the appeal of the school authorities

to be adequately equipped with vocational guidance and placement facilities.

The school should progressively develop a curriculum which prepares the child for the occupational as well as the other aspects of life and experience, and it should provide through guidance and placement for the transition in the life of the child from school to work. This may be through guidance in the selection of courses; through information placed at the disposal of the administrative officials with reference to industrial or professional development as it affects the demand for workers or the supply of labor; or through the organization of skilled placement services. The obligation to render these services rests on the school all the time, but a recognition of the conditions existing at times of unemployment should reinforce the claim of the school to be provided with adequate resources for giving to the children sound vocational advice; and through timely occupational studies and reports to keep the school authorities informed so that the curriculum may be enriched and adapted to changes in the industrial and business world. This service is well illustrated by the work of the Chicago Bureau of Vocational Guidance, which is never adequately equipped to take advantage of its full opportunity. Such publications as are frequently issued by the Pureau calling the attention of children and parents and teachers to the wastefulness of blind alley employment, giving sound analysis of the demand and possibilities in the skilled trades and professions, are the bases for an organization in which the risk of ignorant placement is reduced to a minimum.

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The New York daily papers contain interesting accounts of the effort put forth during the present crisis on the part of organizations in that city concerned for these services to secure additions to the staff. It is estimated, for example, that twenty-six new counselors are required in the city of New York in addition to the ten now serving, in order to render the aid needed by the chil-

<sup>1</sup> See the New York Times, May 18, 1930, and during the subsequent fortnight. The Times of May 23, 1930, tells of vocational guidance supplied unemployed teachers.

dren in the forty-seven junior high schools of the city. Forty organizations combine to make an appeal for this increased staff, which in the words of Miss Frances Perkins, of the New York State Department of Labor, "could do much toward keeping in school hundreds of boys and girls who now leave long before they should, and for no adequate reason and who only add to the number of untrained children vainly looking for work."

Attention should in this connection be called to the organization on a statewide scale of the new Junior Placement Bureau, in the New York Department of Labor. Writing on May 19, 1930, Miss Lewis, the director, tells of the creation of the Bureau, July 1, 1929, "to aid the thousands of boys and girls throughout the state between the ages of fourteen and eighteen who every year for one reason or another leave the regular full time schools to go to work." The idea of the Bureau came from the private organizations.

The sixteen junior placement offices which previous to that date had been merely a part of the adult employment service of the state and subject to the same regulations, were then organized as an entirely separate service with a director of their own. Eleven of these offices were located in New York City and five were in the upstate cities of Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo. Of these sixteen offices eleven were situated in Continuation Schools and the other five on the same premises with the state employment bureaus for adults. These original sixteen offices have now been increased to seventeen and of these seventeen fourteen, or three more than before are now in Continuation Schools.

There was an initial staff of nineteen workers for the entire state. This number has since been increased to twenty-six and two clerks. These counselors are all people of special training and fitness for the job and their salaries range from \$2,400 to \$3,000 per year. It is our hope, of course, as time goes on to secure more of these counselors and also to supply additional training where it may be needed to members of the present staff for we fully realize of course that it primarily is upon the ability of the staff that the entire success of the undertaking depends.

There were at the time of Miss Lewis' writing seventeen branch offices, of which fourteen are in continuation schools, so that the cooperation between the Labor Department and the school is very close. The Department is carrying on an extremely interesting educational campaign, calling the attention of parents, young persons between fourteen and eighteen years old, and school officials, to the advantages of continued attendance at

school and the waste of leaving school too young at any time and especially during the present critical period.

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In Cincinnati, the Vocation Bureau secured an addition to the staff in the person of a worker who gives her whole time to aiding the director of the Junior Placement Service. This Bureau is also constantly enriching its counseling service. Under the Ohio statute, boards of education are authorized to provide relief for children who are unable to attend school for lack of food, clothing and other personal necessities. Reference will be made again to this at a later point.

In Philadelphia a great effort is being put forward by the Bureau of Compulsory Education to be of assistance to the unemployed child. Two new experiments are being tried. One is the establishment of special vocational classes in the junior high schools. This plan is said by the director<sup>2</sup> to have "met with some measure of success in several schools, but in general it is not popular with junior high school principals who feel that the unemployed child is not their specific problem and therefore do not meet the situation with the full measure of sympathy and cooperation necessary to its success." The other plan provides that unemployed children be assigned to attend daily special classes in regular continuation schools. The teaching, the opportunity of the vocational guide to counsel and to learn to know the children, the attitude of the children all seem to make this especially hopeful and especially in the case of the girls. The difficulties grow out of the distances that must be traveled and the provision by the Board of Education of scholarships to cover the cost of transportation is urged as a measure of true economy.

The treatment of the unemployed child under the English unemployment insurance scheme is interesting. The law authorizes the local education authority to administer the benefit for persons under eighteen years of age and a claimant below the age of eighteen may be required to attend a course of instruction at a

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Henry J. Gideon in an article on "The Proper Handling of Unemployed Children," read before the National League of Compulsory Education officials. See Proceedings, 1929.

juvenile unemployment center if the education authority has set up such a center in the locality.<sup>3</sup>

In the Ministry of Labour Gazette for April, 1930, for exam-

<sup>3</sup> See H. C. Emmerson and E. C. P. Lascelles, Guide to the Unemployment Insurance Acts, p. 38. "E—Fifth Statutory Condition—Courses of Instruction. 139. The Courses of Instruction Regulations, 1921, authorize the insurance officer to require claimants, adults as well as juveniles, to attend at courses of instruction approved by the minister, subject to the concurrence of the Board of Education or, in Scotland, the Scottish Education Department. The requirement of attendance at a specified course may, however, be waived if the claimant can show that he is attending some other genuine educational course. This power to require attendance is discretionary and would, of course, be applied only if suitable courses of instruction were available in the particular district."

See also ibid., p. 109. "363. Under Section 6 of the 1923 Act Local Education Authorities may, as part of their powers under Section 107 of the Education Act, 1921, undertake duties connected with the administration of benefit claimed by persons under eighteen years of age (Board of Education Circular 1322, revised February 13, 1924). A local education authority may not exercise powers under Section 107 of the Education Act, 1921, for giving assistance to juveniles in respect of choice of employment, unless a scheme for administration of benefit has been adopted. Where such scheme is in force the Juvenile Bureau takes the

place of the local office for persons under eighteen years of age.

"364. As one of the statutory conditions of receiving benefit (see paragraphs 139-41) a claimant who is below the age of 18 and unmarried may be required to attend courses of instruction at a juvenile unemployment center, if such a center has been established by the local education authority in the area in which he lives. If the center is within two miles of the claimant's residence he is, as a rule, required to attend every day except on Saturday, when centers are closed; if the distance is above two but below four miles, he is required to attend on alternate days; and if the distance exceeds four miles his attendance is usually excused. He may also be excused attendance if he can show that he is attending a genuine course of instruction elsewhere. While attending at the center he is deemed to be available for work and he need not sign the register on days of attendance. He is not entitled to benefit for any day on which he may be excluded from the center for unpunctuality or misbehaviour.

"365. Local education authorities are given the widest discretion in the choice of subjects of instruction. The subjects most commonly taught include physical training, arithmetic, English composition, and drawing, with wood and metal work for boys, and singing, hygiene, and domestic subjects for girls. The average times of attendance are three hours on

five days each week."

And see Great Britain Minister of Labour, Report of the Committee on Procedure and Evidence for the Determination of Claims for Unemployment Insurance Benefit (Cmd. 3415; 1929), p. 10. "16. The fifth statutory condition relates to attendance at a course of instruction as a condition for the receipt of benefit. This at present is applied only to juveniles (i.e., of sixteen to eighteen years of age), and is effective only in places where there is a juvenile unemployment center."

#### 4 XXXVIII, 142.

Great Britain Juvenile Unemployment Statistics Juveniles aged 14 and under 18 on the register at march 24, 1930

						Boys	Girls
Insured, 16 and under 18						22,538	20,390
Uninsured, 14 and under 18						15,645	21,058
Total						38,233	41,448
	Footr	ote con	tinued	on foll	owing	page)	

ple, it was reported that 51 such centers had been opened by the education authorities for boys, 20 for girls beside some home training centers administered by the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment, and 10 for both boys and girls. There was an average daily attendance of 3,495 boys and 1,272 girls, who attended as a condition of drawing their benefit, while there were 2,337 other boys and 585 other girls in the same classes. It is interesting to note that there were on the register of unemployed young persons at the time 38,233 boys between 14 and 18, of whom 22,538 were insured, and 41,448 girls in the same age group, of whom 20,390 were insured.

It is clear that the vocational guidance service aids both the child out of work and the school child who might be tempted to leave school. Besides the unoccupied children—that is, children who have had jobs and lost them—there are the children in families suffering from the unemployment of adults whose earnings

PERCENTAGE	RATES	OF	UNEMPLOYMENT*	AMONG	INSURED	JUVENILES	AGED	16	AND	17	7
						-			1		

Estimated number insured, July, 1929 Percentage unemployed, March 24, 193			Boys 587,600	Girls 437,800	
Wholly unemployed			3.2 %	3.4%	
Temporarily stopped		٠	1.2%	2.1 %	
Total			4.4 %	5.5%	

\* Based on the number of juvenile unemployment books lodged at local offices, which exceeds the number of insured juveniles on the registers.

### JUVENILES IN ATTENDANCE AT JUNIOR INSTRUCTION CENTERS AND CLASSES.

	1	FOUR V	VEEKS I	ENDIN	G MARCH 26, I	930	
					Boys	Girls	Mixed
Number centers open					51	20*	10*
Number classes open					1		1
Average daily attenda	nce						
As a condition of	f recei	pt of	benefit		3,495	1,272	
Others .					2,337	585	
Total .					5,832	1,857	

Separate individuals who have attended April 1, 1929-March 26, 1930 . \* Girls over 15 years of age are also admitted to certain home training centers administered by the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment.

JUVENILES PLA	CED	IN E	MPLOY	MENT.	FOUR WEEKS	ENDING MARCH 24,	1930
•					Boys	Girls	Total
Number vacancies fille	d.		4		11,879	10,791	22,670
Juveniles placed in fire	st sit	uatio	n since				
leaving school					2,240	2,323	4,563

are usually regarded as essential. In this case, the services are twofold: first, service to the child, as in the school feeding in England under the Provision of Meals Act; and second, service to the community in interpreting the effect on the child of the social and economic conditions surrounding him. The most exciting account of these services is contained in the annual reports of Sir George Newman, chief medical officer of the Board of Education under the Ministry of Health. It is twenty-four years since the enactment of the Provision of Meals statute. With medical inspection, school nursing, and the power to provide meals, the condition of the children in school can be constantly observed and the treatment called for by that condition can be given. The point is that a record is kept and influences acting disastrously on the child can be interpreted in terms of the child's treatment.

Those familiar with the development of the Public Social Services in Great Britain will recall how closely related was the child's physical condition which reflected his domestic situation, with his educational capacity to the development of those services. The first act authorizing school feeding, for example, provided for the feeding of children who otherwise might not, probably would not, profit from the school program. Some needed more food; some needed different food; some needed attention to their entire digestive tracts so that they could profit from the food supplied them at home; some needed attention to the outside of their little bodies whose wretched lack of cleanliness and care made all life too uncomfortable for anything else really to matter.<sup>7</sup>

In this country, the problem has not in general presented itself in the same way. The development of the work of school children's aid societies and the special provision for the supply of shoes to school children's feet has been simply testimony to the

Great Britain Statutes, 6 Edw. VII (1906), c. 57.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Health of the School Child," Annual Report for 1928, pp. 67-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The reports of Sir George Newman, medical officer of the British Board of Education, now in the Ministry of Health, are full of evidence on this subject.

different standards in clothing for children who remain out of school as compared with that of children gathered into one place where ragged garments or inadequately shod feet can be easily observed. The standard budget used by the United Charities of Chicago, for example, as the basis for estimating the relief to be given a family contains estimates not only for shoes for the children so that they may be shod, but actually rubbers so that the little feet may be dry as well. That has always seemed a very radical demand. It is assumed that the food supplied by the family will be sufficient in amount and satisfactory in kind.

When, however, there is medical inspection of school children. depleted home diets will manifest themselves in lowered weight and height measurements so that those communities in which there is this check should have a measure of what the broken income means to the child's physical well being. In fact, if one had these delicate instruments for recording social phenomena such as have been invented in the physical sciences, Scripture would again be fulfilled and the effect of unemployment in the life of children would serve as the warning, the symptom at least of industrial disorder and of the resulting social disease, which would be the analogue of the little child leading the community out of the morass of economic waste on to the firm ground of unbroken occupational opportunity. "A little child shall lead them" is a promise whose fulfillment is the frequent experience of the social worker. The promise takes a shape, however, quite different from that portrayed by the artist in the painting with which we are all familiar, in which the lion and the lamb and other companions quite as incongruous are guided by the radiant figure of the Holy Child toward the beatific vision. The social worker or the social reformer taking the hand of the child will find herself conducted into every condition of disorganization, of unorganized social provision, of degradation and maladjustment that is to be found in social, political, and economic life. An infallible test of our institutions is the effect of the institution on the life, the prospects, the opportunity of the children who are our life, in that they are the future.

Industrial organization is no exception to this rule; and whether it be wages, as to adequacy or gross inadequacy; or hours of work, leaving no time for wage earners to be fathers as well as sources of support; or the kinds of work, possibly skilled work of challenging interest, possibly deadening monotony; or the regularity of work or opportunity to work as against under-employment or actual unemployment; the pressure of lack of organization, or of disorganization, or of maladjustment in the organization—all falls finally on the life and prospects of the children of the community.

The important bearing of unemployment on child life has of course been noted by the United States Children's Bureau and in 1923 a study of *Unemployment and Child Welfare* based on facts discovered in two industrial cities was published.<sup>8</sup> The cities studied were Racine, Wisconsin, and Springfield, Massachusetts. In transmitting the report to the Secretary of Labor the chief of the Bureau wrote at that time:

The findings of this report make it clear that large groups of children suffer not temporary but permanent losses as a result of a period of industrial depression. Those who are interested in raising the standard of our citizenship through better care of the children of the country cannot regard as outside the field of their concern, proposals for preventing unemployment and, failing in a program of prevention, measures which are necessary for safeguarding the children during a period of unemployment.<sup>9</sup>

It is hoped that every student of the problem will read this report, but here reference can be made only to the relationship of the child to school life. The writers of the report say in summing up what the father's unemployment means to the children:

One of the outstanding conditions incident to the industrial depression, and one that on its face would appear to be entirely beneficial, was the shortage of work for children. Many children who had been employed were forced to go back to school, and others who would have tried to eke out the family income while the father was unemployed remained in school because work could not be secured. But this gave no guaranty of permanent educational gains. Savings that would have assured many of the children real educational opportunities had been spent. Many of the children in the families whose future had been burdened by debts would undoubtedly be sent to work just as soon as they could find any kind of a job. Some children during all

<sup>8</sup> Bureau Publication No. 125.

B Ibid., p. ix.

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the time when men and women were so desperately in need of employment left school and secured work.

Employment that had been plentiful for men, women, and children of working age came to be at a premium for both adults and children in the unemployment areas. There was slight possibility of making up for the loss of the father's income through the earnings of the mother or the child. The situation was thus not without constructive features, which must be given due weight. Women, many of them with families needing their care at home, had gone into industry during the war because of the demand for workers and the high pay offered; they now found it difficult to secure work of any kind. Boys and girls 14 years of age and over were no longer induced by unprecedented wages to leave school and go to work, and many working children were compelled to return to the educational system. Unfortunately, the deprivations resulting from the earning members of the family often outweighed the better chances for schooling and the advantages of the mother's care in the home. 10

There are interesting facts about the grades, the ages of the children, the length of time they worked, but these do not relate definitely to the subject and so are not included here.

And so it appears that in many cases (nobody, I think, knows how many) the schools are providing these services and giving relief in the form of carfare, luncheons, and aid perhaps for the older members of the family. In Cicero, Illinois, for example, the director of the Vocational Bureau writes that they try to get new jobs for the children who have lost their jobs; some girls go into housework when they were in factories; others come back to school and take courses or arrange for special practice in shorthand or comptometry. Sometimes, the vocational adviser can get employment for an older member of the family; they provide carfare and luncheon and arrange in every way to make the time as useful as it can be made. She writes:

We all plug at it everlastingly, and do all we can, . . . . but one of the most tragic parts of the situation seems to us to be that so many times the father or other members of the family lose their jobs. It is sometimes possible for a bright boy or girl in high school to find something to do. The family, being desperate, take him out and are living on his little income while the others are idle. Very often that child is permanently lost to the regular high school through this situation. I can give no accurate figures. Many of our last year's graduates or those whom we placed in positions last spring are out of work. This is sometimes due to the fact that they were the persons employed latest. They often have very excellent recommendations from the employer.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 37-415.

The tragic part is in fact that the community—we—allow the situation to develop again and yet again. Various remedies have the prestige of great names associated with them. Unemployment compensation that would make unemployment costly, as workmen's accident compensation has made safe conditions less costly than dangerous ones; or allocation of public enterprises to the periods when private enterprise is slack are at least two to which respectful attention may be called. It is tragic. Perhaps the way in which to secure that emotional concern that will demand continuous and concerted action is to record and publish and consider the constantly increasing body of evidence of the loss and suffering to which the children of tender years are subjected, the cost so far as it can be estimated in the life and prospect of the children and young people, and the waste of which the community is a victim. Perhaps, again Scripture may be fulfilled and a little child may lead them.

# AN ATTEMPT TO MEET AN UNEMPLOYMENT EMERGENCY

C. M. Bookman, Director, Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati

WO years ago while the economic skies were cloudless, and the number of unemployed was at a minimum, plans were worked out in Cincinnati for the creation of a Permanent Committee on the Stabilization of Employment. Its studies and efforts were to embrace the industrial area in which Cincinnati is located regardless of political boundaries. The committee consisted of fifteen members—government officials, leaders of industry, labor, and social service—appointed by the city manager, Colonel C. O. Sherrill.

The purposes of this committee were to study the problem of stabilizing employment and to create machinery for handling an unemployment emergency should one arise. It has been working through ten sub-committees, as follows: State City Employment Exchange; Continuous Employment; Temporary Employment; Public Works Cooperation of Agencies; Budget and Finance; State and National Cooperation; Transients; Fact

Finding; Publicity and Education.

The permanent Committee has had some success in reducing seasonal unemployment and in regularizing employment, as revealed in the past winter's emergency. While the results are not startling they are very encouraging. The plans adopted were those ordinarily used, the only difference lying in the fact that preparations were made in advance of an emergency and that the members of the committee undertook their work in a serious way. Its past year's work has shown how important is the complete cooperation of business if satisfactory results are to be secured; also that city, state, and national cooperation are of prime importance.

The first essential in dealing with an unemployment emergency is to spread whatever work may be available to as many employes as possible. It was at this point that business was most helpful. By operating fewer days per week, with the entire force employed, rather than on full time with part of the force, business in the Cincinnati area made a large contribution to the handling of the unemployment emergency. It was pointed out to our business men that while such a policy might be for the moment more expensive than the usual method of laying off men, it would speed up the return of business to a normal condition. By securing the acceptance of business men to these principles, when no economic pressure was on, we found the principles laid down followed to an unusual degree when the unemployment emergency finally came.

Each employe, in being willing to take less work per week so that his brother worker might have employment, made his con-

tribution toward the handling of the emergency.

The committee appealed in various ways to the business concerns in the Cincinnati area to spread employment in the ways suggested. Many of them were willing to follow the suggestion and, as a consequence, our number of unemployed was lessened to a considerable extent.

Largely through the Permanent Committee's activities the city, county, and state government units were active in speeding up public work. Public improvements that normally would have been deferred to another time were started during the past winter while labor was plentiful, or plans were formulated to start them at the earliest possible moment. The city of Cincinnati and the various city, village, and county units surrounding Cincinnati have furnished more work for the unemployed during the past winter than they ever furnished before under similar conditions. This expenditure of public funds was not only well timed but it was according to a program well thought out in advance, otherwise public funds would have been needlessly wasted.

One of the first tasks of the committee was to strengthen the State City Labor Exchange by improving its methods and by bringing it to the attention of the employers, who were encouraged to use the Exchange continuously in supplying their labor needs during the normal as well as emergency times. The committee felt that the local Labor Exchange would have been much more effective if a system of coordinated labor exchanges widely scattered throughout the country had been in existence.

The sub-committee on Temporary Employment made a survey in advance of possible jobs should an emergency arise, and set up a large committee of over 100 members geographically distributed, which functioned in locating jobs of a temporary nature. These jobs were sought in and about homes or in factories or business houses. Although the number of such temporary jobs was not as large as the committee hoped for, the effort put forth, nevertheless, was very much worth while. In addition to the temporary jobs actually secured by the committee, its efforts created a desire on the part of the public to be helpful and many temporary jobs, not cleared through the committee, were supplied directly to the unemployed.

After the various committees had secured all the work possible, the residue of the unemployed were cared for through relief-giving methods. The sub-committee on the Cooperation of Agencies was in charge of this phase of the work. Even here the policy of furnishing work, rather than relief, was followed as

far as possible.

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A joint committee sponsored by the Public Welfare Department of the city and the Community Chest operated an Industrial Employment Department, in conjunction with the State City Labor Exchange. The funds used by this committee were furnished jointly by the city and the Community Chest. Heads of local families who were unemployed were sent to public and private institutions to do all kinds of necessary but non-competitive work which in normal times would have been indefinitely postponed for financial reasons. These laborers were furnished cards upon which the employer checked the number of hours worked and whether the work was satisfactory. This card was returned to the Industrial Employment committee and the man

was paid at the rate of 30 cents per hour. During the first few weeks the men were allowed to work on a 44-hour-a-week basis, but as the number of applicants increased it was necessary to reduce the number of hours per week. It was found to be inadvisable to cut the number of hours lower than 24. Many of these men found permanent employment through this temporary work. They were happier and better contented in working for the things they needed than they would have been had the money been given to them in relief. This method was found to be not only more effective than relief-giving, but more economical. Over 3,000 families were taken care of during the past winter by this joint committee.

The transient problem was handled directly by the Department of Public Welfare which assumed one year ago this responsibility. Some of the transients were found temporary employment in odd jobs, but most of them were not looking for work or at least not for more than a few days of it. During the winter many transients were given shelter and breakfast at the police stations, where efforts were made to deal with them according to

modern methods.

Where it was necessary to give relief to families whose breadwinners were out of work, it was done by the regular family welfare agencies, with scarcely any increase in their personnel. The Community Chest appropriated extra funds to be used by private agencies on unemployment cases. These funds were distributed weekly in advance to case workers in all sections of the city where the unemployed lived. Because the case workers in the relief societies knew that absolutely necessary relief funds for unemployment cases would be furnished them by the Community Chest, they were enabled to meet the emergency intelligently and much more economically than would have been possible otherwise. Conditions of panic and uncertainty that so often exist among relief workers and their clients in an unemployment crisis were almost unknown in the Cincinnati area during the past winter. The Community Chest assumed financial responsibility for dealing with unemployment relief and held the private agencies responsible for carrying out an economical and effective program. It was suggested to the agencies that they safeguard their financial resources in every possible way so that sufficient funds might be on hand for meeting unemployment relief. We estimate that from \$35,000 to \$40,000 was transferred from programs that would have been carried out in normal time, to unemployment programs. In addition to this, the chest appropriated over \$40,000 extra for relief purposes during the winter months, and set aside another \$25,000 to continue the work during the coming months. Over 5,000 families in which unemployment was the major cause of distress, in addition to those given industrial relief, were taken care of by our private agencies during the past winter.

In April when work became more plentiful, when many of the public and private construction programs got under way, the

joint committee on Industrial Relief was discontinued.

Private agencies, however, are still facing an expenditure very nearly as large as it was in the winter months. Unfortunately, the city's financial condition is such that the major part of the load, during the balance of this year, must be assumed by the Community Chest. Business conditions have improved, but they are far from satisfactory and we are making our plans with the expectancy of being faced with a continued need for service to the unemployed for several months to come.

The replacement of the unemployed in industry as business improves is causing us no little concern. The least efficient workers are the first to be dismissed and are the last to be reemployed. Under competent direction in the State City Labor Exchange some vocational guidance is being offered. The ones that give us most concern are the workers past forty years of age. Industry seems to be unwilling to reabsorb these unfortunate workers.

What shall be done with them?

We realize that the Cincinnati region has not faced as serious an unemployment crisis as have some other communities. We know that work, either temporary or permanent, could not be furnished to all who needed it; also that our family welfare agencies, if more funds had been available, would have assisted more families and would have given more adequate relief than they did. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the work of the Committee on the Stabilization of Employment materially reduced the extent of unemployment and we believe, the time of its duration, and that the family welfare agencies gave material assistance to a larger percentage of unemployed than has ever been rendered in our community during a previous unemployment crisis. This was possible largely because machinery was ready and intelligent planning preceded the actual unemployment emergency.

Time does not permit a description of the work of the Sub-Committee on Fact Finding which, in conjunction with the public schools, gave us a fair picture of the size of our problem and kept us informed of the changing numbers of the unemployed; nor an account of the many conferences held with business men, usually in small groups, where methods of stabilizing employment in a particular industry were discussed. While much of this work preceded the unemployment emergency, the committee functioned throughout the entire winter and will, of course, continue

its efforts indefinitely.

Cincinnati's experience during the past winter has received wide publicity. If this has encouraged other communities to organize permanent committees on stabilizing employment, I am thankful. I fear, however, that this publicity at times has indicated greater achievements than we are able to claim and has led to the assumption that we have set up some extraordinary plan that will work miracles. Unemployment cannot be solved by one community, nor by any simple plan. It is a complex problem yearly growing more difficult to solve. Its solution will require the combined efforts of all community forces, local, state and national.

To summarize, the steps taken by Cincinnati to meet the past winter's unemployment emergency were: first, a permanent committee was appointed long before an emergency existed, through which all efforts at stabilizing employment cleared, and all plans were set up in advance; second, definite effort was put forth through sub-committees to secure the acceptance by industry of the principle of providing work for as many as possible at reduced hours, if necessary; third, a sub-committee encouraged the starting of city, county, state and national public works at a time when labor was plentiful; fourth, a large joint committee secured as many temporary jobs as possible; fifth, an industrial relief program was set up that provided necessary but non-competitive labor to heads of families at institutions, the wages being paid from a relief fund; sixth, a sub-committee handled the transient problem apart from the general unemployment problem; seventh, a fairly well equipped labor exchange made working agreements with employers and kept business informed of the quantity and kind of labor available; eighth, a relief program was planned in advance, including reasonable funds guaranteed to agencies responsible for relief giving.

## REPORT OF A SURVEY OF THE EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Helen Hall, University House, Philadelphia

In THE winter of 1928–29 the National Federation of Settlements made a study of the effects of unemployment on neighborhood life. This report was not in any way statistical, nor was it made with the idea of pointing out remedies for unemployment. It was an attempt to show the effects of unemployment on families and individuals as we saw them close at hand. Only the employable were considered, those people who were able and willing to work. One thing which the study showed clearly, however, was that the effect of continued unemployment on normal people was to undermine their efficiency as workers, often forcing them into the ranks of the unemployable. The thing which should give the country concern is not only that present unemployment is hurting these workers and their families but that it is injuring their future capacities.

Settlements are in a favorable position to bear witness to these facts. We not only know families when they are in trouble, but we live beside them in good fortune and bad and can make comparison between their normal standards and what unemployment

does to them.

The study was not of families where sickness, strikes, bad habits, or other personal causes of unemployment were concerned, but only where the breadwinner was thrown out of work through some change in industry over which he had no control. All the people studied have good work records, and the majority have been a long time with one firm. We wish to stress particularly that the study was made during a prosperous year, the winter of 1928–29, and so represents what happens every year to some part of our population—how large a part the United States as yet has no way of measuring.

A survey this January of unemployment in the automobile industry was written particularly for the *Survey Graphic* and has been added to the study; but with that exception it is the record of last winter's good business, not of this winter's emergency.

These histories have come from all over the United States, from Boston to San Francisco, New Orleans to Chicago; altogether 30 cities in 21 states are represented.

While the study does not attempt in any way to point out cures for unemployment, or to deal primarily with causes, we found that the causes for the unemployment of the 100 families studied fell into three major groups: seasonal slackness, business depression, mechanization.

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The effects of unemployment were treated under four heads; its economic results, its effects of health, its psychological results, and its results on the future of the family.

In studying the economic makeshifts which come with the stopping of the income, we found the families following much along the same lines. First, cash savings are used up, insurance policies lapse, jewelry and clothes are pawned, furniture is sold. Then, bills at the grocers and possible moves to poorer neighborhoods, and, what means most in discouragement to the family, the loss of a house partly paid for. The last report of the *Community Fund News* of Detroit, published in March, says:

Pride, wholly justified of course, has kept many families from applying for relief until every other resource has been exhausted. Among the 15,000 families now being provided with the necessities of life by the Department of Public Welfare, are hundreds who withheld their applications until they had lost their equities in homes they were buying on contract.

All along the line of march the mother is generally working or looking for work and the family living on a semistarvation diet. We didn't know that one of the fathers in our neighborhood was out of work until we wondered why his small son's legs grew thin. The man was a roofer, and for four months his family had lived on the \$7.00 which fifteen-year-old Joe had made as errand boy in a drug store. This had been supplemented by \$5.50 for a day's work when the father shoveled snow for the city and

\$10 which he had earned for roofing the house of a man in his old firm. Says his wife:

He's always walking or looking. The places are so far apart that his feet get sore. He's been everywhere, the day shifts and the night shifts. We had to put cotton in the heels of his shoes. Sometimes he don't know where he's walking. He's been back so often that they hold up their hands when they see him coming. Sometimes he gets awful cranky, but when he's working he's contented-like; comes home, has his supper, and takes the kids for a walk over the bridge, and then back, and he's to bed and asleep. When he's earning I can just manage, but when he's out things go back. First I stop on the damp wash, then on the food, then the rent goes behind. We hated to have Joe go to work because his father wanted him to get a good trade, but not with the sheet metal business because their work's unsteady. You just can't manage with odd jobs and a family. You've got to have that pay envelope every week, or the children don't eat.

A baby of three cried constantly in nursery school; and when the doctors examined him, it was found that he was slowly starving. His father was a truck driver working for a cement company which only operated in the summer months. The family had never had help till last year.

One thing which is noticeable in these stories is the increasing length of time that men in seasonal occupations are out of work. Many of their families had for years been able to tide themselves over seasonal slackness; but as these slack periods have increased in length, more and more of them have found it impossible to save enough during working times to last during the months of idleness. This man had in other years been able to get something to supplement his summer work, but last winter he and his sister and brother-in-law, living in the same house, were all unable to find work. Four adults and six children existed most of the winter on the earnings of the mother, who made \$18 a week cleaning offices.

The effect of the wage earning burden, combined with the worry and undernourishment which are bound to accompany it, has devastating results on the mother's physical strength and nervous energy. One woman worked in the daytime cleaning offices, and cleaned other offices again at night. When the children were asked when she slept, they said, "Oh, she puts her head

down on the table after supper and sleeps until she goes out again at ten."

A woman in Chicago, when her husband was idle, worked all summer on farms outside the city. She left at four in the morning and returned at seven o'clock at night. While she was gone, her ten-year-old daughter took charge of four other children. Another woman, in Louisville, had to break up her home when her husband lost his job, and take her four daughters to live in one room. She found a job as a mangle worker in a laundry. One Saturday afternoon a visitor found her seated on the side of the bed with her head in her hands. Though she had been home half an hour, she was too tired to remove her coat. She had been working five days a week from seven in the morning till six in the evening, and half a day on Saturday. Several times during the conversation she almost dozed. She earned \$10 a week, with no pay for overtime, but a dock of a half-day's pay for being a minute late.

Mrs. S. in New York, whose husband was an unemployed chef, in order to go to the dentist pawned her little daughter's First Communion ring for \$15. Learning that it would cost \$80 to have her teeth treated, in desperation she had them all pulled out at a cost of only \$10.

Two little girls arrived in a settlement office, the oldest one of six pulling her little sister of three along by the hand. They came to see the doctor because the baby had cut her finger while cutting some bread for her lunch. The sister of six explained that it happened while she herself was cleaning the house before her mother's return from work. "'Course," she said, "I know I should of watched her."

It is in the field of psychology that we find the greatest divergence in the consequences of unemployment. It is here that the human equation shows itself most variable. And it is here that one sees most clearly the effects which are irremediable and which remain even after a job has been found and economic security established. Some of the more startling and dramatic consequences fall into this category—stories of suicides, insanity, de-

sertion. There is the long tale of the effects of failure and strain on individuals and on family relationships. It is only the most sturdy of our families who have come through with only their economic situation impaired. It is here that your employable men of today becomes the unemployable of tomorrow.

A hand shoe laster in Boston last winter tried to commit suicide when he came home with only \$3.00 in his week's pay envelope. For twelve years he had worked with one firm, earning between \$20 and and \$40 a week. Gradually this decreased as machines did much of the former hand work. And \$3.00 was a climax after

months of discouragement.

One of our nearest neighbors in Philadelphia two years ago was a friendly, hustling man of thirty. He had worked for one company for ten years without missing a day until he was dismissed. His record caused him great pride. After his lay-off he was unable to find steady work. Gradually his whole disposition changed. He began to complain constantly of feeling ill. His feelings were always being hurt; and he became irritable with his children, in whose upbringing he had taken unusual pride and interest. We persuaded him to have a thorough examination at the hospital and learned that there was nothing physically wrong but that he must have steady work and no worry because he was in danger of a mental breakdown. If he does break, it will mean that a wife and six children under thirteen will need support.

A young man of twenty-eight in Chicago is still in a sanitarium where he was taken after four months' unemployment. He had worked for years as a driver of a newspaper wagon. He loved his work and liked to feel that he was a part of the big paper which he helped deliver to the people. His firm and another newspaper combined, and without a day's notification he was dismissed. He hunted day after day for a job. As the days went by and he returned without work, he grew silent and depressed. Finally he refused to eat, saying, "It costs money to buy food, and I'm not earning money." Where he is being treated, they hope some time he may be able to earn again.

The story of a young mother with two little children in De-

troit, shows the strain which is placed on family relationships. She had had to apply to the department of public relief for help because her husband had deserted her. She explained how it happened. One day she had waited for her husband to come home, and he was so much later than usual that she felt sure he had a job. When he came in without one, she burst out, "You must be lazy or you would have gotten a job." He had answered, "All right, if you feel that way about it I'll go to Chicago and look for a job." To continue in her words: "Then he goes right out. You see he knows a guy that's got a Ford and him and three other guys have gone off in it. But it's an open car and that was Tuesday and I ain't heard and I wish I'd never said it."

In considering today's unemployment, we often fail to realize its relation to the next generation. But it sometimes happens among the families of the unemployed that they feel deeper resentment against their inability to make plans for the future than they do against their immediate suffering. I remember one mother, in Georgia, whose husband was in charge of a section of "news butchers." He had worked for eighteen years with one firm and for seven with the next. He was laid off because when busses were introduced in that section so many news butchers were not needed on the trains. He had earned good wages; but after two years of being unable to find a position their savings were gone, and during that time they had had to take their three oldest children out of school. Although they had gone without food and sold their furniture and moved into a miserable neighborhood, taking the children out of school was the greatest blow to them—nothing could make up to them for that. The mother is gentle and speaks without bitterness but with a sense of bafflement.

This sure has ruined our plans and hopes, for our hearts' desire was to give the children a better chance than we got. Our children haven't given us a minute's worry for badness. But our ambition was to put them through high school and then let them work for any more schooling if they wanted it. Yes, they do look pretty healthy and it's wonderful that they do. I was great on fixing little things for them to eat, and they complained right smart when I first couldn't do it, but we talked to them and explained all the circumstances, and now they realize. We have sent the

oldest boy, seventeen, out to my brother's on oil lands in Texas. He was call boy at the railroad here, but he was the youngest, so when they started to cut down, his time was cut till he was only working a week or ten days a month. He started working at the railroad when he was fifteen, when my husband first lost his job. My brother was sure he could get work for him in Texas, but he hasn't so far. He says, though, he is sure things will open up in the spring. My daughter went to work over in the five-and-ten the beginning of this winter when she was fourteen and she worked up till Christmas when she got laid off. They are trying her out in the telephone company now. This little girl was so anxious to finish high school that she liked to have cried her eyes out when she had to stop, and I guess it hurt me more than her. My next boy is thirteen and was in Seven A. We had to take him out of school too. He's workin' down at the drug store, and he don't look as good as the rest because the hours is pretty long. Every other day he goes at eight in the morning and works till seven at night. The other days he goes at eight-thirty in the morning and works till ten-thirty at night. Maybe we will be fixed so we can give it to the little ones, but you know how it is with a mother, she don't want any of them slighted.

Another factor brought out with great force by our study was the helplessness of people in finding jobs for themselves. In most cities there is almost no means except that of "making the rounds." This entails a terrific waste of strength and energy, clothes and car fare. One woman said that for weeks she had put pasteboard soles in her husband's shoes each morning when he started out to look for work.

A skilled wood finisher in New York who had had only three jobs in nineteen years was laid off from a piano company, where he had worked for six years. He took a list of the names of every piano or furniture factory in the city, and the settlement gave him more than thirty letters of introduction. With these he tramped the city every day for three months before he found a temporary position. When this work was over, he was ashamed to go back to the settlement to ask for more help.

A father and son in New Orleans go out each morning with their working clothes under their arms, so in case they find a job a moment wont be lost in getting to work. Two years ago they were earning \$40 and \$60 a week between them. Then their firm laid off half its men. This concern still gives them odd days' work when they can, but after two years' looking they still have no steady work. They have moved into poorer quarters and sold all their furniture but the necessary beds. At one time last winter

the two youngest boys went to the market to pick up scraps of meat and cast-off vegetables.

A skilled carpenter in New York says that his experience with the oversupply of labor at employment exchanges, together with the exorbitant fees charged by private agencies, has led him to think that the want columns of the daily newspapers are the best medium. But this involves the added expense of a telephone if a man is to compete with the dozens of applicants who include a bhone number in their address. For he says, "Nobody will bother to write and wait twenty-four hours for a carpenter when he can have one in five minutes." Even the want ads seldom bring results though. Last winter his ad was inserted in the "Help Wanted" column by mistake, and 45 men applied for the job. The rates for advertising in the "Situations Wanted" columns of the New York newspaper used by him have gone up in the last two or three years from 30 to 80 cents an insertion and 90 cents on Sunday, when the chance of a response is best. For eighteen years this man had paid their rent on time, but last winter, though they had spent nothing on clothes and recreation for months and the mother was working, they hadn't even money enough for food.

"Gee, I wisht I was dead," is the way Jerry, aged eighteen, concluded a recital of his fruitless efforts to get a job. Jerry is a likable boy. From the time he entered the settlement kindergarten, all girth, grin, and grime, everyone has liked him. That is why when his home was broken up a neighbor squeezed him into a three-room house where already he had seven children of his own. When Jerry told his tale, he had been out of work four months and dependent on his foster father for food and clothing. He said:

I look for work all over. I got a regular route. I start out every morning at six o'clock. First I go over to the soup factory, a furniture factory, and a printing place. Then I cross the river and go up Delaware Avenue as far as Girard and stop at all the factories and printing places. Then I try the fruit and produce places along the dock. Next I go up Race Street as far as Eighth and down Arch Street on both sides to Sixth. On my way back I stop at the Curtis Publishing Company. The other day I answered an ad. There were forty applying. The man looked us over,

picked out one and said, "Pll take you and pay you \$15 a week." Another fellow in the crowd called out, "Pd work for ten." Then the man said, "All right, Pll take you for \$10.00," and didn't hire the other fellow. I don't know what I'm going to do now. My foster father said a lot of things about my not working last night, so I went out of the house and walked the streets all night. I'm not going back. I'm not going anywhere till I can pay my board.

Beside the total loss in earnings while the man searches for work, his dislocation often leads to a lowered wage standard. A young man in Boston who had worked as a printer for five years at \$35 a week was replaced by a machine, and now, after months of searching, he is checker in a garage at \$16.50 a week. Raphael, a skilled painter, lost his job at \$40 a week when a spray system was introduced in the automobile factory where he had worked for five years. Last winter he was only getting an occasional day's work at \$5.00 or \$4.00 per day.

As a quality we greatly cherish self-respect. We like to think that independence is a heritage of our race. Bearing this in mind, we should not underestimate the harm done to the morale of a family when driven to ask for outside help. As a young Italian woman in Philadelphia puts it, "It takes you out of society to receive help. It gives people a down feeling about you." A young salesman in a department store in Pittsburgh, who looked for work until his savings were used up and his young wife and children practically starving before he was willing to ask for help, said that he was "young, able to work, and ashamed to receive relief from any agency." Yet fifteen thousand families in Detroit this winter were driven to ask for public charity.

The temptation to go on indefinitely is very great, but I know that after awhile even the most poignant tale loses its significance. But before I close this brief summary of our report, I want to read you an essay written by a thirteen-year-old Polish boy on "What Unemployment Has Meant in Our Family." It shows the sense of responsibility that rests upon the children of the unemployed; and too, through this child's eyes, you glimpse for a moment the problem of partial employment.

#### WHAT UNEMPLOYMENT HAS MEANT IN MY FAMILY

The happy days I had spent in my home Clinton were real good days until one sad day the factory or mill in which my father had worked gave a notice that their factory would only operate three days a week. My father came home that day planning of what to do, because of the notice given him and the employees of the factory. . . . . My father thought that the two days a week would soon be over. But still the two or three days a week still went on. Our or our fathers and mothers money was pretty near spent. So my father was forced to think and act quick in order to prevent hunger and keep our home. My little sister and I tried to help my father in a way which we thought best. My little sister thought of helping the lady next door by taking care of the lady's baby while the lady went shopping. Thus she earned fifty cents. I tried to help my father by having a paper route after school hours. Thus I received my salary of one dollar and fifty cents a week. My little sister and I gave our salary to my father in order to help him and keep our home that we loved since we were very young. But now the factory only operated two days a week and our salary of two dollars a week wouldn't help my father any in buying our clothing and food. When my father thought that the worst was to come he decided to go to another town and city in order to find a position that would help to support and keep our home. Now my little sister and I were forced to eat coffee and bread with lard in place of the creamery butter for our breakfast. My father made out a plan to seek employment in another city. I helped him by packing his suitcase. Before he left our home he said a prayer to the Lord. Because he knew if he asked the Lord for help the lord might help him. But unhappiness befell him because the city that he went to in search of work was on strike. Again he came home unhappy because of what befell him. Now my father was worried because he didn't know what to do, or how he could support our family. He didn't have no employment now because he had given up his last position when he went to another city for a position. That night he thought very hard and tried to decide if he should accept his last position or should he go to another city seeking employment. My mother helped him decide that question by asking him to accept his last position, and work until he could earn a little money, enough to support us and save some in case of moving out of the city. My father knew that he could not earn money the way my mother had thought. But just to please my mother he accepted his old position. Three weeks had passed still the three days a week of employment was on. My father had another plan. But just as he was going to work his plan the overseers of the mill in which my father was employed gave notice that the factory would operate a full week except Sundays. That night my father was very happy to think that he couldn't be forced to give up the home he and we loved. Now our worried heads refreshed because we knew we could support ourselves.

# HOUSING AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

#### IMPROVED HOUSING ENTERPRISES

John Ihlder, Executive Director, Pittsburgh Housing Association, Pittsburgh

HERE are two phases of housing work so distinct in purpose and in method that while they are necessary supplements to each other they cannot be carried on by one organization unless that organization divides its work so definitely and clearly that staff and board and general public must see and recognize the distinction. This introductory statement is needed because there has been much confusion of thought on the subject, and extremists who advocate one phase have been known to minimize the other even to the extent of saying that it could be disregarded. These two phases are the maintenance of legal standards and improved housing enterprises.

The first sets definite minimum standards below which no dwelling shall be permitted to fall. Consequently it affects all the population immediately and continuously. The heavy end of its task is, of course, with the housing of the lowest income groups, and with old buildings. But it must also deal with the housing of the well-to-do, and with new buildings. For even the wealthy are not able to protect themselves always and new buildings soon become old—very soon if they are poorly planned and constructed. Interest in the maintenance of legal standards sometimes conflicts with interest in improved housing, another reason for making clear the distinction so that there may not be temptation to compromise.

The second phase, improved housing, shows the way. Its func-

tion is to experiment and demonstrate, but not to meet the need in terms of quantity. It deals predominantly in new buildings, although, because of the importance of management in demonstration, it must have both interest in and experience with buildings that have been tested by time. Its interest in experiment sometimes leads to impatience with legal standards that cramp its style.

There are persons who believe that through improved housing enterprises alone we can solve the housing problem at least to the extent of providing all the lower income groups with sanitary habitations. This is the traditional belief, the belief that was prevalent among advocates in the early days before experience had tempered enthusiasm. It led to the erection of so called model tenements, and to building down to the level of the "poor." The first of these unsound enterprises was Gotham Court, built by philanthropic New Yorkers who had been abroad. They were seeking a means of relieving the room overcrowding that accompanied the Irish immigration at the time of the great famine.

New York then was a city of one-family houses. The traveled philanthropists noted in Europe the many-family, many-story tenement invented in the decadent days of ancient Rome and transplanted across the Alps in the later middle ages. This, they thought, would give each family more house room without requiring more land. In New York even at that time it was felt that land was a commodity to be used sparingly, so Gotham Court, ancestor of New York's tenements and apartments, filled its lot with the exception of a narrow passage-way. Ventilation was provided by a hole in the ceiling of each room the size of a brick which tenants found very easy to plug up.

Land values being at that time based on one-family house occupancy with generous rear yards, the site of Gotham Court cost little per family. The philanthropists congratulated themselves that they had solved the housing problem.

There have been debates on what is the hardest thing to kill. There are those who say that it is truth which, crushed to earth, will rise again. But I invite your attention to the tenacity with which a mistaken or a half-baked idea will cling to life. This idea of the New York philanthropists that putting more people on a given piece of land would solve the housing problem has persisted as vigorously as any weed. Even today with New York before our eyes and in our memories, well-meaning people in other cities actually propose to follow the example set by those century-dead philanthropists.

Jacob Riis pictured the horrors of the tenements spawned by Gotham Court. State and city commissions struggled in vain, decade after decade, with the effects of that well meant experiment. As a result New York became our leader in housing reform, but also because it confined its attention exclusively to multi-family tenements the rest of the country got an impression that bad housing existed only where there were multi-family tenements.

Even worse than this followed. New York land values having risen with the rapid spread of the multi-family dwelling, New Yorkers accepted without question that progress lay in making bad worse. The double-decker dumbbell tenement of evil fame was the prize-winning design in a competition designed to secure improvement. Except for Alfred T. White's Brooklyn tenements, the "models" erected all economized on land. They lifted some of their tenants into the sun by going higher, but coincidently, of course, they put more into deeper shade.

I dwell on this Gotham history because it illustrates so dramatically the power of improved housing enterprises to influence other building. In this instance the result was devastating.

In other instances it may be equally potent for good.

But if it is to be potent for good the improved housing enterprisers must study their problem more thoroughly than did those old New York philanthropists whose good intentions have supplied a great deal of paving material for hell. Since those days experience has taught us much. Among its lessons are, first, that a group of improved dwellings does very little quantitatively to relieve the situation, and, second, that new improved housing will seldom be tenanted by the poorest people.

Many cities have groups of "model" dwellings erected years ago that shelter fifty or a hundred families where thousands need better housing. New York again furnishes an illustration. The 1929 report of the State Board of Housing, after describing new developments says:

With the completion of these buildings the total investment in new housing (in Greater New York) under the State Housing Law (creating limited dividend companies) will exceed \$5,000,000 and will provide accommodations for more than one thousand families . . . . the rental range will be from \$8.50 to \$12.50 per month per room.

On another page the same report says that 58 per cent of the population of Manhattan (one borough of Greater New York) live in apartments renting from less than \$10.00 per month per room and that 35,000 families, or more than 6 per cent of the population in (the single borough of) Manhattan pay less than \$5.00 per month per room. The 1930 report, just issued, says that "with increasing vacancies rents have gradually fallen so that in many of the buildings the tenant is permitted to fix the rental figure."

Years ago it was a definite, stated objective of "model" housing that it was designed for the poorest people. During the time when it was a definite stated objective we "built down" to the poor. Our ideal was to construct sanitary habitations rather than homes, filth having taken the place of overcrowding as the enemy. We discussed dwellings of solid concrete that could be flushed out with a hose. Today we are, somewhat reluctantly, giving up this ideal. Perhaps one reason is that there have been periods when our sanitary habitations did not rent well. So we are recognizing the fact that in most of our cities there is a surplus of old dwellings, that maintenance of high legal standards will make them fit for habitation, and that competition among owners is bringing down rents.

Meanwhile our philosophy is changing. The old objective was based, consciously or sub-consciously, upon the proposition

that there always would be a large proportion of the population, normal physically and mentally, who could not earn enough for self-support. Self-support, of course, means, among other things, ability to pay rent for a proper dwelling. On the basis of this proposition we indulged in housing at "5 per cent and philanthropy," dipped a few out of the mass and felt we had done something. Today, consciously or sub-consciously, we are recognizing that philanthropic housing will never produce enough dwellings to have an appreciable effect upon the need, that even government treasuries cannot stand the strain of housing at a loss, and so we must find a way of enabling tenants to pay an economic rent.

Increase of tenants' income is, of course, outside the field of housing; but it conditions housing. Like city planning and zoning, it changes the world in which housing workers work. Instead of assuming that a large part of our people must live in habitations rather than homes merely because of poverty that will continue world without end, we are assuming that a new day has dawned in which all except the defectives will be self-supporting. And by that we mean able to pay an economic rent.

Pending the full light of this new day we depend upon the maintenance of legal standards to make and keep our poorest dwellings fit for habitation. As the light grows stronger our minimum legal standards will rise. Meanwhile improved housing enterprises will be leading the way to better planning, better

designing, better management.

A survey of recent improved housing enterprises shows that their sponsors are acting in accordance with this change. The "philanthropy and 5 per cent" slogan has fallen into disuse. Instead we hear of earning a return on the investment equal to that on gilt edged securities. Philanthropists are asked today not to bid their money goodbye, but to take a risk. If the experiment turns out well they will have a good investment. And the risk is minimized in every way, not only by thorough study of all the factors involved, but by definitely aiming at a group of prospective tenants considerably above the lowest in financial ability.

The task the modern enterprisers have set themselves is to experiment and demonstrate. Is it, they ask, possible to finance more cheaply and yet in a way that will produce capital in adequate amount. Is it practicable to build so that every room may have sun and air? Is it possible to provide comfort and beauty for wage earners and yet pay a fair return on the investment? Is it true that good management is good business?

Among the difficulties of the old régime was harmonizing fact with promise. Seldom if ever did they reach the lowest income group. Nearly always did they select their tenants, turning away those whose need was greatest. The present improved housing enterprisers are under no such moral handicap. They state frankly that their prospects are selected. They admit they are not reaching the poorest and the worst. What they promise is that successful experimentation and demonstration will enable them to reach groups lower in the economic scale than those with which they start.

Because it set for itself an impossible goal, that of providing model dwellings for the poorest of the poor; because it adopted methods economically unsound and tried to make good by voking philanthropy with 5 per cent, this old régime had little to teach and except inadvertently, as in the case of Gotham Court, when it showed speculators how to reap a harvest, it had little effect on those who provided housing for the vast majority of the population. The new régime, because it is setting for itself a practicable goal; because it has regard for sound economics, because it studies its problem in relation to other economic and social problems, this new régime promises to affect all housing. When the Amalgamated Clothing Workers can build for themselves dwellings as well equipped with modern conveniences, with more light and air, with greater architectural beauty and far more attractive surroundings than are provided by commercial builders for the millionaires of Park Avenue, surely something must happen.

## CREATING A COMMUNITY AS A REAL ESTATE OPERATION

Louis Brownlow, Municipal Consultant, City Housing Corporation, Radburn, New Jersey

HEN the man in the street speaks of a real estate operation very likely he means one of two things: either the subdivision and sale of unimproved land, or the building of some structure on a particular lot which promises a

profit through sale or rental.

Yet no such real estate operation would be possible, or at any rate none would be profitable, if it were not for the fact that the operation is a part of another and a greater operation—that of community building. Usually there are so many different and various agencies at work in community building that the real estate operator himself frequently loses sight of the essential factor in his business.

For that reason it may be worth while to review briefly what is being done by the City Housing Corporation, a limited dividend company, in building a town, where the concerns of the community are carried in mind, and in fact, as the chief business

of a real estate operation on a large scale.

"Radburn" we call the town planned for the motor age. Politically, it is a part of the borough of Fair Lawn, New Jersey. Geographically it lies within the northern New Jersey sector of the metropolitan region of New York City, quite near the industrial cities of Paterson and Passaic. Topographically, it is situated on rolling land within sight of distant hills, and lies from fifty to over a hundred feet above sea level. Historically, it has been the home for nearly three centuries of a sturdy folk of Dutch origin, the influence of the Hollanders having been kept fresh in each generation by new immigration from the Netherlands. Socially

and economically, the background has been entirely agricultural and rural.

The historical and social background is of little account in considering Radburn, except that it is responsible for the wide expanse of farm lands cut only by a few narrow roads, leaving this tract here, within fourteen miles of Times Square by air line, within seventeen miles of the Jersey City Terminal by railroad, and within ten miles of the new Hudson River bridge, a virgin territory upon which a new town plan might be laid. Radburn will occupy two square miles purchased by the City Housing Corporation. It is to be a city of from 25,000 to 30,000 people.

In Radburn, planned deliberately for the motor age, two things are chiefly to be desired: first, the maximum convenience for the use of the motor car for business and pleasure; and, second, the reduction to the minimum of the dangers attendant upon such use. Consideration for the health and happiness of the people who are to live in the houses also brings the provision of

park spaces into the foreground.

The street system of a town is both the skeleton and the circulatory system. Aside from drainage, a street's principal surface functions are three in number. Two of these are ancient, classic and first to come to mind when one hears the word "street." They are the functions of traffic awheel and traffic afoot. Usually we separate the parts of the street devoted to these two functions. The center we call a roadway and devote it to wheel traffic: along either side we run a raised ribbon, call it a sidewalk and devote it to foot traffic; the two mingling at intersections some sixteen or eighteen times in a mile. When urban land is intensively used, the surface of the street has a third important function, and we have found no way to separate a part of the street for this new use. It spills over the sidewalk and the roadway. It is play. Play in the streets is dangerous to children and an impediment to wheel traffic and the attempt to use the same space for both brings tragic consequences into thousands of American homes every year.

At Radburn, in its residential portions, the planners have re-

distributed the functions of the street, they have made a new segregation of street space, and they have rearranged the relation of street space to park space. Essentially, the scheme is based on the use of a unit which, for lack of a better name, we call the superblock. This consists of a central core of open park land rimmed by a public street devoted entirely to foot traffic or play, this core being surrounded by a series of lanes or cul-de-sacs, short streets devoted entirely to wheel traffic, closed at the interior end, but open to and connecting at the outer end with the wide highway which surrounds the whole super-block and which is again devoted exclusively to wheel traffic.

The houses are grouped around the lanes, so that each house fronts upon two streets, one a relatively wide street for wheel traffic and the other a quite narrow street for foot traffic. The great motor highway surrounding the whole super-block sends its tributary streets inward toward, but not to, the park core; the footway rimming the park sends its tributary sidewalks out to the outer rim.

The central park core and its rimming footway sends out arms to the boundary, and there the footway and a ribbon of parkway dive under the motor highway through an underpass to connect with the park and footway system of the next super-block. Groups of these super-blocks in their turn will center about a school and playfield as the focal point, to which any child may walk from his home in safety, so far as wheel traffic is concerned. And yet each house has its motor street, too, and all but ten of them have a garage built into the house. The effect may be observed from the angle of the householder. He has two fronts to his house. One gives upon a public street devoted to wheel travel. The other opens upon a public street devoted to foot travel. He is not, in any case, farther than 400 feet from a principal motor highway. And he will not be farther, in any case, than 400 feet from a park. If for any reason his child plays outside his own yard, the child has a place to play in the park and on the footway where no motor vehicle can menace him. In Radburn one may take a walk on a paved footway without ever stepping up or down

a curb and without ever being in a place where a motor car can be, all the time on a public lighted street and bordering not a wheel traffic roadway, but a park.

That such a radical departure from the conventional street pattern had an interesting effect on house design follows as a matter of course. The house has two fronts, no back. It has two front yards, no back yards. It has two principal entrances—a motor entrance and a pedestrian entrance. That the architects and builders already have taken advantage of many of these new opportunities in designing the moderate priced houses that have been built in Radburn is evident to the visitor. This new street and park pattern has justified itself also on the score of economy as well as with respect to safety, convenience, and beauty. The scheme requires less land for streets than the conventional checkerboard and the land thus saved goes far toward providing park space. The grouping of the houses tends to shorten the lines of the utilities, thus introducing further economies.

Since Radburn is planned as a satellite city and not to be a mere dormitory for New York and the neighboring cities of New Jersey, it is to have its own commercial and industrial sections, and to be, as far as is possible, a self-contained town in which workers may live near their work. At the southerly end of the town a reservation for industry has been made, and one establishment has been built there. The planners have been at pains to relate that industrial section to the other portions of the town by adequate highways and will provide suitable housing for workers not far away.

The commercial needs of the town are to be provided for in neighborhood shopping centers, in sub-business centers, one of which already is being constructed, and in a central business area related to the civic center of the town.

It should be borne in mind that Radburn essentially is a community and a housing development for families of moderate incomes. Everything that has been done in planning the houses, in arranging for the terms of their sale, in reserving the apartment houses and other multiple-family houses from sale and arrang-

ing for their rental, in declining to offer for sale sites for individual homes to be erected by the owner—all such decisions have been made with the requirements and limitations of the moderate income group in mind, considered in the light of existing conditions in the New York region.

The houses built during the first year, 175 in number, were priced for sale at from \$7,900 up to \$18,200, there being only one house at each of these figures. Most of the houses were around \$10,000. This year a greater number of houses in the lower price range, some of them perhaps as low as \$7,000, will be provided. The price of the house thus sold is inclusive of the public utilities that in American cities so often are not included.

Radburn as a city of 25,000 people is perhaps ten years in the future. Eighteen months ago it was, except for some lands bought, some money risked, and some blueprints, all in the future. At the beginning of the second half of the year 1930, however, there is a physical Radburn consisting of houses, apartment houses, shops, stores; of some miles of concrete paved streets and footways, of water pipes, sewers, gas mains, electric lights and the like; parks, playgrounds, tennis courts, a swimming pool, etc. There is another Radburn. It is the community made up of nearly eight hundred human beings, one-fourth of whom are younger than twelve years. To these people and to those who come after them, Radburn is not a housing project nor an essay in town planning. It is a town in which they have bought a house in which to make a home; it is a community of which they are a part. Politically, they are citizens and voters of the borough of Fair Lawn. The borough has an area of a little more than five miles, about one-third of which is Radburn. The borough has a population of about 6,000. But a borough so largely rural could not provide at the beginning the full measure of municipal services required by Radburn. It is to be borne in mind that when we undertake to build a planned city such as Radburn on an urban scale, on land that heretofore has been entirely agricultural, we accelerate the normal American process of urban evolution by

telescoping through two well-defined stages—the semi-rural and the suburban.

In Fair Lawn there was no public water supply, no sewage system, and but meager provision, according to urban standards, for police and fire protection, health service, and the like. However, a fairly good school system was provided. For the protection of the property and for the nurture of the community life, several things had to be provided. One was the machinery for enforcing the protective restrictions of the deeds, giving architectural control in the community interest, use-zoning and so on. Another was to supplement the municipal services being provided by the borough so as to meet the needs of the more intensively developed Radburn section. The third was to provide certain services not yet within the scope of the municipal activities.

To accomplish these purposes, the Radburn Association, a membership, non-profit corporation, was set up. At the beginning the Radburn Association consists of nine members, part of them members of City Housing Corporation and its staff, and part of them representative civic leaders of northern New Jersey. Eventually the power and responsibility of the Radburn Association will devolve upon the residents of Radburn, but we have not attempted to say in advance exactly when or in precisely what manner. The Radburn Association derives its revenues from a charge fixed annually by it upon properties in Radburn subjected to the declaration of restrictions, but which charge can never exceed one-half of the taxes for public purposes. The rate is fixed by the Association and the base used is that of the assessment by public authority for public taxation. In form, the Association is modeled upon the council-manager plan of municipal government, the policy determining function and the fiscal control being in the hands of the members of the Association acting through trustees chosen by them; the administrative and executive functions being discharged by a manager chosen by the trustees.

Here then is an attempt to solve a problem that has vexed almost every municipality in the whole country. The problem has

been stated succinctly by Clarence A. Perry, in this form: "How can a neighborhood within a municipality carry on a more advanced form of living than the municipality as a whole is ready to afford?" The answer often has been a dejected negation. It often has been an unfair and unjust favoritism which has been both the cause and the result of municipal political corruption. It sometimes has been achieved by means very much the same as we have attempted for relatively small, high-class residential sections of cities. By means of the Radburn Association it is hoped that a just and equitable balance may be struck between those services that the entire municipality affords and those augmented or more advanced services which the urbanized section of Radburn requires.

It is also the concern of the Radburn Association to foster the organization of the community life in such manner as will best, in conjunction with municipal, county, state and national government, promote the health, the education, the prosperity and the

happiness of the people of Radburn.

This it has begun by bringing together the people of Radburn who have organized the Radburn Citizens' Association to which all additional residents are eligible. This Association already operating through some fifteen committees has demonstrated a lively group of community activities. It has set up a health center with a physician and nurse in charge; it has provided a visiting bedside nursing service; it has established a small circulating library; it has provided supervision for children on the playgrounds; it is developing groups for additional recreation, both indoor and outdoor; it has set up the Radburn Players in the field of drama; it has provided a Children's House with kindergarten equipment and facilities for day nursery school and the teaching of handicrafts; it has provided for loan art exhibits; through its committees it assisted in obtaining a bond issue by the borough of Fair Lawn for \$125,000 for the first unit of the free public school; it has established a fire department and a police department and has under way many other projects of community activities.

As an advisory body it works with the Radburn Association which from the sums of money collected from the properties subjected to the restrictions in the deeds furnishes the funds for financing most of its activities.

The entire project is, of course, financed by the City Housing Corporation. This is a 6 per cent limited dividend company which now has outstanding almost \$3,000,000 in capital stock. Aside from the capital stock, capital for development is secured by three methods: first mortgages on the properties sold which are disposed of to mortgage buyers, life insurance companies, etc., second mortgages, which after they have been accumulated in considerable blocks will be deposited with a banking institution as trustee to serve as collateral security for the issue of second mortgage collateral bonds in the amount of \$100 for each \$120 of mortgages so deposited, an issue of notes secured by general corporate mortgage on the whole of the Radburn property. Individual plots sold are, of course, released from this general corporate mortgage. These notes have been purchased in large quantities by a group of wealthy individuals interested in the Radburn demonstration. The entire Radburn development will require from eighty to ninety million dollars of capital which indicates the necessity of approximately eight to ten million dollars of basic capital. Not the least valuable of the demonstrations to be made in Radburn will be that of determining whether or not a limited dividend company will be able to attract sufficient money to engage in large housing projects in the United States where, as yet, government funds are not available for such purposes.

In the establishment of this community as a real estate operation, the City Housing Corporation hopes to be able to demonstrate the desirability of planning and housing construction in units of neighborhoods, with the creation of the community as the principal object.

## THE PLACE OF RECREATION IN THE SETTLEMENT PROGRAM

Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, Director of Greenwich House, New York City

As settlement is often thought of as a recreation center. As settlementers we won't agree to such a definition. We think of the settlement as a project in civilized living, with every individual and group offering its quota of experience and purpose to the whole. But, crudely speaking, the settlement does center more in recreation than, for instance, in health, or what is ordinarily called education. It is easy to make an argument for priority of interest from the angle of health. How is it possible to profit by education or enjoy recreation without the basis of energy and power that health affords? Or it is easy to prove that the unfolding and adaptation of one's powers which education means, is the implicit underpinning which gives health a meaning and recreation its dignity.

But recreation, doing what one wants to as play, rather gets the best of it in this contest for priority. For it is only as a natural byproduct of energy that a certain beauty and easy power can result. Casualness and ease are always the marks of real efficiency. It is the margin, the overflow, that make the necessary contribution of vitality to one's activities. Recreation, then, is doing what one wants to do easily, happily, and well. Of course the great illusion is that recreation can come as a gift to mankind without a struggle. Being recreated is the opposite of recreation. As every psychologist can testify, there is no ease that has not been won by effort; or, to use a more pedagogical jargon, technique is a necessity for freedom. The new education, which like all things new is for the most part rearrangement, is endeavoring to resolve the complex of order and freedom. The nursery school, for in-

stance, is engaged in habit training, which is order, while giving

opportunity for individual play, which is freedom.

Recreation, like education, has suffered from regimentation. Just as people have been "educated," so they have been "recreated." To be done good to, to be planned for, to be cast into a mold, to be the victim of a program, means the fixing of well defined patterns of thought and conduct according to a predetermined standard. These patterns are used as big sticks to compel us to submission, instead of as desirable hints from the experience of others, the value of which we must test in the light of our own experience. Taken in this latter way, we may extract all sorts of values. The past is not to be thrown in the wastebasket, but to be held as a treasure which the magic of contemporary life can transmute and reorganize for its own use. Recreation, then, has to begin with an understanding of the individual. The tastes and aptitudes of the individual have to be discovered. Recreational guidance, like vocational guidance, has its base in a psychology which takes into account native gifts, practical opportunity, the background of social experience and tradition in which the individual is placed. No program made in a central office somewhere can be fastened on an individual successfully. The whole idea of mass production, when it comes to recreation, has to be thrown over. Programs are good only as suggestions, to be modified or discarded in the light of one's findings about the individual. Recreation programs are always to be regarded with suspicion, no matter how friendly that suspi ion may be. The unimaginative need a program as a stimulus, and the imaginative as a hopeful hint in dealing with the experience of others. But in no case are programs to be swallowed whole as inspired wisdom. Flexibility the settlements are used to. They are not so likely to be taken in by pronouncements as many other social groups, for their whole history has been an attempt to organize a community life on the basis of the valuable contribution of each as it is discovered.

But while pioneers in progressive social education, the settlements have also had to be very practical in accepting or discarding forms of social life. If tradition is too quickly broken, if standards are too lightly held, disintegration, which is anything but "progressive," takes place. The art of social change by which a balance can be maintained without smash is the art of government. In this sense, the settlement is deeply aligned with Anglo-Saxon liberalism, for the moment discredited in the world of Italy, Russia, and a whole generation of brilliant youth interested in art and science and contemptuous of civic movements and politics.

It is in line with this general prelude that I would approach the theme I have been asked to discuss, Art as Recreation. For it is in the arts that recreation, as we understand it, has its greatest opportunity. The arts, while basically different in development, all have this in common, that the modern must stand on his own feet and express the validity of his own experience while wholly cognizant of and sympathetic with the experience of the past.

What is that which makes for survival? Why is it that the great Chinese paintings are as potent for us as they were for their contemporaries? Why is Beethoven satisfying to a modern man? Because the greatest art not only expresses adequately the experience of the artist, but in form and content corresponds to the desires and natures of sincere men of all ages. What survives is valid for all. The arts are obviously, then, the highway of recreation—the main line. The settlements have always recognized this fact, and from the beginning music, drawing, crafts, dance, and drama have been emphasized as the most fertile and provocative forms of recreation for all.

If we emerge from the haze and bog of what is called art education, or still worse, art appreciation; if we sidestep the patter of creative art and self expression; if we fail to gush over the wonderful results (?) of our training; if in fact, we cease to sentimentalize about the whole subject and ask ourselves the following questions: What is our aim? What is our method? What is the present outlook? we can perhaps get a glimpse of what art can mean in our neighborhoods.

May we not begin by dogmatically asserting that every child has a right to art as he has a right to health and to play? Is not the primary aim to open the world of art both for understanding and for participation? Are we not agreed that understanding involves almost invariably some sort of participation (I say almost invariably, for occasionally imagination seems to act vicariously so that one need not share in an experience to grasp it); and that therefore art in the settlement must mean first the use of the primary tools of the arts—drawing as fundamental for the crafts, composition or design as fundamental for painting and sculpture, rhythm as fundamental for music and drama. If then, one has to choose where to begin, why not with drawing and dancing? These are basic. Dancing is perhaps the most important, for there rhythm, which is implicit in all art, is most obvious.

The relation of technique to idea or desire is really not very mysterious. If one plays with what one wants to do one soon comes to the question—how. Without this knowing how, one is frustrated and discouraged. The order is, therefore, interest and desire, then technique, then a reawakened interest on a higher

plane.

A very well known and distinguished teacher of rhythm, looking at a pupil dance, was overheard to say enthusiastically, "Look at the dear child! She doesn't know what she is doing." The dear child should know. In knowing one acquires freedom, does not lose it. There can never be too much knowledge. But knowledge depends on the knower. Technique is of course not a program, but an individual adjustment which the skilled leader will know how to plan for. That is all that the apprenticeship idea meant, working with one who knows, and gathering by joint work and insight an understanding of how to progress, which no amount of class work with a planned program can bring about.

Leadership in the arts means, therefore, far more than is involved in what is ordinarily thought of as teaching. It means, to be candid, that the settlement cannot rely for leadership on anyone who is not going to give the very best of himself, his interest, understanding, patience, and energy to the development of those with whom he is working. The artist-leader must know something of the child's background. He should know something

about hygiene, psychology, and the economic and cultural *milieu* of the child. He should be an artist, not in a vacuum, but deeply

immersed in his social surroundings.

Just as the technically trained social worker is sometimes deficient in the artist's understanding and methods of work, so the artist often fails to see his work embedded in the whole social structure. The greatest artists have always been social philosophers, sometimes passive, but often militant reformers and revolutionists.

In Mexico, the vivid people in charge of their national education are sending out people in groups of three to excite interest in rural regions untouched by schools—one, a health worker; the second, a teacher who understands agricultural and household problems as well as the three R's; and the third a person interested in developing the native taste of the Mexican people.

I suppose there is no settlement or community center where there is not a need for this artist-educator who would lead the people to higher types of a real recreation. Sound training will open the way to vocational opportunities for many. For the majority it will mean that greater understanding of life which we call civilization.

Education, recreation and art are all aspects or names for the same thing, the development of understanding and the adequate expression of this understanding. The danger of this point of view is not in itself, but in the misapprehension it occasions. For often it is used as an excuse for bad workmanship.

Enthusiasm and good will are far from being enough. Thorough training is essential whether the end be vocational, or broadly speaking, recreational. It is a sin to put a half trained artist of any kind in charge of a department. Vision and technique have to be combined in the artist as in all other leaders.

A word in closing about training for this artist-leadership. For many communities there can be only one such leader. There is a great need for a university course, under professional guidance, in cooperation with the settlements, for people who would be capable of leadership in drawing and rhythm, with such skill in music, the crafts and drama as would be possible. I believe such a course of training combined with a fundamental knowledge of the economic and cultural background of our times, would lead to great enrichment in our community education and would prove a vast stimulus in offsetting the effects of a mechanistic civilization which, with its obvious defects, yet has it in its power, under modification and re-direction, to solve some of the more glaring evils of our modern life.

## THE EVOLUTION OF PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK

(SHOWN BY USE OF A CASE PRESENTATION)

#### CASE PRESENTATION

Katherine Moore, Institute of Child Guidance, New York City

when she first came to the psychiatrist two years ago, on advice of a church social worker. She complained of a tendency to so called "sleeping spells" which occurred frequently each day. She was reported as becoming more and more withdrawn in her recreational group as well as in her home.

Social study showed the parents to be simple people of Irish descent who had been born and brought up in a congested neighborhood. Here they had also established their own home. The father is an earnest, harried individual, rather insignificant in appearance. He had left school in the seventh grade to work at bartending in a relative's saloon, to help support his family. He was the paternal grandmother's favorite and after the latter's death continued to turn to an older paternal aunt who, it will be seen, is still an important influence. The paternal grandfather deserted when the father was ten years old. There was an absence of demonstration of affection in the father's family in contrast to the situation in the mother's home.

The mother was seen as a rather unhappy, drab-appearing woman. She also had left school before completing the elementary grades, worked in a stock room for several years and found it monotonous. She was married at seventeen years of age, she being seven years younger than the father. She was strongly attached to the maternal grandfather, who, however, lived only

periodically in the home, finally deserting permanently. The mother had used her temper to gain consideration from her family. There were numerous significant physical health factors in the mother's history. Maternal grandmother was a very hard working person and the mother was obliged to do much menial work as a girl. As an evidence of the repressive atmosphere of her home, the mother could not turn to the maternal grandmother at the time of her first pregnancy for needed information—this despite the fact that the latter had practiced as a midwife. The mother claimed to have "settled down" only after the birth of the second child. The early years of marriage included several periods of separation when the mother had taken the initiative in leaving after quarrels.

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Both parents were brought up in the Catholic faith and the mother gave up attendance at church after marriage to the father. He had discontinued connection with the church some time before marriage. The patient and the other children were brought up as Catholics and attended until, with the patient's affiliation with the neighborhood Protestant church, dating from two years prior to study of the case, the whole immediate family gradually joined this Protestant church.

The patient is the eldest of three children, there being another girl of eleven years and a boy of four. The patient left school in the second year of high school, at which time she was doing poor work. During the period of study, the patient secured her first paid job, one at clerical work at the time the family store was in the process of being sold. She attended continuation school where she was taking a stenographic course.

The environmental background at the time the case was referred, included the following factors: The parents were struggling against odds to make both ends meet. Business in their small candy store had been falling off with the gradual change in the neighborhood as the garment trade moved in. The patient had been helping in the store since she was eleven years of age, and by this work she had been greatly tied down. Most of the responsibility for several months had been carried by the mother

and the patient. The father, discouraged, had returned to his former government work at \$2,100 a year. This was regular and routine work and the employment he himself had always preferred.

The parents had hoped, through the business venture, to establish a home for themselves and their children of higher standard than their own had been. In seeking to fulfill this ambition, they had somewhat lost sight of the patient's individual

personality needs.

Other limitations on the patient came about through the attitudes of the parents. There was the father's avoidance of contacts with those outside the family; his dogmatic ideas of right and wrong which had a bearing upon the patient's social activity and the hours she kept; also, there was the parents' consideration of the middle child, a docile girl, as the perfect daughter. Satisfactions from the patient's clerical job were influenced by the fact that she was compelled to give all of her earnings of \$13 a week to her mother; also, the work was monotonous and she dreaded being conspicuous through her spells.

In addition, there were outside influences which had a relation to the patient's difficulties. Her group activities at the church offered constructive possibilities but these were somewhat offset by the fact that here, social, and to some extent, cultural standards, were encouraged which were beyond the potentialities of the family. The paternal aunt, already referred to, was critical of the patient, as well as of the mother. It was in this setting that

the patient's problem had developed.

As work on the case proceeded, more was learned through social study of the symptoms manifested by the parents, to which the patient was reacting in the home. There was the tendency of the father and mother to outbursts of temper; the father's periods of worry and anxiety heightened periodically with the need to memorize new schedules at his work; the father's projecting of his difficulties upon the mother, as of his lack of financial success to her unwillingness to save earlier in married life; his suspiciousness of outsiders; the mother's days of silence

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after her feelings were hurt by the father; the latter's unfavorable comparisons of the mother with the paternal aunt; the mother's tart tongue with the neighbors; the childish battles between the young brother and the mother; the latter's exaggerated habits of washing; and the mother's turning to the patient when at odds with the father, and away from her at times when back in the father's good graces.

The respective family background histories show that the parents were subject to physical and educational limitations due to economic pressure and that neither parent had been helped in the development of attitudes of healthy adult responsibility through his or her family relationships. The father and mother were found, on basis of the social study, to both show marked feelings of inferiority, the mother with a conspicuous tendency to self-blame, and the father to projection. It was felt that each had sought a parent person in marriage and that neither had found this. From the time of marriage there had been many disappointments for both.

The patient's clinical examinations revealed the following: The physical examination showed dental and visual defects and the possibility of an endocrine disturbance; the psychological tests indicating high average intelligence. "She has the ability to do high school work but will have to apply herself diligently." The psychiatric examination and succeeding contacts with the patient elicited a multiplicity of data which are presented briefly in the psychiatrist's summary as follows:

The patient feared criticism, lacked self-confidence and was very sensitive to the opinion of others. She presented a cold emotional tone with marked egocentricity as witness her inability to recall the presence of the father at the Thanksgiving dinner, particularly as the event was in the way of a reunion. She could, however, criticize the home as it then appeared—its defects and shortcomings as they would detract from her pleasures. The spells were used as a psychological means of escape from the unpleasant, the critical, the comparative, and the challenging. It was thought advisable to determine if the bases of the spells were psychogenic in etiology also. The conflict was thought to center about the Oedipus situation and the spells were being used in the way of a somatic escape mechanism from the inner tension and conflict. She was consciously antagonistic toward the father and resented the way in which he treated both herself and her mother. There was some ambivalency how-

ever, as she frequently came to his defense and hoped that he would not continue to show his temper. She had entertained death wishes against him and was more identified with the mother. There was, too, a certain resentment against the mother for the latter's treatment of her. The mother had made her insecure because of the ambivalent attitude shown toward her. She felt unable to voice her sentiments toward her parents partly because they had discouraged her in doing this and also because of their general attitude towards her. She had jealousy of the younger sister because of the latter's being favored.

During the period of two years in which the case has been under treatment, psychotherapy with the patient has been continuous at weekly or more frequent intervals. The psychiatric work was supplemented later by treatment of both the mother and the father with two other psychiatrists at another clinic, and there has been a liaison of these therapeutic efforts in the direction of utilizable changes of attitude toward the patient.

Social treatment has been centralized with the one worker, the frequency of contacts with the individual members of the family and the intensity of the treatment undertaken at any one time varying with the needs in the situation. (In addition there have been the contacts of the social worker with persons outside the family as the father's employer, the patient's teacher, and others. Direct work with the paternal aunt has been blocked from the start.)

The following illustrates the changes of the social worker's emphasis: The social treatment was at first limited to attempting to change the more superficial aspects of the home situation to the patient's advantage (as the securing of an allowance and a less arbitrary attitude toward hours); to checking on symptomatic behavior of the patient; to advising in regard to the handling of the behavior problems of the brother, and to securing much needed physical care for the mother. A few contacts were had with the patient at this time on a superficial level, and chiefly for the purpose of helping to make the worker's seeing the mother acceptable to the patient.

Soon, it became clear that although the patient was an adolescent with whom much direct work could be done, the best results would be obtained by efforts also to change the emotional attitudes behind the social problems of the parents. These parental problems were constantly activating the patient's problems. The chances of success for such treatment did not loom large, partly because of the relatively low intelligence and educational background and because of the well established patterns of immaturity. However, this more intensive work was undertaken after about seven months and was a corollary to the attention given to the critical social problems which arose at this time.

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The father, in what was said to be a fit of temper, cut the patient's head open with a stove lid. This precipitated the decision on the part of the patient to leave home to live at a girl's club, learned of through the church. Here, there was a definite shift in social treatment. It now included: first, intensive social supervision of the patient, a minor, living outside her own home; second, interviews with the father leading to his referral for psychiatric examination and treatment; third, the combining of the type of social work already undertaken with the mother with an effort to get at some of her emotional problems. Only very slowly did the mother gain confidence in the worker to the extent of talking freely of her personal problems, and thus afford more than a surface approach to her attitudes. The developing security as evinced during the five months of approximately weekly appointments with the worker, showed itself elsewhere. Through her increased understanding of personality interaction she appeared less burdened and showed more initiative. She then accepted the suggestion of referral to a psychiatrist as an opportunity to go farther in relation to her difficulties.

A second change was seen approximately nine months later. By this time the father had improved under psychiatric treatment and for practical reasons further treatment was postponed. The psychiatrist recommended that the father then keep in touch with the social worker. It was at this time that the mother started treatment with another psychiatrist. In this situation the worker's contacts with the mother continued, now chiefly in relation to things other than her emotional difficulties. Social supervision of the patient, now somewhat less close, was maintained. With

the father the worker established a relationship whereby he took the initiative in seeing the worker as he felt the need arose. Contacts were few but after several months he sought help at the time of a crisis in his employment. At this time he wanted to re-

new psychiatric treatment and this was then possible.

A third and last change brings us to the present. Monthly contact is had with the parents in the home. There are no regular appointments. Both parents continue with psychotherapy. They are handling social situations well. During this time, the patient returned home to live. The worker sees her only occasionally and usually at her initiative. There remains the opportunity to get outside information in connection with the psychotherapy of the patient, to insure the parents' interest in the patient's treatment, and also to provide occasional outside reports to the other psychiatrists.

The social treatment of the patient, to mention this more in detail, started actively, as stated, when the patient left home. It was maintained during the period of months when she had no contact with her parents, and continued during the time she was resuming relationships with her family, and until she returned to her home after being away fifteen months. The patient was seen at first at approximately weekly intervals. Contacts were had with the head of the club and with the patient at the club. Several recreational outings were included. The worker advised in regard to many concrete matters and situations since the patient initially showed considerable helplessness and poor judgment in her new independent setting. There were the matters of budgeting, dental care, eye refraction, late hours at the club with the threat of dismissal, and many others. The worker later became the intermediary between the patient and her mother as part of the effort to encourage friendly relations. Gradually, the patient came to depend upon the social worker's help less as her psychiatric treatment progressed and as she grew in experience. The treatment of the patient's emotional problems was concentrated throughout with the psychiatrist. The psychiatrist's summary of the treatment of the patient is as follows:

The psychotherapy has divided itself into two phases. An attempt was made to bring out repressed material with the intent to adjust the patient to her own difficulties. This called for a great deal of security in the treatment situation and necessitated frequent giving of reassurances. Dream analysis and associations were repeatedly used with much evidence of uncooperation and scant productivity on patient's part. Periodic crises necessitating attention have served as interruptions. The nuclear complex has not been reached.

As improvement was manifesting itself in her better social and group adaptations and feeling tone (though in the medium of a selected home and under the guidance of the social worker) it was decided to shift the therapeutic approach more intensively to the social level. Her ideas of inferiority and inadequacy were decreasing, much to her satisfaction. She voiced a more mature attitude toward the home, especially with regard to its shortcomings and the troubles of the mother. Her spells were much less of a threat to her as they had decreased greatly both in severity and frequency. This shift meant the dissolution of a great deal of her former dependency.

Gradually she began to adapt herself to her newly given responsibilities and to entertain more constructive attitudes. Concomitantly, psychiatric social supervision was decreased as her progress indicated her capacity to assume more responsibility. Several times she made remarks tentatively indicating a return to the home but the final confirmation of her readiness to accept her former rôle was left to her own decision.

The psychiatrist's evaluation of treatment of the parents is as follows:

The parental background was rich in material—two dependent individuals whose mental tie served to accentuate their shortcomings and to exaggerate their difficulties. That each was psychoneurotic and their personalities mutually conflicting, intensified their incompatibilities and created a home situation from which the patient sought refuge. The psychiatric treatment of them has been largely of an ameliorative and persuasive type. They have been encouraged to talk out their problems—the encouragement being further strengthened by their confidence in their respective treatment situations. As a result of the release of material thus effected there has been a reduction in emotional tension and a parallel growth of equanimity in their mental contacts. While not in any sense complete, their progress has been quite evident and productive of good results, both for themselves in relationship to each other, and for those in the home circle.

As seen by the worker, the mother is the parent who has done the most in the way of adjustment to others. She shows herself to be a more responsible person in many ways, conspicuously so in her attitude toward the father. There has been a marked reduction of symptoms in the father's case. The family now lives as a fairly harmonious unit.

The chronology of events and the details of the family as we

find them at the end of two years, cannot all be included. Briefly, however, it may be added that the patient's present job is one of typing for which she receives \$22 a week. She has many friends, both boys and girls, and has rather wide social interests. The father continues at his government work and has had relatively few absences which has meant a more stable income than in the past. Both parents are in improved physical health. Efforts have been made to make the home as adequate for all concerned as possible in face of still existing limitations. Occasional contacts with those outside the home and family are had by the parents but the greater increase has been in the way of group recreation within the home. The patient's friends and those of the other children now visit. The brother has made a good adjustment at kindergarten and is less a problem in the family.

## DISCUSSION—FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE FAMILY AGENCY

Karl de Schweinitz, Family Society of Philadelphia

HAT is sure to impress the family social worker who reads this record is the direct immediate drive toward a definitely outlined and specific personal problem. The attack upon the sleeping spells of the patient was instant and concentrated. Church worker, parents, and child alike expected this of psychiatrist and psychiatric social worker, in varying degree recognizing the personal implications of the difficulty.

The situation would probably have developed differently in a family agency. The household burdened by the economic problems present in the unsuccessful venture in store keeping would have appealed for help. There would have been little if any initial recognition by the clients of the subjective elements in the trouble. Gradually the influence upon the financial problem of the characters of individuals in the family and their relationship to one another would have been developed. Later, perhaps, as the mother's confidence in the social worker grew she would mention her concern about the sleeping spells of her daughter. There would now be a swing of interest in this direction, a recognition of the part played by the family situation in the problem of the girl—an additional manifestation of the same factors in relationship that were in large measure responsible for an unsatisfactory economic status.

The initial approach of psychiatrist and psychiatric social worker was to the problem of the girl; that of the family society would be perforce to the economic problem of the family. In each instance, however, the drive is toward the personal equation which is at the bottom both of the girl's and of the family's difficulty. Later the family agency would be directed to the same problem in which the psychiatric agency was interested. Here

again the drive would be toward the personal equation. It is this similarity of drive which represents the generic factor in social case work. The variety of approach merely affects the directness of the treatment.

This variety of approach can be most clearly appreciated by a comparison of the attitude with which clients seek different services. The patient who consults a psychoanalyst goes with the consciousness of a personal problem, for the solution of which he is responsible and in which he needs help. He talks about "my" problem. This represents the closest approach to personality—the recognition of the "my" element in a situation.

Although there has yet to be established in this country on a clinical basis facilities for consultation in marital difficulties, this service is being performed by various agencies—courts, family societies, psychiatrists, clergymen, educators. Here the typical approach should be "our," the recognition of a mutual problem. It is true that often there is the tendency to see only the faults of the other person. There is enough, however, of the "our" problem approach to justify a distinction between this and the "my" problem. In the "our" there is a less direct initial contact with personality than with the "my."

When a parent consults a child guidance clinic it is no longer "my" or "our." It is "his" or "her." The symptomatic behavior of the child occupies the center of the stage in the mind of the adult to the exclusion of his own part in the difficulty. Actually it may be a "my" problem. Generally it is; but the approach has to be from "his" to "my," sometimes by way of "our."

With family social work it is neither "my," "our," nor "his." The usual approach is through "it," a problem apparently wholly objective and entirely outside the personality of the client, a problem of ill health, of unemployment, of economic distress. There is in the client almost no realization that "it" may be a manifestation of "my" problem. The situation is that of catastrophe, an occurrence from without.

What this implies in treatment may be seen in the following case.

A school teacher is concerned because one of her pupils is persistently absent from school. She knows that the family is very poor and thinks this may be the reason for the irregular attendance of the child. She asks the family society to help. The social worker upon calling at the home finds the mother with a letter from the landlord threatening eviction. The father is suffering from a serious hernia which has reduced his earning capacity; but while this is sufficient to account for part of the difficulty it is not the seat of the trouble. This lies with the mother. She is an invalid, not so much physically, although there is some basis for ill health, but in attitude. She feels weak, is subject not infrequently to fainting spells, believes that she may die at any time, and has convinced the family of this. Father and children fear that if they leave her they may return to find her dead. Accordingly, she is never left alone. Either the father or one or the other of her daughters stays with her. This largely accounts for the inadequate earnings of the father and the absence from school of the children.

The treatment begins with the objective factors in the situation, the financial necessities of the household, the correction of the hernia, medical attention for the mother. This last is of a minor character but does establish the fact that there is no essential physical basis for her condition. Accepting the present point of view of the mother the social worker takes the attitude that she has been ill but that now cure is in process. At the same time father and daughter are helped to understand that the invalidism of the mother is largely a state of mind and that her road to recovery lies along a resumption of the ordinary household routine. She must not be deprived of her responsibilities. The oldest daughter appreciates this but cannot direct her conduct accordingly and agrees, therefore, to remove herself from the situation by going to boarding school. The father is able to meet the demands of the treatment more successfully and begins devoting a full working day to his business.

The failing health of the younger daughter, now considerably underweight, is used to start the mother once more in the duties of housekeeping. In her fear of losing this child she begins getting up in the morning in order to prepare a proper breakfast for her daughter. Once having started the day she finds herself, in the absence of husband and older daughter, obliged to meet the ordinary routine of the home and her cure is begun.

For three years this family has been a self-directing, going concern. The woman has expressed her appreciation of what the social worker has done for her, stressing in particular her own changed attitude.

The treatment started with the "it" elements in the situation. It then proceeded as far as the "her" aspect of the problem. Only remotely did it touch upon the "my." This may also, however, be said of the case which opened this discussion. Witness the statement that "the nuclear complex was not reached."

Whether treatment shall confine itself to objective and environmental factors or whether it shall go farther will depend upon our estimate of the capacity of the client. In so far as he is

able to see his difficulty as a "my" problem we should help him to meet his situation on that level no matter what our particular approach to case work may be. Security alone lies in this type of adjustment. Starting usually, however, with an "it" situation family social work does not often touch this "my" phase of treatment. Often a reasonably satisfactory adjustment is effected by dealing with the environmental factors only. A vast amount of work has been done by family social workers on the "his" level. Again and again the hope in the family situation is recognized as depending upon one individual. Treatment accordingly is built around that personality, freeing the particular individual to cope more adequately with the family problem and integrating the other members with him. Many of the most successful instances of social case work in the family field have developed out of this sort of program.

So long as one is conscious of the varieties of approach indicated by the use of "it," "his," "our," and "my," the differences in the various fields of treatment are not important. The essential factor is the recognition of the common drive toward human personality. The generic element in social case work consists of a similarity in our underlying philosophy, our emphasis upon the way a man feels about himself and others, the recognition of the importance of the subjective element in human problems. Once one has acquired this point of view and the implications in method that grow from it he will find all of his case work colored by this conception, whether he stops with "it" or whether he carries on to the "my."

## DISCUSSION—FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE CHURCH

Rev. Thomas L. Brennock, Catholic Charities, New York City

HE church has been dealing with people for a long, long time. Individuals, groups, nations and races come within her ken; history records that she has influenced them. In the course of time a technique, a traditional method, has emerged for meeting situations that are recurrent in different ages. Change there has been and always will be, for the church uses the best of each succeeding generation to work effectively her spiritual mission.

Ever and anon, the interest in the individual has been paramount: To guide the footsteps of the erring, to lift the hand of the down-trodden, to comfort the afflicted, to care for the neglected has been her rôle on the stage of time. The individual, one at a time, has been her main task. It is at this point that the method of case work and the method of church work are one. Difference in emphasis there may be and often is. Difference in procedure creeps in, but the fundamental interest of case work and the church is there—an individual with some needs to be met.

It is only a few years ago since case workers looked principally to the economic aspects of their clients' lives and utilized weapons designed to meet these problems. They found, however, that sickness barred the way to self-maintenance and the emphasis shifted to health programs. Physical health received the attention its importance demanded. Then came the day when case workers realized that the whole man must be treated, not merely the disease he suffers from, and the mental hygiene approach was incorporated into case work procedure.

Mental hygiene has a contribution to make to the church, and the church has a contribution to make to mental hygiene. The case under discussion, in my estimation, is indicative of some of the contributions that the church might make. It is traditional in most churches that their success as a parish unit depends on intimate every-day knowledge of the neighborhood comprised within the parish limits. This is tied in with intimate knowledge of the parishioners, the individuals who make up the neighborhood. The work of a pastor inherently calls for knowledge of the sheep in his flock. There is a surprising element of continuity in office in the average parish which contrasts markedly with the temporary contacts made by social agencies and accentuated by the change in workers with a particular family. This continuity in tenure of office leads an alert pastor to know his people and to understand the neighborhood.

All of us will agree that a town, a neighborhood, or a city acquires something of an individuality comparable to the individuality of a person. This individuality can best be understood by an alert, interested person who is part and parcel of the neighborhood group. Any religious leader placed in a neighborhood for any length of time cannot help but acquire definite opinions in regard to his neighborhood. Good case work demands that a family, a client, or a patient, long resident in one place, should be considered in the light of his own neighborhood background.

In this case there is quite evidently a serious conflict within the family, arising, no doubt, in great part from personal conflicts within the individuals comprising the family. I am particularly interested in the conflict of the family as a group with the other

families making up the neighborhood.

The neighborhood is composed for the most part of self-respecting, English-speaking families maintaining themselves at a low economic level. Most of the people with Irish names are Catholic and the neighborhood norm for judging the religion of a person with an Irish name is that that person and his family will be Catholic. Here we find a family with an Irish name where the relatives are mostly Catholic, and this family has left the church. Obviously in such a neighborhood this family becomes different from the average run. The very fact of their being members of a non-Catholic church is indicative to people of the

neighborhood that they have departed from the neighborhood norm. The church is conscious of the fact that these people are different. The case workers should likewise take into consideration the family departure from the neighborhood norm.

This is particularly important when an attempt is made to approach the relatives for some assistance in the case work treatment. Here we find the relatives with a close tie-up to the old church. At the same time the father has a very definite affection for his sister, while his wife and sister do not get along well. It seems reasonable to assume that at least part of this conflict between the family and the relatives would find its source in the conflict over religion. As a matter of fact the attempts to use the relatives were blocked all the way along the line, and consideration should have been given to the fact that this was undoubtedly due to the difference in religion.

It is my firm belief that a great part of the father's difficulty grew out of a state of unrest which had its roots in the change of religion. We want to find out, in order that adequate and intelligent treatment may be planned for the patient, what basis there is for the familial conflict. It is my belief that a careful study should have been made of the earlier religious experience of the father and mother. Unquestionably there are vestigial remains of the old religion. Their whole childhood experience cannot be blotted out and separated from their adult experience as husband and wife. The importance of knowing adequately this background is evident to anyone who has attempted to plan constructively for a family. It is not enough to say that a family should have its church connection strengthened. This piece of treatment must be based on the facts in the case and must be shaped to meet the facts. It is altogether reasonable to assume that in a case similar to the one under discussion, that which we conceive of as a highly constructive piece of treatment—that is, strengthening the church connection—might, because of conflicts due to a change of religion, be utterly destructive. I am not saying that this was altogether true in this case, but it is evident that there are possibilities of this perversion of a good case work plan where the complete history has not been learned.

In a neighborhood such as this the simple, plain people take their religion quite as a matter of course, and it plays a fairly large part in their ordinary every-day, work-a-day life. These plain folks are inclined to doubt the good faith of those who change their religion. They are well acquainted with the evident economic advantages offered by some of the small churches in such a neighborhood where there are few parishioners but a great deal of money supplied by a group outside and are inclined to ask: "Did these people go from one religion to another in an attempt to seek their own spiritual good?"

It may well be that the change in religion, the unsuccessful venture in operating a store, and the inability to get along in the government job, are all indicative of unstable personality and that it is utterly futile to treat one aspect of the instability without treating the whole. The tie-up between the family problem and the individual problem of the patient is so close that any attempt to help the patient must find its complimentary treatment

in an attempt to help the family.

The norm of the neighborhood is known to the families of the neighborhood, particularly to old residents. When they depart from the ordinary behavior expected by the neighborhood, one obvious result is that they withdraw from many of their earlier contacts and may reach a point of isolation where all sorts of delusions are built up in regard to persecution by the neighborhood. A further result is that such a family becomes closely tied to the group met in the new church and becomes dependent upon them.

From the point of view of the church again there seems to be a lack of harmony between the evident dependency of the family upon the church and the program of the church in its attempt to make this family independent. The plan of the church workers is verbalized as an attempt to raise the economic status of the family, to enhance its social position, to improve its health conditions, and an attempt was made on rather an amateurish level to meet its mental conflicts. This was all done in the name

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and under the guise of increasing the independence of the family. As a matter of fact the tie-up was such that the family became more and more dependent on the church and the church resources until, in the crisis of the patient leaving the home, the blow to the family solidarity was such that it left the father and mother utterly adrift from the church and from all other possible resources. True it is they eventually came back to their former level of dependency on the church and they enjoyed it. The attempt made by the church to deal with the patient on the basis of mental hygiene procedure should very properly have included an attempt to deal with the whole family. It seems to me that there was too much focusing of attention on the patient by the church worker in the mental hygiene field and not enough attempt made to understand the problems presented in the light of the whole family background.

To sum up, I am convinced that mental hygiene can be and often is a valuable new tool for the church to use. The paramount interest of the church is in the individual, and mental hygiene lends its valuable aid to an understanding of the individual. At the same time the traditional approach of the church to its parishioners, the deep and abiding understanding that the church has of the neighborhood in which it is located and the ability of the church to interpret for the transient case worker the historical background of the neighborhood, all contribute to a better understanding of the clients and patients under the care of social agencies. Each has something to learn from the other. The church finds frequently in some of the new discoveries in the mental hygiene field old techniques in use for centuries under another name. Mental hygiene in its search for a better understanding of the problems presented by the client or the patient can learn something from the wisdom of accumulated years in church procedure with individuals. With personal tolerance one for the other, with emphasis on common aims, with an understanding of differences of opinion, each can go forward in the attempt to reach the ultimate goal they both have—the good of the individual.

### DISCUSSION—FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER

Elizabeth Allen, Executive Secretary, Mental Hygiene Committee, Syracuse, New York

HAT are the elements in the history and treatment of this case most significant from the psychiatric social worker's point of view?

First and foremost, I am impressed by the fact that in the psychiatric treatment the whole family as well as the individual child was considered. The psychiatric worker is sometimes accused by family case workers of seeing only the individual and his problems and of thinking of the family merely as a background from which these problems originate. Sometimes there is reason for this accusation, but in this situation no case worker attached to a family agency could have carried out more intensive and prolonged treatment with parents, or could have recognized more fully the parents' own emotional needs and strivings apart from their daughter's personal difficulties. Here was a situation in which an adolescent girl left home after a serious fight with her father. Many of us case workers would have made excellent plans to continue work with the parents, trying to adjust them and their difficulties. But how many of us would have painstakingly and carefully carried out this program? How many of us could have kept a contact that would have made this possible? Would not most of us have limited our efforts to adjusting the girl?

Case work with the parents included not only assistance in their concrete problems such as adjustments to job, bettering physical health, and securing more wholesome recreation, but also aimed at giving them an insight into the causes of their own emotional difficulties and conflicts and their relationships to each other. Better adjustment of the parents was not tried merely for the sake of the patient who was under the medical care of the clinic but for the parents' own personal happiness and the effect that their emotional attitudes would have on the two younger children still remaining in the home. This record shows no individualization of one problem child at the expense of the other members of the family. It is an example of a fine type of family case work, aiming at the establishment of more wholesome, happy family relationships where each member has the capacity "to organize his own normal social activities." The psychiatric worker always bore in mind the possibility of the patient's return to her family, and much of the treatment was directed toward making such a return a constructive, satisfying experience to both parents and the girl.

Just as the psychiatric worker carried on the type of case work such as a family agency would try to organize in this situation, in the same way she assumed the same kind of responsibility for this adolescent girl left adrift in the community that any good child caring agency would adopt. She kept in close contact with the boarding home, with the church worker, with the school, with the employment agency. For example, this girl carried over into the boarding-home setting the same protest against authority, especially in the matter of late hours at night. Much of the psychiatric worker's effort was made to adjust this difficulty in developing a sense of responsibility in the patient toward conforming to the rules of the house in which she lived. In the parents' eyes the worker to a large extent assumed responsibility for their daughter. These were essentially the same methods of treatment and responsibility toward a child assumed by any children's agency.

Of course the fact that the psychiatric worker was attached to a clinic freed her from some difficulties in relationships. She did not symbolize either to the patient or her parents an authoritative rôle. At one point in the record on account of the father's physical abuse both of the daughter and of the younger brother, there was a question of referring the case to the children's society. This is a step which many of us might recommend in a similar situation

without realizing its futility and the effect upon the family. In the mind of most clients the S.P.C.C., of necessity, stands for authority, for law enforcement, for the community's disapproval and punishment. Had one introduced the authoritative rôle or the law enforcing rôle with these parents, what would have been accomplished except to increase their feelings of inadequacy and failure in bringing up their children? They were already too sensitive to the community's disapproval. Intensified community disapproval, through the referring of the case to a law enforcing organization, would only have increased the father's need of over-compensation for these feelings of inadequacy and failure; his temper tantrums and his fears, his physical abuse of the children, would probably have increased. The psychiatric worker used neither an authoritative rôle nor a critical one toward the parents. She originated a long process of re-education, giving them insight into the reasons for their mistaken handling of their children's problems and thereby tried to get to the root of the difficulty.

The fundamental unity and similarity in the problems and methods of a case worker whether attached to a psychiatric, a family, or a child welfare organization are well demonstrated

in this case.

There are many phases in the relationship between worker and client which are significant from a psychiatric point of view and concerning which this record offers rather stimulating suggestions. Chief of these are perhaps the need of objectivity on the worker's part and the significance that the rôles of dependency and identification patterns play. In this case the worker recognized the need of objectivity on her part toward the client. This objectivity signifies a scientific study of the problem rather than an emotional response to it. It should not, of course, detract from a kindly helpfulness on the part of the worker toward her client. Because of her emotional problems the case worker must not identify herself for instance with an adolescent girl protesting against unwise control of parents. Neither must she identify herself with the troubled and distracted parents' feeling that the

girl is treating them with ingratitude. Because the case worker, like other human beings, has her own emotional conflicts, she identifies people and situations with her own past experiences. A consciousness of these possible identification patterns lets her guard carefully their control of her case work methods in her relationship to her clients or any person in the client's setting. This objectivity implies also that the case worker does not need evidences of her client's gratitude or expect this gratitude. She should be free from the need of condemning or blaming her clients for their behavior. In spite of these conscious standards, how many of us are able to live up to them? We are touched by the grateful patient who thanks us for coming. We pride ourselves on not blaming our patients, yet say "We don't blame him for acting so and so," thus tacitly implying our right to blame him if we were not so tolerant. The psychiatric worker in this case steered clear of these unsound relationships to her clients. She sided with no one in the family situation. She blamed no one. In other words she identified herself with no one and did not project herself into the situation.

The rôle that dependency plays in the relationship of client to worker is a very significant one in terms of psychiatric treatment. The psychiatric worker here played a good mother rôle to the client and out of this inevitably grew an attitude of dependency. This dependency, however, was constructively used by the psychiatric worker for two reasons. In the first place she was conscious of the girl's dependency upon her and recognized its dangers as well as its constructive possibilities. The relationship was kept strictly professional in spite of the girl's transfer to the worker. There was never an element of urging the girl to do anything to please the worker. She used the girl's transfer to her as a method of holding up an ego ideal of adult adjustment, of responsibility, and initiative. Because of the consciousness on the worker's part of the girl's dependent attitude toward her she was able to direct and control the relationship between them as she could not have done had she ignored the dependency situation. The other reason why this dependency relationship

was used constructively was the worker's constant efforts to develop in the girl a sense of adult responsibility, an ability to make her own decisions, to budget her own money, to handle with judgment her relationships with both girl friends and boy friends and to adjust herself to the necessary rules and regulations at home and in her job. She always left the girl to make her own decisions and then gave her wise backing in their carrying out. She waited for the girl to develop emotionally before she pushed her into decisions not of her own choice. Some case workers might question whether the girl's responsibility on an adult level had not been over-stressed at a temporary risk to the girl's physical health. As an example, the client needed glasses, she needed to have her teeth attended to, she was probably not getting an adequate amount of food, she was cold because she did not have a warm enough winter coat. How many of us would have rushed in and supplied these physical needs? How carefully the worker restrained herself from doing this until the recognition of better care for her eyes and her teeth came from the girl herself and she began to budget her income to plan for these needs. It was over a year before the girl came to some of these decisions but when they came they were a part of the girl's own mature judgment, not something impressed upon her by the worker.

One of the most perplexing aspects of the relationship between client and worker are the difficulties arising out of close contacts at the same time with several members of the same family when there is any profound maladjustment within the family group. These difficulties are not always recognized and some case workers try to work with every member of the family at the same time. Some of the reasons for failure are obvious. When there is, for example, emotional maladjustment between a husband and wife and the wife finds in the case worker security and helpfulness, the husband is very apt to identify this worker whom perhaps he has never seen, with the wife with whom he cannot adjust. He rejects her as he rejects his wife. These identification patterns carry through many of the family situations. For

example, in this case when the psychiatric worker had a close contact with the father she lost it with the mother. When she was working intensively with the mother, the father showed resentment, jealousy, and sarcasm. The fact that the psychiatric worker recognized this difficulty and swung from one to the other as treatment indicated, lessened the inherent unsoundness of the situation. One wonders whether the case worker could have had so close a relationship with the parents had the daughter remained at home. Could she have had a transfer for instance with the mother and daughter at the same time? One doubts it. But we can't have a different case worker for every member of the family! This is a problem that all of us face. The answer may be difficult but it again seems to lie in recognizing the difficulty and consciously and skilfully shifting our treatment from one member of the family to the other recognizing as we do so the effect on the other members of the family group, and the symbolic rôle we play to each person.

Throughout the record the emotional factors in the situation are constantly stressed in treatment, especially in handling interviews. It is not only the environmental facts that are discussed but also how the client felt about those facts; in what early experiences lie the genesis of those feelings and reactions. The handling of tangible environmental situations consume much time and effort, but one feels that they were insignificant in the worker's thinking, serving only as tools for an approach to the patient's and the parents' real inner feelings and attitudes toward the external world. With both patient and her parents there is always a constant effort to give themselves an understanding of the causes of their behavior, of their relationship to each other, of the reasons for their attitudes and emotions. Especially with the parents there is analysis of early environmental history and developmental experiences. Through this treatment each parent gains an understanding and therefore consciousness of his or her own power in handling personal difficulties. They recognize the reasons for the personality behavior of the other more objectively because they are led to an interpretation of the causes of those reactions. Through this sense of security within themselves they gain an adjustment which enables the psychiatric worker adroitly to slip from under, constantly giving them increasing opportunities for handling their own needs. Throughout the record she seems to be handling dull, obvious matters such as appointments with the dentist, with the doctor, with camps. In every one of those contacts she is consciously trying to give the parents an increased sense of confidence in themselves.

In analyzing this record one wonders whether there is as marked differentiation of the techniques of the different types of case work fields as there is in the techniques of individual case workers. Some of the methods which seem important from a psychiatric point of view, as for instance, the need of objectivity toward a client, the psychiatric factors in relationships between client and worker, the emphasis of the causes of personality difficulties or the constant stressing of emotional needs and mechanisms even while physical environmental elements were treated —all of these methods are used by family case workers and children's case workers just as they are used by psychiatric workers in a child guidance clinic. There are case workers with detailed psychiatric training who are not conscious of these mechanisms and processes just as there are family case workers and children's case workers who are not conscious of them. There is a trend today toward giving to every case worker psychiatric training and experience. Without this it will be difficult for her to understand and evaluate the psychic experiences and mechanisms as much as she stresses environmental physical data.

What can the case worker, facing a practical job with the impossibility of handling a few intensive cases, get that is helpful out of this record? The first reaction is one of discouragement, of a questioning whether it is worth doing anything if one cannot do it adequately; that if the changes in personalities can be brought about only by such detailed treatment, then a few efforts are futile. This is all true and yet a study of an intensive piece

of work like this is stimulating. If we gain a knowledge of technique, if we understand methods, if we can think of treatment as progressive and not circular in type, if we have an understanding of the emotional factors, can we not work more surely? We may be able to hit only the high spots, but our training and technique will be such that we recognize those high spots and do not use our energy splashing around in the mud. Perhaps we can only make a few strokes, but they will be accurate and concise. Our success with clients will be surer as we increase our knowledge and skill.

#### DISCUSSION—FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE PSYCHIATRIST

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HAD no idea of the magnitude of the task when I consented to discuss the psychiatric angle of this interesting case. As a psychiatrist I remember well the case histories in our state hospitals when I first began my interneship twenty-seven years ago. On admission the patient was usually noted as "excitable, hallucinatory, and delusional," or as "depressed, retarded, and incommunicable." A few months later he was noted as "dull, stupid, and demented" and a year later "stupid, demented, and dull," and if he continued to live long there was a new note of a line or two every few years in which the words "dull, stupid, and demented" were repeated in various combinations and permutations. And even when we began to write our cases more descriptively, following Kraepelin and others, the average admission history consisted of eight or ten typewritten sheets which was considered a good, long history. The subsequent notes were usually very brief and took up little space. Imagine my surprise then when I found that this case took up about 400 single spaced typewritten sheets. To be sure the patient had been observed for over two years; and the notes which began, I believe, in May, 1928, refer not only to the patient, but also to her parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts, siblings, friends, teachers, etc. Moreover, besides the two psychiatrists, one treating the patient regularly until the end of September, 1929, followed by the second who may still be treating her, there was also a very efficient psychiatric social worker, a church social worker, ministers, friends, gossips, a policewoman, and last but not least, the staff of physicians and psychologists of an institute for child guidance, who met with the psychiatrist and social worker and

discussed the material covered and helped in formulating recommendations.

Contrary to my original intention I read the case completely. and I was deeply impressed with the thoroughness and care displayed by the various agencies at work in this case. Whether the psychiatrists, social worker, and the consulting staff believed that psychoanalysis was the best technical procedure I do not know, but even a superficial view shows clearly that their whole approach was basically dynamic. This also explains the bulkiness of the record; pure description and reports of treatment could never have filled three good sized volumes. I was naturally pleased, for, although I am primarily a psychiatrist, I long ago departed from descriptive psychiatry and following Bleuler my psychiatric knowledge became thoroughly assimilated by psychoanalysis. I cannot imagine any psychiatry without Freud's most valuable contributions. Hence, when I began to read this history and found in it dreams and free associations, I felt at home. But this effect, I regret to say, did not retain its original force as I continued reading this record. Probably 75 per cent of the early notes refer to the patient's dreams and their analyses. but for some reason or other full use of this material was not made. It seems to me that the psychiatrist was either unwilling or afraid to wade deeper than his ankles; perhaps he was unaware that he could go deeper. It was a rather difficult case, one that I would not have selected for a beginner, but the patient cooperated well and produced excellent material, of which better use could have been made.

I do not know either of the psychiatrists and I realize that primarily they are not psychoanalysts, but as the psychoanalytic approach plays such great part in their work with this patient I feel justified in disburdening myself by making a general suggestion. If psychoanalysis is to be used, it should be used only by those fully trained in its technique. Despite this criticism, the psychiatrist benefited the patient in many ways.

I was impressed with his earnest efforts and keen insight and the fact that in spite of his inadequate psychoanalytic technique he obtained good results. As I read the patient's dreams I said to myself over and over again, "It's too bad that the physician had no psychoanalytic training," as in the dreams about a pearl which was buried in a pile of dirt, etc. But I was very glad that the doctor saw fit to bring to light the patient's psychosexual life. Had he followed the old schools there would have been very little to do with this clear cut case of petit mal (epilepsy) after the first examinations. But regardless of, or better, despite this malady, the psychiatrist changed the whole personality of the patient from a seemingly dull, phlegmatic, maladjusted psychopathic individual; he succeeded in making a person well adjusted to her difficulties. When I was at the end of the third volume she was a different person; she was fairly contented with life and bore her trials and hardships with both feet on the ground of reality.

The second psychiatrist continued the treatment along the paths already started, but in addition he gave her luminal. At the end of the third volume he still had to struggle with the transference. It is always wrong and very dangerous to change doctors when one enters into the deeper problems of a patient's life. I realize, however, that this case could not be treated under ideal conditions; both physicians served in the clinic as fellows in psychiatry and were available only for a definite period. I wish to repeat here that cases of epilepsy or of the epileptoid group are most difficult. I doubt whether anybody could have gotten better results in this case even under more favorable conditions. To be sure the attacks could have been better controlled by the use of drugs in the beginning of the treatment but it would have probably interfered with the adjustment of the personality which after all was the most important element in the treatment of this case. Speaking of the personality adjustment, the success obtained here was in no small measure due to the work of the psychiatric social worker, who seems to have the capacity of feeling herself (empathizing herself) into her patient's life. Being a sceptic by nature I have always been more or less doubtful about the help a psychiatrist could get from a psychiatric social worker to

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but this case "sold me the idea." However, there is usually no need for the psychiatric social worker in private practice when one confines himself to psychoanalysis of adults. Persons selected for lege artis analysis must learn to solve their problems with the analyst and through him with their environments. The case is different, however, when one deals with young people, who are still depending on parents. Here the psychiatric social worker can be of great assistance in the capacity of liaison personage between the psychiatrist and the parents. For it may be put down as a rule without any exceptions that no one has a psychoneurosis whose environments, viz., his parents, have been fully adjusted. Moreover, in clinic practice, one cannot give regular analyses for many reasons. Here too a psychiatric worker with psychoanalytic training can be of great help, as was shown by this case. The same is true in child analysis done privately, where the parents must invariably be educated analytically. In brief, I would say that whereas psychoanalysis offers the best mode of treatment, it can be given properly only in private cases and in comparatively few clinic cases. Hence, in general clinic work much can be accomplished by psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers, who are dynamic in their approach. To study any case, be it an adult or child, it is necessary to view the whole personality. Not only must one be able to make a psychiatric and neurologic diagnosis and evaluate the type of personality, but in order to adjust and cure one must understand all the deeper processes of the individual. Freud's psychoanalysis is the only science known to me which opens the way to such cognition.

# FINDING THE SOCIAL NEEDS IN A COMMUNITY

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH STUDIES—WHAT ARE THE VALUES FOR THE SOCIAL WORKER OF THE MORE RECENT SOCIOLOGICAL TYPE OF COMMUNITY STUDY

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HIS discussion will be full of subjective elements for there are no tests or criteria by which to judge the full value to social workers of recent studies by sociologists. Common sense, so much disparaged by social scientists, leads me to believe that potentially valuable information could be issued in books and papers and, at the same time, could fail to reach and influence social workers. This could come about from all sorts of causes. For instance, such material might be expressed in a technical language which social workers could not understand. It might be so overlaid with unfriendly criticisms of their work and a patronizing attitude that they would be repelled by it. This same material might, then, some day reach a single social worker who could dig out its essential contributions and could translate it so that it would become a part of the very foundation of new developments in social work. Stranger things have happened. Consider the case of the work of Professors Langlois and Seignobos, who now figure in such standard social and sociological works as Mary E. Richmond's "Social Diagnosis." Who would ever have dreamed that their volume on method in historical research would find its way into the hands of those whose primary interest lies in the future, not in the reconstruction of the past. The history of science and thought is full of remote and

unexpected happenings which nobody could possibly predict. A piece of academic work goes on the shelves and is thought of, if at all, as one of those mental exercises of supposed value only to the person who went through it. Later it falls by chance into the hands of some far-away lonely thinker and arouses and stimulates him to efforts which perhaps would not otherwise have been made and receives undreamed of applications.

That sort of accident can easily happen now, with the social sciences as they are. What is actually known in social science is not a very great mass, but what is thought fills endless reams. It is only recently that systematic efforts have been put forth to catalogue important source material and to bring together systematic statements of the content of social science. Social workers can therefore scarcely be expected to relate their daily work to a vast, chaotic, shifting body of ideas, tested and untested.

But I was not assigned the topic of the whole of social science or even of sociology at large, though in passing it should be noted that social workers are not uninterested in economics, political science, social psychology, education, and the other branches of social science as well as in sociology.

What is meant by the phrase "more recent sociological type of community study"? For the purposes of this discussion we can accept the dictum of Professor E. W. Burgess who cited the Chicago studies in community life and named specifically Nels Anderson, The Hobo; Frederic M. Thrasher, The Gang; Ernest R. Mowrer, Family Disorganization; Vivien M. Palmer, Field Studies in Sociology; Clifford R. Shaw and associates at the Institute of Juvenile Research, Delinquency Areas; Louis Wirth, The Ghetto; Harvey W. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum; and T. V. Smith and L. D. White, Chicago, an Experiment in Social Research. Said Professor Burgess:

These studies and others in progress, embody the findings and techniques of the present sociological approach to the study of Chicago as a community. Similar studies are being carried on in other urban centers. Beginning with Galpin's Anatomy of a Rural Community many studies have described and analyzed the social organization of the farm and the village community.

To this list of illustrations it is perhaps appropriate to add *Middletown* by Robert S. and Helen Merrill Lynd, and especially for the study of social process, Professor Ogburn's *Social* 

Change.

In the beginning we assumed for the sake of the argument that the sociological type of study has produced something of immediate use to social workers but not accepted by them. There is also the possibility that it may have few elements which can be assimilated by social work. Some sociological material even of a seemingly concrete nature may turn out to be more illuminating to the research workers and to the persons interested in constructing general theories, than it could be to the person immediately at work attempting to effect changes. Professor Ogburn recently pointed out at a meeting of the social research people in New York, that sociology is interested in some problems which are not yet ripe for solution. Before social workers or anybody else can do anything about them, a great many social factors must be modified. Theories of great future importance may be gradually constructed by sociologists out of details which are trite and stale to social workers accustomed to grappling with fresh reality, even though in small segments of society. The processes of constructing and developing the general theories may need to be carried to a fairly high degree of development before they are ready for application. Such may be the case with the Park and Burgess theories on the growth of the city and with the Ogburn and Lynd concepts of social change. Mr. and Mrs. Lynd picturesquely describe as an outstanding characteristic of the social life of Middletown the fact that the various phases of life have developed at different rates of speed and that as a result, great pressures are put upon individual families and persons. Professor Ogburn has demonstrated the lag between two sets of social developments and the maladjustments which ensue. They found that in some respects the world is out of joint. All social workers are familiar with the facts out of which those theories are built. It is no news to them that men are expected to pay their bills but are not guaranteed a wage with which to pay them. They know what the automobile has done to recreation and what the capitalist system means to church organization. Each one will check the generalizations found in these studies against his own observation and experience and will doubtless find them verified repeatedly. He will gain a much needed perspective on his own work, but whether his treatment of families and situations will be otherwise modified remains to be seen. Can social workers, or anybody else, really regulate the relative rates of speed with which social change occurs? Can they really reset a whole world out of joint? Social workers have tried that and can be depended upon to continue, but that should be credited to their inner urges rather than the hopes held out at present by social science.

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Before turning to the next phase of this subject, may I digress for a moment to say that I, for one, sincerely hope that sociologists will not abdicate that high prerogative of scientists which permits them opportunity to study and reflect without concern for the immediate applications of their work. The drive for a quick return of small profits is probably as destructive of quality in sociology as it is in art or business. No student of the work of the late Professor Charles H. Cooley can but see and feel that his type of sociological study of community life and of growth of social personalities holds unique and incalculable values for social work and the world at large—values which need no salesmanship to secure their recognition.

While social workers, as citizens and persons, can, we think, be depended upon to be as interested in pure sociological theory developed for its own sake and for ultimate uses, as they are in other departments of science, as professionals they must address themselves now to those valid findings of fact, of conclusion and of recommendation, which relate rather specifically to the matters on which they are at work—sickness, unemployment, crime and delinquency, family troubles, dependency, neglect, etc., and on the organization of communities to try to cope with them. So far sociology has not been of much aid in these matters, if we

may accept the conclusions of Miss Vivien Palmer, who in her recent book on *Field Studies in Sociology* remarks:

Sociology is just emerging out of the philosophical stage, and though for some time armchair sociologists have been demanding concrete studies as a basis for sociological generalizations, as a matter of fact very few careful, thorough researches have as yet been made. . . . In instances where research has been done, the "detail" work has been disparagingly left, too often, to clerks and amateurs, with the result that the person who has planned and directed the collection of data has had only second-hand contact with the problems involved in securing it.

However divergent may be the paths of social workers and sociologists, they cross squarely at the point where field work occurs. No group of persons is more skeptical than social workers of research based upon indifferent field work. They are acutely conscious of the difficulty of doing adequate field investigations and of drawing correct inferences even in a single case. Until social workers feel sure that the field work on sociological studies has been scrupulously done by mature and reliable people they will not feel that it would be in the interests of their clients, of the building of their profession or of their own intellectual life, to accept the findings as a sound basis of action. So far I do not think they feel sure on this most fundamental point as regards the urban studies. I have the impression that this question has not risen in reference to the rural sociological studies.

We might perhaps at this point rest the case awaiting the time when sociological studies will be based on observation acceptable to social workers, but urban social workers have been told what values these studies ought to have for them and it is interesting to examine those suggestions. Writing on this subject in the last number of Social Forces (Vol. VIII, No. 4) Professor Burgess enumerated first among the benefits which social workers could derive from these studies: "some general organizing principle or principles of the nature and the trend of the forces conditioning city life in the hope of reducing heterogeneity to simplicity and of formulating some ideal construction of the actual form and order of an urban organization." He then describes Chicago's "five concentric zones as ideally constructed" and points out that "this schematization enables sociologist and social worker

to retain in their mind as a working conception the main facts of the distribution of population and trends of urban growth. Order and regularity issue out of the earlier complex of confused impressions."

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The Park and Burgess ideal construction of city zones certainly arrests the interest of those social workers responsible for leadership in planning city-wide services, but assuming that it implied revision of present methods of planning social work, is it not as yet too tentative a basis upon which to proceed? Is the situation not somewhat like Maltheus' theory of the checks on population before the era of vital statistics and periodic census taking? It sounds plausible but is it really true? Are occupational groups, types of families and types of personalities really segregated in an urban community as completely as these theories imply? Are personalities and social characteristics in the different economic levels and nationality groups essentially or only superficially different?

The social worker approaches the question somewhat like this: He asks: Are there any groups in the city who are exempt from the need of or really indifferent to the satisfactions to be derived from clean food, proper clothing, fresh air, sunlight, good housing, good schools, play space for children, medical and nursing care, jobs and transportation to them, minimum wages to buy necessities and a few extras, a chance to mingle with the people one knows and to have some relaxation and fun? Are there any groups in the community who are not more or less efficiently struggling to secure these "good things" of life? Will not the present census tell that story, well known to social workers, of the migration up from the old slum and from the area of first settlement, of the simple people who come in from the country and from overseas to the city somehow to better their condition? If there are basic needs for which society should make better provision since the person or the family cannot control conditions, why not study the elements of that problem and develop ways and means of tackling the problem? The history of social work is full of examples of that sort of procedure.

Personally I do not see any very special illumination coming from the theory of city growth in its present state to those interested in planning social work designed especially to aid those

markedly handicapped in their upward climb.

For those groups of social workers, not primarily interested in city-wide planning, who take their cases where they find them, "the ideal construction" will probably have very little meaning. As social service has developed in the United States, it has reached into literally all classes of society. Social workers have been anxious that it should always be kept clearly in mind that although perhaps a major part of their service goes to the poor, it is not confined exclusively to them. Family workers glory in the fact that less than a half of their families require material assistance. Medical social workers draw their clients from all grades and classes in society. Children's workers and child guidance clinics offer services which are needed by many who live even in the Park and Burgess' "zone of better residences" or in "the commuter zone." An evaluation of the assets and liabilities of a given neighborhood for the members of a given family has become a part of ordinary case work and many a family has been uprooted for good or ill, as a result of that determination! But a sweeping zoning scheme finds little relevance to that process.

I would not for a moment wish to imply that a comprehensible picture of city growth, which was regarded as accurate by social workers, would not render them mental aid and comfort as they tried to think about their city as a whole, but whether it would leave any marked effect on their work with clients is open to

doubt.

Ecological areas, which I take to mean spots in the city for which it can be established that they have distinctive historical background, that they are more or less cut off from the rest of the city by physical barriers and that there are distinctive neighborhood institutions, formal or informal, are of great potential value to neighborhood organization. Professor Burgess reports to us that a committee of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies has adopted in principle a classification of local communities as

developed by the base map of the city and that districting of service is to follow these lines. So far as I know the ecological character of each of these areas is only a hypothesis. It is reported that the history and social backgrounds of 75 local communities and over 300 neighborhoods in Chicago are now in process of study.

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Church and settlement groups inaugurated studies of immigrant groups and of local areas some three decades ago. Hull House Maps and Papers, published in 1895 was a simple beginning toward locating in Chicago groups of Jews, Bohemians, and Italians and toward describing them with reference to the background of their life in Europe. The Federation of Churches in New York made the first plea for a scientific map of the city and launched the census tract idea prior to 1910. Reporting in terms of common geographical and population units is of very great value to the planning and evaluating of social services, whether these units are highly ecological or not. The study of social work in terms of such units, if well done, will carry forward a project which has had the sanction of social workers since the nineties.

Much has been made in the Chicago studies of areas of deterioration, the so called interstitial zones where business and industry are casting a shadow or a blight on residential areas. Students of housing have been at work on this problem for years and city planners have worked on zoning schemes to bring it under control. With these efforts social workers are in complete sympathy. In the interstitial zones themselves, there seems in recent years to have been a tendency for population to decline, except in areas open to Negroes. The designing of social services on a neighborhood basis in areas of declining population, disorganized local neighborhood institutions and poor housing is indeed a problem. To date social work has certainly not avoided this type of slum area.

Studies of incidence of cases of low income, disease and delinquency antedate the recent sociological community studies and have been recognized by social and health workers as of the greatest value. In Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in* 

London all of the block faces of that city were designated as occupied by people in one of seven economic classes: lowest class. very poor, moderate poverty, poverty and comfort, fairly comfortable, well-to-do, wealthy. Another map of London shows the city distributed into 134 areas, with population densities and percentages of poverty for each. Maps showing purchasing power of blocks in New York City are in constant use among social workers. In 1917, Miss Breckinridge and Miss Abbott in The Delinquent Child and the Home published a spot map of delinquency cases in Chicago. The New York Crime Commission has worked on the problem of geographical distribution of crime and delinquency. The refinements of social map making have perhaps been carried farther in recent sociological studies than was done in earlier ones. When this is well done, social workers are thoroughly interested and appreciative. But they are hardly prepared to go as far as the sociologists would lead them. Among benefits conferred upon social work by the recent sociological studies, the use of population ratios, as a basis for working out ways by which social and civic agencies can "check the effectiveness of their social case work processes" has been listed. The work of Clifford R. Shaw and his associates, Delinquency Areas in Chicago, is cited. Just when Professor Burgess had aroused our enthusiasm for relating all social facts and studies of incidence to ecological areas, comes this study which divides Chicago into 113 wholly artificial square mile tracts. These apparently have no more relation to the ecological areas than have the social agency districts which make no pretense to scientific determination. If the results of social work processes are to be measured by rates, and if social work is to be organized and administered on the basis of ecological areas, then surely the measuring device should be closely related to that scheme.

But more serious than the inconsistencies in the establishment of areas, are the loose and undiscriminating use of cases of people involved with the law as measures of delinquency and crime. The method followed in the Shaw study is externally carried to the point of misrepresentation. Mr. Shaw spots on his map as offenders, several hundred persons who actually were acquitted of the offenses for which they were detained in jail for lack of bail. It can be predicted with certainty that social workers will find many features both of basic concept and of treatment of data which they will question, as they study this book further. If that type of measurement is to be set in place as a foundation stone upon which to build a plan of determining the effectiveness of social service in coping with such a problem as juvenile delinquency, social workers will have not only the right but the duty to insist that the technique of measurement be as nearly accurate as circumstances will permit. This we are convinced is far from true of the Shaw study.

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Finally, Professor Burgess points to the sociological studies of personalities, groups, and institutions within local communities as having great value for social workers. Any study which comes to grip with the question of the effects on personalities of various sets of conditions has the whole of organized social work for its audience. Among social workers there can be no two opinions regarding the value for the development of professional social work of truly scientific materials bearing on that subject. Social workers, however, have had a good bit of experience in making studies of personal and family situations and they are not easily convinced by fluent writing. They will not be credulous and they are quick to scent probable inaccuracies. They will ask for long time observation, checking of data and the most careful interpretation of such materials. Hitherto they, or at least their truly great leaders, have also been great sociologists in that they have mastered the technique which Professor Cooley called sympathetic insight, and which he and they regard as the greatest sociological tool of them all. Rightly or wrongly, social workers are almost sure to accept or reject these forthcoming studies of personality in various settings according as there was sustained sympathetic insight into the subject studied. It remains to be seen whether there can be established a one-sided relationship between the subject and would-be student of human nature, in which a human being willingly and effectively accepts the rôle

of guinea pig.

A systematic treatment of the subject assigned me would have included an appraisal of all of these sociological community studies. Time does not permit this, but one must mention two more which refer directly to social work affairs. The first is Nels Anderson's *The Hobo*. It contains an analysis of the "causes" of homelessness in men and gives a fascinating picture of their life. Mr. Anderson rightly and properly points out the mediocre social work done for these men and then winds up with a list of recommendations. The curious thing is that those recommendations are of an eminently common sense character. They are remarkably like the programs evolved by social workers when they go into executive session, without any special research at all, to draft standards and revise plans of work.

The other study is that of Family Disorganization by Dr. Ernest Mowrer. This is an old familiar scene to social workers and one on which they are eager for light. Dr. Mowrer sum-

marizes the outcome of his research as follows:

A concrete method of approach suitable to the demands of control will be concerned, then, with social coordination, i.e., with the interaction of husband and wife under certain conditions. This method will have to be developed in detail in the course of many particular investigations, as has been the case in the physical sciences.

Among the "details" to be reckoned with, are the problem of the change from rural to urban environment, immigrant adjustment, the changed status of women, the problem of sex, the problem of individual differences, the problem of economic adjustment, the problem of selection of mates, the problem of motility, the problem of urban areas, the problem of social control!

The study of these problems and the many more which will develop out of them should result in an understanding and control of family disorganization in a much more thoroughgoing way than has been possible in the past.

This would seem to be one of those problems referred to by Professor Ogburn as not yet ripe for solution. When all these matters have been studied, will it still be family disorganization? May it not then be called by some other name and have very different social meaning and relevance? Is it not conceivable that it may then even be called a state of freedom and emancipation which everybody may regard not as a problem, but as an achievement?

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In summary, it may be said that: first, social workers should be and many are interested in sociological concepts, but until these concepts are established as valid generalizations they cannot be of much use in professional services; second, social workers will be a sympathetic but highly critical audience of field studies, for they are sophisticates in such matters and perhaps less naïve than graduate students and even college instructors and researchers; third, they will welcome aid in city-wide and neighborhood planning of social services; the census tract idea was born of church planning and will almost certainly continue to grow on the needs of social work; fourth, social workers will especially welcome any good, scientifically established truth which relates factors in the growth of personality to the functioning of groups and institutions, but they will be an audience not easily convinced by easy or hasty generalization, since they are a little wary of over-simplification; fifth, they will find it very hard to assimilate as a basis for testing their work, research endeavors which are completely external and of questionable method; sixth, a final friendly tip to some sociologists would advise them that social workers have found that clients are almost invariably repelled by condescension, that merchants find it ill advised to begin negotiations with prospective customers by telling them how inadequate they are, that such a method is said not to be the last word in experimental education. The chances of its working with social workers are very slight. We are just like those families whose members have no compunctions about criticizing each other and even commenting adversely outside the family, but are at the same time possessed of a group spirit born of common experiences which rises to the defense of these members when attack comes from without. We insist upon being treated with sociological insight!

#### SOME COMMUNITY VALUES IN A SOCIAL SURVEY

Ruth Hill, Associate Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City

VAILURE meets one who tries to argue that the sociological survey is better or worse than the social survey. Both serve their purposes and, while their approaches differ, they use many of the same methods and the same material. Dr. Deardorff has dealt with sociological studies of a community, with their impartial assembling and interpretation of events, facts, and any measurable data. This illustrates the exact method. There is a measure of the subjective here also however and a piecing out by conjecture where there are gaps. Any conclusion regarding human data calls for some venturing into the unknown. On the other hand a social work survey of any community or subject may presumably concern itself primarily with the opinions of a selected few or with arbitrarily chosen efforts or attitudes in that particular locality. It employs a less exact method but it cannot disregard factual material available if findings and recommendations are to stand as more than an essay.

Popularity of and reaction toward surveys.—After the Pittsburgh and Springfield surveys by the Russell Sage Foundation a great popularity arose for these comprehensive examinations of life in one local setting. The civic pride which was aroused no doubt indicated an emergence out of the expansion period. In Springfield the request for a survey seems to have come back from the shock many thoughtful citizens received at the time of the race riots, together with the shame over certain sanitary conditions which a health survey had just revealed. A journalistic style of report on city life had already been known through the work of such writers as Lincoln Steffens in his "Shame of

the Cities" series.

However, the expensiveness of these thorough surveys and the effort necessary to make them work as leaven may account for the gradual dying down of enthusiasm. With the growth of the federation movement, this survey urge reawakened and now innumerable and oftentimes sporadic requests are springing up. These requests come frequently out of the perplexity of budget committees of chests who desire a more impartial presentation of various agency claims. Sometimes they come as requests from agencies in a given field who wish some weapon against attack by a levelling down federation which sees impartial control as treating all requests alike. Everybody is now surveying or recommending surveys all the way from the White House committees to state reviews and local studies. The number of surveys has no doubt increased in recent years and the character of them changed from pretentious studies to those of narrower scope. The latter are quite often practical invigorating work reviews carried on without finality but rather as an often-to-be-repeated scrutinizing of present efforts and present needs.

Some suggested definitions.—It may be well to take up certain suggested definitions so as to delimit from this discussion various sallies into the subject which we would not dignify by the name survey.

Many loose uses of the word survey or community study such as these should be ruled out: a gathering together of policies or practices through questionnaire inquiries or other efforts; a compilation of resources in a community, such as is necessary directly following a disaster; a description of the intake of an institution; a counting of heads, as, for instance, instances of any disease, number of crippled children, and so on. The dictionary (Webster's Collegiate) defines a study as an "earnest and reasoned effort" or "application of the mind to any subject for acquiring knowledge" and a survey as "an examination, especially an official one, with reference to condition, quantity, and quality." These are suggestive merely, and we shall have to formulate more satisfactory statements from experience and usage.

For our purposes in social work, there are four kinds of surveys

and this classification comes in part out of the definitions used by the Family Welfare Association and from a national committee on surveys: First, the intensive and general survey, which examines "with reasoned effort" and thoroughness all the social aspects of life in a given area and recommends next steps in development; second, the pathfinding survey, which examines extensively and not intensively the social problems and social programs in a community in order to suggest where next to concentrate for active work, this being a shorter study process and one suitable to a fairly undeveloped community, and representing a scouting expedition as to where to advise action; third, the intensive and partial survey, such as, for instance, certain aspects of health, housing, financial support of social programs, the homeless or family welfare, including suggestions as to improvements; fourth, the agency survey, or study of one administrative unit in one of the functional divisions, which should be comprehensive but within the prescribed unit, as, for example, a travelers' aid society study, and should lead to definite recommendations.

It is understood that these surveys are conducted by someone familiar with the subject matter. I take it that we would all agree that a chamber of commerce secretary could not qualify as a surveyor of a social agency, although he might have a good deal to contribute to the surveyor. This implication regarding qualification does not rule out the self-surveyor. Self-analysis is a preliminary process and one likely to prepare the mind for the best possible utilization of the surveyor's suggestions. The chief problem in the survey itself is how to lift our gaze to objects farther distant so as to achieve the necessary perspective. And in order to do this an outsider and one who is skilled is practically essential.

What purpose does a survey serve?—What should a survey do? is our next question. My remarks will necessarily be limited throughout to the family field's experience, but I shall try to make only those observations which would be sound in principle and apply to other branches of social work.

A survey should seek primarily to learn what the usual condi-

tions are, setting no store by frantically prepared "showings" of strength. A few samplings from the store are wanted, not what can be garnered together suddenly in summaries. A survey needs to know what is at the heart of each program, its beginning of life and its departures from or steady adherence to former standards. Well I recall a survey which once revealed woeful lacks in any service of a protective sort for girls and a high degree of juvenile delinquency. No community interest could be aroused beyond a statement that there was a maternity home in the town. The fact that no proper recreational facilities were offered or satisfactory housing quarters for the detached young people who came there for work did not impress the citizens.

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A survey needs to unravel the tangles of need and machinery. A surveyor cannot say this is right or that is wrong, even after he has learned a good deal about life and social work in a given community. Direction pointing is about as far as a surveyor can go except on details. A survey is not like a bank examination, nor a recipe for making pie. It is rather a discovery of the inherent strengths in community living and in each field of endeavor, an opening up of new vistas and an appreciation of what is best in each group that is functioning in that locality. Its purpose should include finding what is unique in each situation, avoiding stereotyped comparisons. The past should be linked with the present and the best out of achievements should be used as encouragement for the future.

We need more infusion of material on the normal with the abnormal in studies of the social aspects of life. Our surveys concern themselves too wholly with lacks in a selected group of so called inadequates and there is little relating to life in general in the community.

When to survey.—Much money has been wasted upon surveys that were untimely, poorly directed, not properly prepared for, or not well launched so as to make use of their values. "I am convinced," writes Mr. Francis H. McLean, "that more money has been wasted upon surveys, and some mighty good surveys at that, than upon any other form of social effort." It is for this

very reason that many of the national agencies, formerly concerned with survey work, are now chary of such requests. One national agency has even dropped the use of the word survey for this reason and calls its work "assistance in self-study"—an indication not only of change of name but of method. This skepticism regarding surveys was voiced clearly in a series of meetings several years ago by a survey committee of national agencies under the auspices of the National Social Work Council. That committee allowed its individual and current survey requests to be discussed in these meetings and much profit was gained on such points as when to accept a survey responsibility, preliminary correspondence necessary and satisfactory auspices. One request, it was learned, came from a community which thought all agencies could be studied fairly by the highly impartial method of allowing the surveyor one day to each agency. Through later discussion, it was agreed that the unique character of this locality made it wise to suggest not a general comprehensive survey but one of the community's major overshadowing problems in the field of one national agency equipped to do the study. Often a series of such partial but comprehensive surveys may be of more value to a community than the general exhaustive sort, according to advice from Mr. McLean.

Auspices.—In a survey made recently a question of the proper auspices was discussed at length. It developed that the proposed survey was to be clamped down like the old fashioned rubber dam of the dentist upon a good many grim sufferers without real participation between those surveyed and the auspices. It is essential to the reception of the survey and to its proper pursuit to have the willing, not just the passive consent of the strongest agencies, and to have assurances that any federation in the community has at least discussed the study even if it is not the promulgator. A council of agencies is a suitable group to act as auspices. Auspices can be delegated to a smaller group, a committee of such a council. I cannot speak too strongly in favor of having a small local steering group directly heading up any study appointed by the agencies included. This is the committee before whom

questions of diplomacy and of general strategy can be brought and where recommendations or possibilities of recommendations can be tried out. This is needed even with a self-survey because of a breadth and unselfish point of view which such an arrangement often achieves.

A survey may best be attempted, then, where lay and professional people are banded together in a survey request and are ready to face the uncertainty of recommendations from someone outside the local picture whose experience in this subject is greater than theirs.

Uneven development inevitable.—One thing any survey cannot do, to quote Mr. McLean once more, "it cannot say what is the proper proportion of funds for any given field." Probably that is the question in the minds of many people who ask about surveys. Progress is, however, always uneven. There is not any exact balance or any moment when it may be said this is right once and for all. The element of human differentiation plays its rôle right here expressing itself in leadership which pushes one cause farther ahead in one city or at one time. A survey can suggest where next to emphasize or concentrate in an effort to equalize and where leadership must be found to hold a bad leak in the dike. No pattern can be applied. A nice question is raised often as to how far it is wise to push against local inertia for the express purpose of filling a gap in social facilities or when to hold back a fine advance that is wanted by some forward looking citizens in order that some backward aspects in the community picture may be given time to catch up with the procession.

Changes in technique.—In the family field there have been some marked changes in survey technique although Dr. Jesse Steiner's article in Social Forces for March, 1930, would suggest there had been little modification of old methods. We have developed a participation plan with the local workers, so that the conduct of the survey is largely through conferences. It has been demonstrated that problems of relationship, in particular, can be helpfully talked out even when there has been a distinct chilliness in the air. One great advantage is that by this open consul-

tation plan many differences are patched up. An outsider being present makes it easier for those in disagreement to keep away from too personal a basis for discussion and some of the criticisms raised actually fade out during these deliberations if they

are differences arising out of misunderstandings.

Use of the conference method makes it unnecessary to repeat all points in the published report. In fact, the shortening of survey reports is another change to be noted in the past five years. The shorter report is then usable by all and is often given the fullest circulation. There is no place for surprises in a survey report. Any considerations should be talked over before the report. A survey report which is kept for the use of a restricted few although compiled out of the thoughts of many is an irritant. Any confidential communications may better be delivered orally or sent as private separate appendixes or in letters to the boards closely concerned. The report, in fact, becomes a definite reference book, although not necessarily in great detail as to recommendations.

The method of survey work becomes really the good interview extended. It implies all the techniques therein such as removal of strain, good listening, an opportunity to discuss at ease the hopes and plans of any program. Exactly what the surveyor needs to understand is the intangibles as well as the tangibles. One wants to know how satisfied the staff workers are with their jobs, how far ahead they see, whether each has a conception as to her society's place in the scheme of agencies, whether the day to day service of each agency is understood by a few lay leaders.

Another form of participation that has succeeded in the family field has been an extension of the self-survey idea so that certain case records, a selected few, the best plus some run-of-the-mine illustrations are analyzed by the workers themselves, following a rather general descriptive outline given by the surveyor. The staffs as well as the directors and executives can all have an opportunity for collaborating and raising questions that need work-

ing out.

Too long a delay in making the report available may kill the

spirit of the original survey request. One of the best values lies in the report itself as it may be a real tool for interpretation for a long while after the survey has been completed. Perhaps a series of reports, instead of one comprehensive one, might be more easily digested and more quickly translated into social action.

Principles restated.—Out of the survey experience in one field of social work—and I find the Family Welfare Association of America has filed seventy-eight surveys in the past twelve years —a few principles may be stated for suggestions merely and because they seem to insure social values to communities studied: during the preliminary period it is desirable to develop a willingness from both lay and professional leaders to the idea of a survev; some self-survey is desirable, worked out either through consultation or independently; some familiarity with other surveys, at least through reading, and some familiarity with the results of specific surveys is helpful so as not to raise false hopes; auspices, as well as financial support, should come from general sources like a council or a committee of the chief fields or organizations concerned; the survey period ought to be a normal period so as to see things as they usually are; informality of procedure will produce the freest participation which is so much to be desired; some recommendations may be definite, but beware of the survey which treats all problems in this hard, bright way; the formal report should contain no surprises and should be adapted to general reading. It should be one of principle more than procedure; the confidential recommendations should be addressed to the agencies concerned and to the responsible leader on the survey committee; the surveyor should be recognized as qualified in the field studied with an exception perhaps that when it is not possible to afford a separate surveyor for each field included the surveyor should be in direct consultation with a qualified adviser in fields other than his own; surveys should deliberate upon the problem and not solely upon methods of treatment existing in the locality; the normal as well as the abnormal should be touched upon to get the proper focus; too often a pretentious title is used for a limited survey project. The scope of the survey should be very precisely stated.

Future survey machinery.—What survey machinery do we need? Should it be necessary in arranging for a comprehensive

general survey to shop around for a team of surveyors?

The agencies engaging in survey work need some facility like a clearing house to pool their survey requests and conduct the work more expeditiously. Such an enabling office could advise during the early stages and assist in assembling a survey team. The Russell Sage Foundation has rendered invaluable service by collecting experienced people from various fields to make comprehensive studies like that in Springfield, Illinois. There are points against establishing a permanent survey staff, such as the tendency for them to become withdrawn from practical situations and the unevenness of survey requests. The National Social Work Council in its Committee on Surveys discussed this subject of how to supply personnel and how to answer general survey requests. These discussions might well be revived.

Community values.—What is the chief value of a community survey in terms of the investment that has been made? One observer, where a general survey was made, felt that the greatest benefit was the change from a provincial to a larger than local point of view on the part of many influential citizens. They are now able to look at the facts of their community life without becoming emotionally defensive. From another city, where a partial but intensive survey was made three years ago, a recent reference speaks of the continuance of influence and stimulation which the survey brought to the case workers. We see here the twofold possibilities: enriching the professional contribution, and developing a finer lay understanding concerning social conditions.

Social surveys have value primarily from their focusing of an impersonal attention upon the subject under study and the need for changing emphases in meeting the problems under consideration. A survey can open up new vistas to both professional and lay group leaders. It seeks the strengths and suggests directions

to be pursued. As Mr. McLean has said, "surveyors can offer only tentative and possible lines of development. They cannot and should not be 'fixation experts.'"

Surveys have been called measuring sticks. We hear a lot today about the exact method of measuring our progress. That particular method may be best represented by the sociological survey, but it is also a part of the social survey. I like to think of a social survey not only as a measuring stick but also as a divining rod which may be used to show where the living waters of creative social leadership are to be found and how they are to be tapped.

## INTERPRETATION OF SOCIAL SURVEYS

Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, St. Paul

HE social survey, or the fact finding method from which are drawn observations and suggestions concerning changes in present community machinery, is being extensively used. How to give legs to the body of ideas thus created; how to make recommendations a basis for community action; how to get groups with divergent opinions and interests pulling together; how to make a whole community porous to the facts revealed, might be stated as general aims in a paper headed, "The Interpretation of Social Surveys."

Developing interest in the need for the survey is the starting place. Recently I had the experience of entering a vault in the Health Department of St. Paul and seeing the Health Commissioner dig out a dust covered document which we had just heard existed. It was a Health Survey made in 1915. The present Health Commissioner has been in office thirteen years, coming in two years after the survey in question had been made. He had never heard of it. No one in St. Paul seems to remember it.

We have to create some common ground or joint interest in the project of undertaking a survey. The idea of some brilliant individual or far-sighted small group sensing a situation which needs study, and engaging someone to undertake it, is entirely feasible. The only trouble is the idea doesn't work. One can't wade through great barriers of conflicting opinion by hiring an expert to point the way. He will probably chart the course, but the different community groups will get lost when they try to follow. They must participate at the time the course is plotted. This means they must be in at the start.

To illustrate, let me analyze another current situation in St. Paul. Like many cities we are a bit confused over present and fu-

ture policies in some of our children's work. The Children's Division of our Welfare Council has been considering some of the problems which exist. The idea of making a study of the field has been in the air. We all realize that if a formal survey is made it will deal with a pretty well known set of facts, and its resultant value will lie more in the skill with which its recommendations are put into force than in anything new the survey itself will reveal. We have deliberated on how we should proceed in the matter. I am going to outline the method followed in approaching this study:

First, we analyzed all available data—we secured more, and we tabulated results; second, this material was passed out to social workers in the field and to agency boards with the idea of arriving at unanimity of opinion that something needs to be done; third, one of the committees of our Children's Division of the Welfare Council then outlined a very tentative plan of procedure; fourth, this plan was then taken up with principal agencies in the field for the purpose of receiving suggestions and to obtain an understanding conception in agency boards; fifth, at a meeting of the entire Welfare Council the special committee reported its tentative proposal for a study setting the need before all interested people in all fields; sixth, in order to dissipate the air of secrecy which sometimes surrounds a survey undertaking, some press announcements were made; seventh, there was one civic club particularly interested in children's work as well as several women's organizations, and some of the leaders in these groups were approached for advice; eighth, the Executive Committee of the Welfare Council studied the plan of approach which by this time had been elaborated, and here some consultant service was suggested; ninth, the board of the Community Chest reviewed the proposal and appropriated money for consultant service and approved the plan of approach; tenth, at this point the Study Committee to undertake the job itself was appointed by the Council and the work was ready to start.

Such then is the meaning of my phrase "to create some common ground or joint interest in the project of undertaking a survey." All this I consider to be a part of interpretation, although it might also be considered closely related to the actual making of the survey. Also clearly identified to the survey itself, but still a part of the problem of interpretation, is a piece of machinery which, I believe, might well be installed in every Council office, which I call the Social Problem Index or the Survey Index.

We need a piece of machinery to correlate information on social problems or on surveys. In most Council offices such information can only be discovered in pieces. It is separated by agency, or committee, or time. There is no thread which connects up the separate pieces of the same problem. We could not interpret social statistics very well until we developed common schedules which provided understandable tabulations. We could not give volume and cost figures until we devised a method of accounting for financial and service figures. On the same principle we cannot do an adequate job of interpreting social surveys until we have better machinery which I think might be created through the Social Problem Index, and so I am going to take a moment to show how this idea occurred to me.

A few years ago there was issued by the Social Planning Committee of Wichita Community Chest a little pamphlet entitled "Social Goals for 1927." I feel free to borrow liberally from it because at the time of publication I was the secretary of that organization. The publication began as follows:

At a meeting of the Social Forum held Thursday, December 16, 1926, "Social Goals for 1927" were discussed. Thirteen specific suggestions were offered that social agencies might strive to accomplish in the coming year. They are listed as follows:

Then appeared thirteen different goals that seemed desirable things to strive for the coming year, after which was written this pointed comment:

A motion was passed that the question be referred to the Committee on Social Planning. The idea of a small publication to serve social agencies as a guide was suggested as a desirable outcome of this discussion.

The task of specifically carrying out the proposal of the Social Forum is more complicated than the motion implies. In order to understand clearly where we ought to go it is necessary constantly to keep in mind where we have come from.

The rest of the publication may be summarized briefly. There was "A Historical Statement of Past Social Studies" which recalled five different surveys of some importance made during the past six years. The report then listed twenty-four survey recommendations which had been carried out and nineteen other significant changes in the social service field not recommended in any survey, but nevertheless accomplished. Following the report were listed twenty-two major survey recommendations which had not been carried out. Then followed this statement:

There is very little that social agencies of Wichita can do to facilitate or to prevent any social event happening in 1927 by beginning now, the first of January, to effect it. What is going to happen in 1927 depends entirely upon what has happened since 1920 and even before. The roots of social progress extend far into the past. A mushroom growth is a possibility but not a practicability.

The reason that the Social Planning Committee has issued this pamphlet is to intrigue the attention of the group of people in Wichita who are interested in social work to see the past so that they can begin to help plan and develop the future.

From actual attempt I can assure you it is easy to set down in definite form a description of at least two hundred community and agency situations which deserve some community attention. Wichita is a very young city, and also it is less than 125,000 in size. Given an older and larger city I should guess that a Social Problem Index could list from five hundred to one thousand different problems, many of which are constantly popping up and being settled or postponed over the desk of some executive, or quite casually or heatedly in some board or committee. In either case they pass into the memory of some individual or into some memorandum or minute, which might be discovered in the future, but would not be, probably.

To be more specific, I would suggest a card file as an index. What would go into it? Let us take the first day-to-day occurrence which might be just the sort of thing discussed and forgotten, but yet almost certain to appear again. This very morning (the day on which this is being written) an executive of an agency discussed with me the possibility of attempting a consolidation of five different sheltered work shops into one large organization. I did not want our Council to take the initiative because two of

the groups were self-supporting, one privately financed, and two subsidized by the Chest. I dislike destroying the initiative that sometimes enables a philanthropy to be self-supporting, nor was I certain in this particular instance that we wanted to sidetrack something else to undertake this. I postponed it, and thus followed "the easiest way out" for a community executive. But that wasn't quite all. A card went into our Social Problem Index. This is what it looks like:

Sheltered Employment. May 17, 1930. The five local sheltered workshops are individually small and relatively unimportant. One privately supported, two self-supporting, two financed by Chest. Have service figure from three. Budgets from three. Facts re two hearsay. Possible problem of consolidation. Started file with detailed memo on present situation this date.

Whenever anything new takes place in this matter an entry can be made on index as follows: (anticipated)

9/27/30. Committee from Workshop X states heretofore self-supporting work needs Chest subsidy owing to enlargement of program. Presenting financial and service figures on file.

2/11/31. Committee from X, Y, Z workshops ask conference looking toward

better co-op in field. Call meeting.

3/20/31. Study sheltered workshops under way by Special Council Committee, Tom Jones, Chairman.

But I am not discussing the Social Problem Index as a mere matter of efficiency. I am referring to it as a part of the machinery for the interpretation of social surveys. If it be true that the roots of social progress lie imbedded deeply in the past, then it is important that in the approach to a survey and its subsequent interpretation, there be an orderly continuity. This cannot be secured unless there is some mechanized system for the recording of changes in the situation in a sort of "case record" properly indexed.

If one knows why community action failed in a given situation in a previous attempt at change, it is reasonable to suppose that a new effort should be guided in the light of past failure. Such an attempt is now made, of course, but the element of time elapses between efforts to change, and with the rapid turnover of social work executives it is extremely doubtful if the past is really sufficiently close to the present.

The goal of interpretation of a social survey is to get a community to think, to act, and to act wisely. Usually we could add—to give, and to give more generously. Our aim then is to achieve wise thought, intelligent action, and usually more money. How do we accomplish this objective now? Two points have been covered already: first, we get a proper start to the survey; second, we tie up, by some means, the past to the present, fitting them both into the future. What next?

Now it is the community movement in social work which has caused us to view the community as a whole. It is this community approach which has given rise to complicated survey methods. In the same way it is the community movement which must

find a better way to market the product created.

I have not only called attention to the proper start and the tying up of the past with the present and future, but more specifically I have proposed the Social Problem Index. But these tools are not enough. They will not shape and fashion community policy to take us through the barriers of conflicting opinion to social statesmanship. The employment of public speakers, newspapers, letters, forum discussion, political pressure, propaganda, and study, can all be added as available media through which social action can sometimes be brought about. It is not exactly that we lack tools to work with, but rather that we have no prescribed methods for their use. Naturally a well trained community leader has both experience and judgment. But not only is this business of interpreting social surveys a highly specialized field of its own, but also there are many other things to be done, which limits the amount of thoughtful attention that can be given to any one problem. Therefore, probably no executive would take offense if a sort of prescribed post-survey procedure were suggested.

Let us first re-assemble the survey committee. Assume we have already typed sheets listing the recommendations of particular importance to each agency and department which the study has considered. The sheet for each agency is inserted in a copy of the whole survey. The committee discusses who might be best formally to present this survey to the Board or Department

which is being asked to change its policies in some way. This is decided. Let us call this step, Post-Survey Conference.

The sponsoring body for the survey next writes to every affected agency calling the survey to its attention, informing the organization that Mr. John Doe of the committee has been assigned to present the matter to the board, and to request its cooperation by giving careful consideration to several specific things. Let us call this step Assignment and Notification.

Mr. John Doe ends by asking his agency to give a preliminary statement in writing to the survey committee expressing frank opinion. He offers to sit in with them to help draw it up. (He may be very useful.) Let us call this step Presentation of Sur-

vey to Affected Agencies or Departments.

When the first preliminary written answer is ready, a meeting of the Survey Committee is called and the answer is presented by the head of the agency after being properly introduced by the committee member originally assigned to such agency. A full discussion follows with a careful record being kept. Thus we go on and on until we get somewhere or nowhere. Sometimes we call in other interested people. Sometimes we never get started. Let us call this step Consideration of Recommendations.

I have already mentioned the use of speakers, press, political pressure, and other mediums of interpretations. These are all free as air. Anyone can use them. I am proposing that adequate survey interpretation demands their use in connection with The

Consideration of Recommendations.

Having followed a logical method, caused no one embarrassment, and given everyone opportunity to do the big thing, it appears reasonable to start the wire pulling at this point. But I want to make it plain that it is the committee, and not the Council executive, or some committee member, who should order the "gum-shoe" work to start. The good results of altogether too many surveys are dissipated at curbstone conferences where one commitment after another is freely given, and once having been given, cannot be taken back.

A community should no more delegate to some executive or

influential citizen the job of interpreting survey findings than the same community should delegate to some outside expert the job of making a survey unassisted. In both cases the community can do it, but it cannot do it successfully.

The survey committee must stick on the job from the beginning to the end if it takes ten years. I hereby offer the slogan of "Fewer and Better Surveys." I propose we start a survey only after the type of widespread consideration I outlined in the beginning of the paper—that Councils establish The Social Problem Index to link up the past, present, and future; that we try to perfect a sort of prescribed post-survey procedure, by holding the post-survey conference, by establishing the system of Assignment and Notification, by going through the formal Presentation of the Survey to Affected Agencies or Departments, and by the development of the formal hearing for Consideration of Recommendations, and, finally, by the employment of pressure methods only after decision of the Committee.

I am certain there is such a phenomenon as conflicting opinion. I am not at all sure there exists today such a thing as social statesmanship. But I am convinced that the whole problem of transition from one to the other depends not alone upon personal skill and wise diplomacy, but rather upon machinery and method which will allow skill and diplomacy their natural function in community activities.

## DEMONSTRATION AS PART OF THE SURVEY PROCESS

Mary Irene Atkinson, Director of Institutional Care, Child Welfare League of America, New York City

UT of the trial and error methods used in making surveys and demonstrations in the field of child care and protection there are gradually evolving new social techniques by means of which larger returns on investments in this type of service should ultimately be realized. Instead of going on the assumption that "I need a survey, you need a survey, all God's children need a survey," more discrimination is being used as to which of God's children are really ready for this particular

type of social service.

The time was when decisions as to what communities needed in the way of social evaluation were too often reached after an examination which was quite as cursory as the earlier physical examinations of presumably well children. The prospective surveyor looked out across the roofs visible from the office of some one organization and learned that the community had an interesting profile but a sooty complexion. He looked at its tongue of streets and felt its throbbing pulse. He listened to the symptoms of bad social practice as related by the group or individual who had called him in. On the basis of these data and the availability of financial resources a decision was reached to survey or not to survey.

If the objective of survey is scientific fact finding for sociological research purposes, the attitude and stage of social development within the community is of little consequence. If, however, the purpose is to improve standards of child welfare and social practice in the children's field it is important to be able to determine the psychological moment for doing the particular thing for which community interest and support can be depended

upon. While an entirely unanimous opinion as to needed next steps in the development of a children's program is not essential there must be enough local leadership to integrate later either a survey or a demonstration project with the social practice of the community.

To know what to do to help a community most in evaluating its social resources and when to do it requires the delicacy of perception a cook must have to enable her to remove a custard pie from the oven at the precise moment so that it will be a gastronomic delight. Through the increasing development of this more refined type of technique some of the pitfalls inherent in both surveys and demonstration should be avoided.

One of the difficulties in the way of making a more studied approach to the problem of social evaluation and demonstration is that some funds must be invested in order to determine what the needs are. Sometimes neither the community nor the surveying agency feels able to underwrite this initial expense although in the long run it really means a conservation of available resources

for logical developmental steps.

Assuming that it is possible to spend the time and money necessary for a careful preliminary appraisal, some of the points to be determined seem to me to be as follows: first, is there enough interest in social welfare in the community to insure at least a minimum of interest in the findings of a survey or the results of a demonstration; and enough social momentum to get action later? Second, is the situation in the community such that in order to make progress eventually it is desirable to use some form of survey or demonstration as a means of stimulating thought on problems of child welfare even though changes cannot immediately be brought out? Third, what important social projects are already under way in the community and how will a survey or demonstration dovetail with what is already going on? Fourth, is the community ready for an intensive study of each child caring agency or will it profit more at this time from consultation service following the gathering of a few outstanding facts? Fifth, should there be a demonstration of what children's case work really is rather than a community-wide study; or should there be a survey followed by a demonstration as a corollary thereto? Sixth, if a demonstration seems to be desirable should it be set up on a "from soup to nuts" basis or is the community in such a condition that for the present it can only digest the soup? Seventh, has a proper groundwork of local interest and leadership been laid to insure the continuance of a demonstration project or would the community be just about where it already is when the period of the special undertaking was over? Eighth, should a demonstration be set up and directed by a national agency or should it be planned and carried out entirely by local people with perhaps a limited amount of consultation service from the outside?

By finding the answers to these questions and to many more which have already been suggested by the previous speakers, it will be possible to determine more definitely the what, the how, and the when of surveying and demonstrating procedure. By this method there will be more perfect synchronizing of social

diagnosis with social practice.

In the future, demonstrations will probably be used increasingly as a means of supplementing surveys and of revealing to agencies and communities what their needs are. Emphasis seems more and more to be placed upon teaching by doing. Organizations going into communities to assist with the reshaping of child caring programs will, to a larger extent, be able to say as Aeneas did in telling about the thrilling events which had taken place in Troy "all of which I saw and part of which I was."

During the past five or six years the Child Welfare League of America has had an opportunity to be a part of a number of demonstration projects in various parts of the country. Some of these have had no connection with community-wide surveys but grew out of requests for teaching or consultation service by individual agencies. Others have followed studies of the various children's agencies in a community. In still other instances a demonstration has been carried on while a survey was in progress.

It has so happened that a majority of these special projects were designed to integrate case work and institutional care as this is one of the zones in the field of child welfare in which real pioneering is at present going on. These demonstrations have afforded a variety of experiences and some important lessons have been learned as to what to do and what not to do.

In one city a demonstration of children's case work as part of an institutional régime was preceded by two successive steps. The first of these was an application for admission to membership in the League which could not, at the time, be acted upon favorably. The second was a request for consultation service as it was planned to put on a campaign either for a new building or for remodeling the old one within a few months' time and advice was sought as to architectural changes and new building plans. A brief inquiry revealed the inadequacy of the case work service; the inability of anyone to tell how large the institutional unit ought to be until more was known about the population; the need for a more clear cut determination of policy; the importance of the organization not only in the development of the children's program within the city but also throughout the state; and the open-minded and inquiring attitude of the directorate.

Out of the original request for aid has come the slow growth of a modern case work service, not as an extraneous part of the institution's program but as a center around which the other services are being developed. The executive secretary who is a case worker, is in charge of both the case work and the administration of the institution. A strong case committee has been developed which is a real asset to the social service program. The personnel and regimen of the institution have been slowly geared up to the requirements which case work inevitably makes when it becomes

a part of the very life of an institution.

In this instance an intensive study would merely have verified the conclusions reached by the brief summary. It was, therefore, more desirable to use any available funds for getting a demonstration of children's case work under way than it would have been to make exhaustive case studies as a means of securing data for making recommendations on the social service needs of the institution.

There is every indication that at the end of the period for which special funds have been provided the board of this institution which has already taken over the responsibility for selection of staff will also assume the financial burdens for carrying on. The board, in this case, has the stability, initiative, and vision to make the demonstration the beginning of wider usefulness in spite of many ups and downs rather than an excuse for making no further attempts to modernize its service because there have been certain discouragements and perhaps some disillusionments along the way.

In another city a demonstration followed the completion of a study of the various children's agencies financed by the Community Chest and grew out of an emergency. As the units of service were small and no agency was doing children's case work it was recommended that a Children's Service Bureau be organized. This was done but the machinery was almost wrecked before it

gathered any appreciable momentum.

In order to save the situation an experienced person was sent out who was able to teach the community what children's case work is through what she did with the problems which came along in the course of the day's work. At the end of a year she had set precedents and established policies which will be the guide posts in the children's field of that particular locality for a long time to come. She had developed a case committee which was able and eager to think social problems through rather than merely to "yes" an executive. She had trained a young worker sufficiently well to entrust the job to her hands when at the expiration of the year all efforts to secure a more experienced person failed.

Another type of demonstration project which is to some extent part of the survey process is that in which a skilled person goes into an organization on a temporary basis while the worker who is to be on the staff permanently goes away for additional training. The guest worker evaluates the situation, determines what more needs to be done to enable the permanent worker to function most effectively when she returns, and then tries to bring such changes about in addition to doing the routine case work job. In a number of instances this method of speeding up the development of case work service has proved to be of real value.

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A case work demonstration set-up in connection with a public institution for a six months period has had a less happy ending than the illustrations previously given although it did accomplish some things while it was in progress. It proved, for example, that it was possible to develop boarding homes in the community and that an institution's program gains flexibility if the choice of service is not confined to a choice between institutional care and free home placement. It reduced the institutional population cared for in a building that long since had outlined its usefulness from over 200 children to less than 100 during a six months' period.

At the end of the six months, the trustees decided to continue the plan and the person who took charge of the social service department became the superintendent of the institution also. However, the good work which was started has pretty well gone by the board. An effort to pass a bond issue for a small modern institutional plant failed. The executive was asked to resign. The appropriation for board was cut and at last accounts the institutional population was increasing. I believe that the batting average of the Child Welfare League of America would compare favorably with that of any national organization giving service to local communities. But the League occasionally misses some balls and sometimes instead of making a home run it barely gets to first base. In the case of this particular demonstration it undoubtedly made some poor plays and it is willing to carry its share of responsibility for the failure although there were other factors beyond its control which were also contributing causes. However, it would seem that occasionally we should talk about our failures as well as our successes in order to further the development of a more perfect art of community evaluation than anyone has as yet achieved. In attempting to analyze the causes of failure in the county home demonstration, several points stand out.

First, the men on the board of trustees and the county commissioners believed in the two women who urged that (1) something drastic had to be done to get most of the children out of the old, ramshackle, rat infested institution; and (2) a bond issue should be proposed for a small institutional unit which with proper case work and the use of boarding homes would be adequate. It is probable that these officials never believed as thoroughly in the possibilities of the demonstration itself as they did in the women who urged it upon them. Soon after the demonstration was over these women were unable to serve on the board and when they were no longer there to interpret and stimulate interest in the project, the men grew lukewarm toward it. Later when there were additional changes in the personnel of the board there was no one in the official group with enough enthusiasm for the plan to kindle the interest of the new members. Thus the lack of sufficient stability in organization to insure continuity of policy has been a major factor in the failure to carry on what the demonstration showed to be an entirely practical program.

Second, it was probably a mistake to plan a demonstration in this particular community on a six months' basis. The county commissioners, the trustees of the children's home, the board of county visitors, the juvenile court through which practically all the children were admitted to the institution, the state department of public welfare, the city department of public welfare, the private family welfare society, and a number of other organizations were all involved in varying degrees. The executive secretary in charge of the demonstration could not possibly do a satisfactory technical job and an equally satisfying interpretative job to the community in a period of six months so naturally she concentrated on the case work with which she and her assistants were quite literally swamped. The result was that the opportunity for teaching the community what it was all about was pretty largely sacrificed to the necessity for accomplishing concrete case work results in six months' time.

Third, there was continual "short circuiting" of the project on the part of certain employees who did not have the capacity to understand what the demonstration was all about and who were fearful for their own status.

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Fourth, the executive secretary in charge of the demonstration carried no responsibility for institutional administration and thus was unable to correct certain features of the regimen which interfered with the social service program. If from the beginning she had been given this responsibility, the ground work would have been laid so that her successor might have had a less difficult time.

Fifth, the bond issue, which was submitted to the voters the year following the demonstration, failed again as it had done several times before. This together with the necessity for making reductions in budgets due to economic conditions, and the lack of enthusiastic support of the program by the present board of trustees, probably were all factors in lessening the interest of the commissioners in carrying on.

Sixth, the Child Welfare League of America was not asked to give supervisory service to the project after the board decided to go on with it at the close of the demonstration period. Probably the League and the State Department of Public Welfare did not do enough planning together as to how to make the new structure stand up after the scaffolding, which had braced it, was taken away. This was not due to any lack of rapport between the League and the state but to a failure to recognize that the six months following the demonstration would be a critical period and that due to the changes which had taken place in the official control, someone should stay close by.

Seventh, it is possible that the investment in this particular demonstration would have produced better results if it had been staged at the point of intake, which in this instance was really the court, as well as within the institution itself where it had no official tie-up with the court.

Demonstrations have a double jointed kind of action which

surveys do not have in that they not only reveal what ought to be done but also meet at least a segment of the need in an expert way and thereby set standards as a by-product of the day by day routine. Also, many communities are ready for action and should not dissipate their energies and resources in carrying fact finding beyond reasonable and necessary limits. Sometimes there are evidences that communities have been more or less playing a game of tag with an imposing number of facts rather than formulating

plans for action on the basis of data already available.

As in every phase of social work the success or failure of a demonstration project depends upon the ability to secure the proper type of demonstrator. The number of people qualified both technically and temperamentally to go into a community and undertake a task which subjects them to about as much public scrutiny as baking pancakes in the window of a Child's restaurant would do is not large. Sometimes it would be a decided advantage if social workers could be bought and sold like ball players are. If for example, the headlines some morning should carry the story that Philadelphia had sold Murphy to Cleveland for the season that would be news. And if Boston sold Jones to Omaha for a long enough period to demonstrate what the survey has shown should be done, one would feel surer as to the ultimate returns on the time and effort which went into it. Lacking the conveniences of baseball procedure in securing qualified staff, enthusiasm for demonstrations should be curtailed sufficiently so that the demand does not exceed the supply of personnel able to carry them on successfully.

In the social field as elsewhere enthusiasm for a new form of procedure sometimes carries us off our feet and we think at last a panacea for all our ills has been found. For a time we acted as if the mere act of weighing and measuring children would insure their physical fitness. Then we turned our attention to I.Q.'s as a sure fire means of getting us out of the woods when we had difficulties with the children whom we were seeking to aid. Finally we learned that weighing and measuring and psychometric

tests were good tools with which to work but that they would not perform miracles.

There has been a tendency to assume that if a community had a survey or a demonstration it would then be saved, socially speaking. We know this isn't true. But we also know that in many instances either one or both of these particular tools has stimulated the development of service to children in a shorter period than would have been possible by any other method. What we need to do next is to analyze more carefully than has as yet been done those factors which contribute to the success and to the failure of surveys and demonstrations in the children's field.

## SOCIAL PLANNING AND SOCIAL LEADERSHIP

George L. Warren, Director, International Migration Service, New York City

Social Forces have developed the technique of the fact finding and planning process in social work. At this meeting we are to discuss leadership because, as our chairman said in a recent letter to me, "You may have all the scientific studies you please by the best experts, but unless the effective social groups are in on the whole process—before, during, and after—and unless there is some real leadership (as distinct from mere official administration) there isn't much going to happen at least because of a social survey."

Consideration of leadership as a factor in the whole process of intelligently guided community growth is therefore logical and timely because group action requires leadership for its very being and from our observations of the development of social forces, we have come to realize that leadership has hidden assets which, if understood and consciously developed, may make group action increasingly effective. This understanding and conscious use of leadership may develop a more effective use of available leaders and an alertness in the discovery of new leaders for our constantly broadening programs.

The purpose of this paper is therefore to discuss that part of social planning which has to do with the recognition, choice, and use of leaders and the enlistment of their services in the carrying forward of social plans. For purposes of clarity we should at this point make a distinction between direct and indirect leadership and possibly define leadership itself. Leadership is the ability to lead. It presupposes a leader and followers. It also suggests mo-

tion toward an objective and therefore a conscious purpose is involved. A leader is one who has secured followers for a common purpose. Those led recognize in the leader a community of interest and are willing to devote their energies with his to its pursuit.

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Direct leadership requires that the leader stand before the group as the recognized leader. He has a face-to-face relationship with its members. His position is obvious and public. He has accepted formal office and all of the glory and acclaim of success or the ignominy and criticism of failure are to be his. Whether his leadership be autocratic or democratic, wise or unwise, skillful or ineffective, his responsibility is fixed and accepted by all.

Indirect leadership lacks the element of recognized responsibility. It works quietly and behind the scenes through others. It is skillful in its choice of direct leaders. It receives neither credit nor blame. It accepts no formal office. Indirect leadership has broad vision and purpose and is more lasting in time. Without the power and prestige which attach to official position the indirect leader provides inspiration, guidance, energy, and frequently coordination to direct leaders in functional groups.

Social programs require both direct and indirect leadership for their fulfilment. Where the harmonious action of diverse groups is required, the cooperation of the direct leaders of the individual groups is essential. The particular situation or program may or may not require open direct leadership of the leaders of interested groups. It is unwise and in fact impractical to generalize here. My main purpose at the moment is to stress the very real distinction between direct and indirect leadership, and to suggest that each has its particular place in the development of a social program.

The professional social worker is often spoken of as a leader. Is his position one of direct or indirect leadership? I think we will all recognize that statesmanship requires that he consciously assume an attitude of indirect leadership. A true leader aims so to organize and develop his particular effort that when he withdraws those who have been associated with him in it will have

acquired a sense of responsibility that will carry the effort along with approximately the same effectiveness without him. This is, of course, an ideal which is seldom realized in practice and it should be recognized that no one has ever succeeded in organizing any piece of work so effectively that it operates itself. On the other hand it is useful to state this as an objective as a contrast to the opposite extreme in which an executive through a failure to appreciate his function of indirect leadership acquires or attaches to himself so many functions which should be borne by others that the whole effort comes to a sudden stop when he departs.

But there are many other reasons for the assumption of indirect leadership by the professional social worker. Action on any social program is dependent in the first instance on group or community consciousness of need. A leader to be effective must have followers. Followers must be conscious of the purpose in which they are being led. An executive must therefore develop group consciousness and create the desire for action before effective action can result. Once the desire for action is aroused the executive capitalizes the opportunity of the situation to develop a leader in the group rather than accepting direct leadership himself. In this manner a new leader is developed and group action results. Something has been created. The executive is then left free to repeat the process in another or related direction.

Were the executive to assume direct leadership at this point, his time would be absorbed on one special phase only of his many-sided task. His assumption of direct leadership would attract to him other tasks and he would soon find himself loaded with responsibilities and surrounded by inactive associates. Further, each project has within itself elements of success and failure. Success in this specific effort brings with it prestige which in turn attracts other opportunities and with them the developing danger of being blinded by the will to power. At this point short cuts are taken and the need for cooperative technique is lost sight of. The slow process of developing group consciousness, desire for action, and then action becomes irksome and the executive soon finds himself

out of step with his group.

Failure too has its dangers. To have failed in a specific project in which direct leadership and responsibility have been assumed reflects on the executive. The reasons for failure may have been quite beyond his control, but the blame will be placed on the leader, and while one or two such failures may be condoned, a succession of them will soon diminish the worker's effectiveness on the job as a whole.

It should be recognized also that direct leaders in any group are always fair target for the opposition of others who aspire to leadership. Unseating the leader is a typical American pastime. The group or crowd is quick to acclaim, but also as quickly shifts its affections and following to the new leader. The operation of crowd psychology is perhaps not as prevalent in the field of social work as in the political field but we should always be conscious that much the same psychological principles are operating in both fields. I am quite familiar with the details of at least two situations in which direct leadership before the public on certain issues were assumed by two executives. Both situations probably justified the assumption of direct leadership, but the usefulness of each executive was definitely limited in time thereafter. I do not say that such direct leadership should never be assumed, but only that it should be consciously done with the definite weighing of immediate gains against the losses in permanent and continuing usefulness.

This consideration is probably of greater concern to those in public than in private social work. I think that the public worker either in the health or child and family welfare departments of city or state agencies are in greater danger of being forced into positions of direct leadership than those in private work. Here again the only safeguard is to build up deliberately a conscious group understanding of the issues at stake which will prevent them from being personalized in the worker. In this matter workers in the private agencies should consider the exposure to which public officers are subject and help them to create that body of understanding citizens which will always see to it that

attention is focused on the issues or needs rather than on the worker who technically exposes them.

To choose others as direct leaders of specific projects seems then to be the statesmanlike procedure. Indirect leadership in stimulating others to lead helps in the educational process of a constantly widening community consciousness and leaves the executive free to be the initiator, energizer, teacher, and trainer in the constantly evolving process of helping the community to discover its needs and to develop the resources for meeting them.

Granted then that leaders for specific projects should be chosen and developed what are some of the qualities of leadership of which we should be conscious? Ordway Tead in a paper on "Creative Leadership" given before the Taylor Society in June, 1927, placed as first in importance "the possession of physical and nervous energy." He pointed out that "There is a subtle sense in which strength goes out from the leader, in which power is imparted by the contagion of his own physical and nervous drive." Then followed in his list "enthusiasm," "adequate not necessarily perfect command of the technical knowledge of the subject," "intelligence," "imagination," "knowledge of human nature," "a faith in people," "courage," "persistence," "initiative," "tact," "patience," "self-confidence," and "a sense of humor and purposiveness." He also identifies a certain quality of the "leader's attitude toward his followers" an affection for them even.

W. H. Cowley, of the University of Chicago, in the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (XXIII [July-September, 1928], 144-57) tells of recent psychological tests of the traits of leadership. Such traits as the following were measured: "aggressiveness," "self-confidence," "intelligence," "emotional stability," "finality of judgment," "tact," "suggestibility," and "speed of decision." To this list social workers might wish to add generosity, social mindedness and vision, judicial mindedness, community status, intellectual honesty, freedom from prejudice—racial or religious—and other qualities. The list is already imposing.

Reflecting on the list in the preparation of this paper I wrote

down in order the names of twenty-five leaders who had taken an active part in the development of the social program of one community with which I have been familiar over a period of fifteen years. I was immediately struck by the fact that although many of the group appear on the boards of directors of almost every movement for social betterment each individual at some time or other during that period had given specific and outstanding leadership to one particular project. In other words, in one peculiar way or another each one had responded to a particular situation, given real leadership at the time, and generally speaking, on many of the other efforts of which he was a part had been a follower.

The prestige developed in the particular situation in which the individual had given real active leadership seemed to be the basis on which other responsibilities came to him, but it is significant that those other responsibilities had not touched him to the same degree as the original one in which he had distinguished himself by a conspicuous devotion and accomplishment. It would be impossible to analyze here the peculiar circumstances of the different situations to which each individual leader responded. It is pertinent chiefly to suggest tentatively that there may be a distinct relationship between the traits of a given situation and the peculiar qualities and experiences of potential leaders who may respond to them or may be stimulated so to do. I have said that in one particular situation each of these leaders gave real leadership and in all others seemed to be followers. In these other situations the prestige which each leader had won in the first situation seemed to provide the basis upon which he was chosen as a participant presumably on the assumption that he would repeat the leadership given to the first or at least that the experience thus gained would be of value to the project. Our chairman also used the term real leadership when he said "nothing much is going to happen unless there is real leadership as distinct from mere official administration."

Here then is a distinction or kind of leadership which also needs definition. In my thinking from social work experience I

would say that the distinction between the real leadership of the one project and the passive participation in the many projects in which our known leaders take part is one of degree of interest. We can probably be really devoted to but one project to which we give ourselves wholeheartedly. I am speaking here specifically of one social work project outside of a regular business vocation. This statement may be open to question as we think individually of leaders who have given real service to more than one project, but I raise the question whether they are not rather the exception than the general rule.

In this connection I was interested to find in the study referred to previously conducted by Cowley at the University of Chicago a different test or distinction between real leadership and what he identifies as headship, which, as we shall see, is his term for what our chairman described as "mere official administration." Cowley reports a study of twenty-five leaders in the undergraduate group which covered a period of over four months. At the end of that time he discovered that of the twenty-five chosen leaders—captains of athletic teams, editors of university papers, leaders of musical and other clubs—fifteen were not recognized as possessing leadership qualities by the common consent of the student body. The study therefore had to be discarded because fifteen of the twenty-five leaders were not in fact leaders, even though they held official positions of leadership.

For one reason or another they had been elected to leadership, but were recognized by their fellows as definitely lacking in the indefinite qualities of leadership. These fifteen Cowley described as headmen, occupiers or holders of official positions. He drew the distinction that leaders possess the characteristic of motion toward an objective. They are going somewhere. They have a program. Headmen or mere official administrators (our chairman's term) have no objective—they are not going anywhere;

they are merely holding office and marking time.

Both distinctions, that of degree of interest and degree of motion, can be suggestive to us in our task of choosing leaders for projects in our social programs. Degree of interest, however, as a test presupposes capacity to be interested and capacity to lead if interested. Lack of interest may be some indication even of lack of particular adjustment or affinity for a particular situation on the part of the leader in question. Cowley's distinction seems to indicate a lack of capacity for motion in headmen. They have been chosen or elected on considerations other than those of leadership qualifications. Headmen as thus described and pictured are not unknown in social work circles.

How often have we chosen presidents, chairmen, secretaries, or board members of different groups on such considerations as family relationship to known leaders, membership in particular church groups or other circles, residence in a particular locality, or even on the basis of recent arrival in the community. I have known in this connection of two instances in which business executives new to the community immediately upon their arrival and before they had had an opportunity to get their bearings were overloaded with responsibilities over their own protest somewhat in the manner of an expression of the community's hospitality to them. It is needless to say that they were not effective in these responsibilities. They could not be. They lacked the knowledge of local conditions and personnel and in any case were thoroughly absorbed in the details of their new vocational responsibilities.

This leads us naturally to a consideration of the situation requiring leadership and its possible affinity for a potential leader who may be identified as possessing qualities of leadership peculiarly suited to the situation to which he is called. As I stated previously, there is some ground for believing from my tentative analysis of twenty-five leaders that such an affinity does exist because of the fact that each one can be especially identified with a particular situation in the past. This particular experience has given him prestige which in many cases has been the basis of later assignments of responsibility which he has only passively assumed.

The problem suggested here is that of careful analysis of the

situation alongside of similarly careful analysis of the qualifications of potential leaders. This process is not unknown to us in the choice of professional personnel but its application to the choice of volunteer leaders requires a conviction that an affinity does exist between the situation requiring leadership and the leader who will provide the real leadership which we have been describing.

Again referring to the University of Chicago's study reported in the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, we find some evidence to bear out this tentative suggestion. An attempt was made in this study to answer the question "whether there was any difference between leadership in a particular situation and the ability to lead in several or even any situation." In other words, are there common traits of leadership which can be identified and do all leaders possess these common traits?

In this inquiry 28 psychological tests were used on 132 people, half leaders and half followers, 20 officers, 20 non-commissioned officers and 20 privates from the United States Army Post at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, 20 criminal leaders and 20 followers from the State Penitentiary at Joliet, Illinois, and 16 student leaders and 16 followers from the University of Chicago.

The tentative results stated are as follows: "These tests do differentiate between leaders and followers in the same situation"; "Leaders in different situations do not possess the same traits"; "The leaders in these four situations do not possess even a single trait in common." For our purposes obviously there are greater differences between army leadership, criminal leadership, and student leadership than exist between different kinds of leadership in different parts of social programs, but may not the underlying principle be the same? In the report there also appears this significant statement: "We cannot talk about leadership traits in general but we must talk about leadership traits in particular situations."

The tentative conclusion is therefore that we should be wary of choosing leaders for particular situations without carefully analyzing the peculiar characteristics and demands of the situation itself. Knowing its demands we can then more intelligently choose the particular leader who possesses those qualities of leadership that fit them and above all we should be wary of making this choice on too superficial reasoning or inquiry if we expect real leadership to result. The question as to whether or not any given person responds satisfactorily or suits nicely more than one situation is open to our further observation and study. Certainly here at least the element of time enters in. We might say now even with some assurance that there should be conscious spacing in time between our efforts to secure the whole-hearted participation of the same leader on two different projects.

While these suggestions may be of value to all who appreciate the part that is played by the volunteer in social work programs, it seems to me that they may have particular significance for secretaries of councils of social agencies and community chests because of the broad community-wide interest of these agencies. These agencies offer a particularly fertile field for indirect leadership of a very high order and skill. Their effort has the peculiar need of permanency in stimulating, energizing, teaching, and training direct leaders of groups in specific lines of inquiry and activity. Everywhere is the need for the more scientific approach to special and specifically delineated tasks. The chief function of the councils of social agencies and chests is that of coordinating and providing indirect leadership of a statesmanlike character to the whole movement. Theirs is a strategic position of no mean importance and to the extent that they sacrifice the more permanent gains of indirect leadership to the more immediate ones of direct leadership in specific projects they will lose that opportunity for permanent long-time planning through which alone a proper perspective may be had.

To sum up then, leadership as a factor in social work programs needs further study and illumination. Such study may develop new resources in personnel and a more economic use of existing personnel. The function of the professional social worker is generally speaking that of indirect leadership. There may be an affinity between particular leaders and particular situations. If this is so there are wastes involved in failing to analyze carefully the details of the requirements of situations and matching them up with the capacities of individuals. Councils of social agencies and chests have a particular responsibility in this regard occupying the strategic position of community-wide interest and concern in all efforts at social betterment.

## DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTY OR TOWN BOARDS

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HE development of local boards of welfare in the United States may be said to have begun in the early days of the country when in place of one poormaster many towns or counties were provided with a board of town or county commissioners. Such boards usually, among other duties, were charged with the care of the poor. In those days "welfare," had the word been used at all, would have indicated what was thought to be the welfare of the community rather than the welfare of the needy individuals dealt with. The principal functions of the boards, in so far as they had to do with the poor, was to see that the least possible money was spent for this purpose. The practice of farming the poor out to the lowest bidder was quite common in those days, while outdoor relief was but sparingly administered.

In New England the town was universally adopted as the unit of administration. However, in Massachusetts, the difficulty of securing a settlement in a given town by reason of the stringent settlement laws threw upon the state itself direct responsibility for a large number of adults and children who constituted the "unsettled" poor, but the town remained the administrative unit for the "settled" poor.

In New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and in some western states, responsibility was divided between towns and counties, but in the southern and later also in other states the county became the unit of public administration for the support of all poor persons. A board of commissioners frequently was the administrator.

In 1866 Ohio authorized the establishment of county children's homes to be managed by boards of trustees appointed by

the county commissioners. By 1901 of the eighty-eight counties in Ohio, forty-eight had developed such homes. The administration of the care of the poor, however, remained with the county commissioners. This furnishes an early example of two boards, one elected and one appointed, functioning in the same county.

Michigan in 1874 established a state system for the care of dependent children. It organized a state school to care for all children requiring public support, until they could be placed in family homes. However, it recognized the need of local units to assist the state in its administration and provided a system of county agents appointed by the governor to represent the state in its work in behalf of children requiring care. Later were added certain county duties in connection with the juvenile courts including mothers' aid. Thus these agencies while primarily serving the state, also served the county.

Minnesota in 1885 established a state school for dependent children similar to the one in Michigan, and in time also discovered the necessity of having some local agency to assist the state in its undertaking. In 1897 the county superintendents of schools

were made ex officio agents of the state school.

While both in Michigan and Minnesota one person and not a board was designated to assist the state, we find in this system of the state appointing county representatives a forerunner of certain county boards of welfare which more recently have been de-

veloped.

In 1883 Connecticut, following the example of Ohio, also established county homes for children and several other states followed with similar action. In Connecticut the children's homes were administered by three county commissioners, together with one representative of the State Department of Health and one of the State Board of Charities. By this arrangement the state participated with a local board in the county care of children.

In 1889 Indiana authorized the appointment of county boards of children's guardians in the large counties to protect the children from cruelty and neglect, to secure court protection if necessary, to undertake general oversight over children placed in

foster homes, and to otherwise plan for the well being of needy children. The law later was made applicable to all counties. Indiana also had established county homes for children and the law had authorized the appointment of county boards of unpaid visitors to visit them. By later legislation these boards in some instances were entrusted with the actual management of the children's homes. Frequently, perhaps generally, the board of visitors and the board of children's guardians were one.

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In 1892 by an act of Congress a Board of Children's Guardians was established in the District of Columbia which in size and population is comparable to a county in most of the states. This board became the legal guardian of all children committed to it by the courts as neglected, dependent, delinquent, or in need of special care. It did not have power, however, on its own initiative to take children under its care except in emergencies for a temporary period until a court hearing could be arranged. In addition the Board of Children's Guardians became the investigating agency for all cases where neglect or abuse of children was alleged. In the District of Columbia, therefore, we see one of the earliest public boards created to directly administer the care and support of all types of needy children.

When mothers' aid was established in New York State in 1915, county boards of child welfare were created to administer it. The state made no contribution to the allowances granted. These boards, outside of New York City, consisted of seven members of which the county superintendent of the poor was one. The other six members, two of whom were required to be women, were named by the county judge. Their duties were strictly lim-

ited to administering this one type of care.

The year 1917 may be considered the beginning of a new epoch in the development of welfare programs in which the organization of county boards has been an outstanding feature. Since 1917 boards of welfare have been organized in several states, their organization having been pressed forward principally by state departments of welfare or state departments of child welfare. The organization of local boards at this particular period appears to have received stimulation from three main sources: first, discussion growing out of the establishment of the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare of which our presiding officer, L. A. Halbert, was general superintendent, and a modified plan for county boards of public welfare which had been advanced by Mr. Halbert; second, a report of C. C. Carstens' given as a paper at the National Conference of Social Work in Baltimore in 1915 under the title "A Community Plan in Children's Work" in which he suggested the establishment of county boards of child welfare as one feature of a suggested program; third, the results of carrying social case work into the rural field through county child caring agents to assist poor law officials, which had been stimulated by the State Charities Aid Association in New York state.

The Board of Public Welfare was organized in Kansas City in 1910 and exercised inclusive functions. As Mr. Halbert has described his county plan:

The plan calls for the consolidation of all the social work to be done by the county into one department with a skilled superintendent and a staff as needed. The contemplated activities include outdoor relief, parole and probation work for adults and juveniles of the county—whether released from the local courts or from state institutions—after-care of the insane, employment finding, child-placing, truancy work, censorship of commercial recreation, public health work, etc. In counties with no great cities, these things are usually either neglected or made incidental duties of officers whose main interests lie in other directions. They can never be skillfully done so long as they are organized in that way.

This plan unifies and systematizes the social betterment work of each county and concentrates it under one board. It provides a local agency that comes in close personal touch with the unfortunate and their problems in a way formerly only reached

by a state agency at a great distance,

Combining all the various kinds of social work makes it possible to have at least one skilled social worker in every county, whereas it is not practical to have in every county a juvenile probation officer, an adult probation officer, a poor commissioner to administer outdoor relief, an agent of the free employment bureaus, an agent for placing dependent children in foster homes, an inspector of commercial amusements, etc. But it is practical to combine all these functions in one good, high-class, all-round social worker, even in small counties, and in larger counties it is possible to have the force of workers adapted exactly to the needs of the county.

Public boards since that day have varied greatly both in character and functions, and few generalizations can be made con-

cerning them. The fundamental determinants as to the character of local boards of welfare has been, first, the distribution of responsibility as between the state and the locality and between different existing agencies within the locality, and, second, the variety of functions assigned to them.

One inherently "best" plan for the organization of local boards so far has not been developed. We find boards whose members are all elected and those whose members are all appointed, or with some of each. We find that two boards may be functioning simultaneously in the same area. We find that local boards may deal either with problems for which the state is responsible, or for which the county is responsible, and that their membership may be determined either by the state or the county. We find county boards dealing exclusively with the care and protection of one or more types of handicapped children, or with the care and protection of all types of handicapped children. We find them caring for handicapped children and also in charge of school attendance work and of juvenile probation. We also find them dealing with all of these problems and in addition adult relief, parole from state institutions, visitation of charitable and penal institutions, recreation and many other welfare measures. We find public boards appointing superintendents of public welfare, usually social workers, to handle case work for which the board has become responsible, and we find the board members themselves doing the case work or acting in an advisory capacity to superintendents of public welfare who have been appointed in one way or another, in one state jointly by boards of county commissioners and county boards of education.

It is impossible in a short paper to describe in detail all the various forms of public county boards and their functions, or to describe the systems which have been adopted by the various states. Only a few distinct forms of organization can be cited by way of illustration. Minnesota and North Carolina represent states which in the same year, 1917, provided for county boards of welfare to assist the state board in carrying out its obligations within

the county. These two states differ materially, however, in the duties assigned to the county boards.

In Minnesota the State board, in addition to the supervisory and inspectorial duties usually devolving upon such boards, assumes through a State Children's Bureau, guardianship of and responsibility for protecting children born out of wedlock, for the feebleminded committed to it, and for children of varying types committed for various reasons. Children thought at the time of commitment to be eligible for placement in free homes are sent to a state school which is separately administered. The State Children's Bureau largely depends on its county boards to look after its wards, frequently solely through the volunteer service of board members. The state also assigns to its county boards duties relating to the inspection of free home placements, licensing boarding homes, approving legal adoptions, etc. When funds are made available by the county commissioners, a county board of child welfare in Minnesota may employ an executive secretary, and the board may, upon request, assist the county commissioners and the juvenile court. Very often when a social worker is so employed she takes over quite largely the case work formerly performed by the board members. State representatives visit and advise and frequently do actual case work in the field. As each state representative covers a dozen or more counties her contact with each county, however, necessarily is infrequent at best. These boards are carrying local case work responsibilities in behalf of the state on a large scale.

In North Carolina the State Board of Public Welfare and Charities carries no such case work responsibility as does the Minnesota State Children's Bureau, so that the county board represents the state in such matters as inspection of charitable and penal institutions, parole from state institutions, in the administration of mothers' aid to which the state contributes, etc. General case work responsibilities are not assumed by the state but remain a county function. Provision is made for a county superintendent of public welfare to assist the board of county commissioners with such duties, to act as probation officer and also as

school attendance officer. The North Carolina state board appoints all three members of the county boards and has complete control over them, whereas in Minnesota the state board appoints only a minority of the members, three in number, the other two being county public officials. In both instances the state assigns duties to the local boards.

In Alabama county boards of child welfare consist of the judge of the county court, as chairman, one member of the court of county commissioners, or board of revenue, and three citizens, two of whom shall be women, appointed by the county board of education. In Alabama as in Minnesota county boards of welfare are created only by affirmative vote of local official boards. The Alabama boards while locally appointed advise with, assist, and report to the State Child Welfare Department which can assign duties to them. They are required to cooperate with the county officials in all matters relating to the welfare of children. The duties of the Alabama boards are both state and local. The county board, when authorized employ county superintendents of welfare, with duties for the county and for the state.

Another type of board is illustrated by the boards of child welfare in the District of Columbia already cited and in Dutchess County, New York. In the latter the board consists of six citizens appointed jointly by the county judge and the commissioner of public welfare, together with the county commissioner of public welfare and three members of the county board of supervisors. To this board has been given sole authority in relation to the care, relief and support of children, including (since January 1, 1930) outdoor relief to all families in which there are children under sixteen years of age. Children requiring legal control or protection go to the juvenile court which generally commits to the Board of Child Welfare all children requiring care outside their homes with the single exception of those sent to state schools for delinquents or defectives. This board is not only authorized but is required to aid all types of children. Dutchess County presents a completely centralized county system of child care, administered by a board. Whatever type of service is required can be selected and paid for within the budget for which the board of

supervisors makes yearly appropriation.

The two distinguishing features of the Minnesota and the North Carolina plans are: first, in Minnesota the county boards are child welfare boards. In North Carolina they are public welfare boards; second, in Minnesota county the boards assume direct case work responsibility for the state—but also may, and frequently do, assist the county board of commissioners in the case work field. In North Carolina the county boards assume no direct case work responsibility except in relation to mothers' allowances in the payment of which the state participates. In both states the county welfare boards function as assistants to the state boards, although they may advise and assist the local authorities.

In the District of Columbia and in Dutchess County the boards of child welfare function for the county. They are intrusted with case work responsibilities but they have complete authority to contract and to pay the bills after the yearly budget has been provided for by the appropriating body in each instance. In these two units the boards of child welfare have complete and exclusive administrative power in helping handicapped children.

The usefulness of town or county boards is conditioned by the territory they are expected to serve as well as by the duties they are expected to perform. On the whole, the county seems the most practicable unit for welfare administration, at least in the case work field. The majority of problems relating to sickness, relief, child care, etc., require study and treatment by an agency which is close at hand. Only through a near-by agency can we expect an early discovery of the cases, with home treatment whenever possible and the development of preventive measures. The state is too far removed to be effective in handling difficulties for which services should be immediately available. It hears only of the children after some serious trouble has already happened. In observing attempts to carry out the policy of "centralized authority with decentralized administration" by the state delegating responsibility to local boards one is impressed with the fundamental difficulties which the system presents. Direct undivided service in a locality not too large and not too small is surely the simpler system, and the one best able to deal quickly, and advantageously with social difficulties in their early stages. Whatever the unit of administration, it should carry responsibility and authority. The state does not seem the best governmental unit to carry case work responsibility. The town generally is too small a unit for social service administration both because the number of cases to be dealt with is comparatively small and because the basis of taxation is too limited to meet the necessary cost of service.

It is interesting to note that when juvenile courts were established neither the state nor the town was anywhere selected as the territory to be served. Occasionally the judicial district, but usually the county, was selected as the practicable unit, because courts already had become accustomed to these units. It is probable that the same reasons which dictated the geographical jurisdiction of the courts would apply equally to administrative units.

Whatever way of adjusting expenses has been worked out by the towns or counties in the support of the courts, might also be applied in supporting welfare work, whether under a board or a single public official. A board of citizens at all times is useful in interpreting the need for social work and its methods; educating public opinion; studying state and local needs; comparing local methods with those effected elsewhere; preventing political domination and political bias from jeopardizing the social work and, not the least in importance, influencing the selection of well qualified social workers when appointments are to be made.

Should board members themselves do case work? Ideally perhaps, a board should only undertake social case work responsibility when it can procure the services of one or more social case workers. With the limited number of social workers available, we cannot arbitrarily say that board members shall never undertake social case work, but we can say that merely becoming board members does not qualify them for complete success in this field. Those of us who learned social work by practicing on the poor, can testify that it is a slow process and hard on the poor.

We have learned that the investigation, diagnosis, and treatment of social difficulties requires the special skill which distinguishes social case work. Where under pressure of necessity individual board members are carrying case work responsibility, as rapidly as possible the board should equip itself to employ professional service, the volunteer board members thereafter dealing with case work problems under the constant direction of a social worker. On the other hand, social workers in the field where such boards exist are shortsighted if they do not utilize the services of board members as volunteers. There are not and there probably never will be a sufficient number of qualified social workers to do all the welfare jobs which need to be done in any community, and particularly in a rural field. It, therefore, seems essential that social workers, to a much greater degree than heretofore, should carefully consider what services actually require the skill which they have at their command and what services with safety can be rendered by an intelligent board member, so that she can reserve her time for the skilful jobs and assign the others to the lavmen.

There is no time to discuss the relative advantage of board members being appointed or elected, or of having a board consisting partly of elected officials and partly of citizens, or whether these boards should be advisory to elected officials, or should have full administrative responsibility, or the overwhelming question of a public board or one public official; but in closing I should like to stress one point, and that is the importance of having representative citizens know and care about the public administration of welfare. Whether such interest can best be awakened through the creation of local boards with certain official responsibilities or by some other method, may be open to question. But no public program of welfare can afford to be without such citizen interest.

Whether a board can be most useful if composed of officials, or of citizens or of both; whether it shall be an adjunct of state government or of local government; whether it shall be given case work responsibilities, either with or without paid service; and what territory it can best serve in view of its functions—these appear to be the outstanding questions which the present development of boards of welfare present to us for consideration.

## INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF WORK WITH THE FOREIGN BORN

## THE TANGLED THREADS OF MIGRANT FAMILY PROBLEMS

Ruth Larned, Field Secretary, International Migration Service, New York City

THAS not been customary in this country to view immigration as an important issue in foreign relations. It is therefore of significance that the Council of Foreign Relations in its 1929 publication devotes 100 pages to a review of the development of United States immigration policy with a chapter on International Implications, wherein it is pointed out that despite the contention that each nation has a right to control its immigration according to its national interests only, the assertion of the right does not dispose of the international consequences.

At this conference the fact has been stressed that "inequalities in pressure of population and differences in living standards have made labor migration a problem as full of international complications as the export of goods or capital, and a sound national pol-

icy must take these factors into consideration."

It is said of the United States Immigration Commission of 1907 that, although it gave much attention to such questions as literacy, housing, and living standards in their relation to immigration policy, it viewed the problem as one to be met by legislation "based primarily on economic and business considerations." Certainly unskilled labor surplus, effect of competition between native and immigrant workers and displacement of native workers by immigrants are all matters which require consideration and adjustment but not to the exclusion of more deeply rooted social implications.

Migration has always been largely motivated by economic pressure. Governments, unwilling to part with their nationals, have condoned it as a necessity. The first serious check to this solution for over-population came with the drastic restrictive policy of the United States which was quickly adopted by other countries of immigration. In turn, countries of emigration entered on more drastic control of migration. Serious as were the results of such sudden action there are evidences of examination of national policy and the underlying causes for migration that are unparalleled in history. In other words, restriction is only one of the controls to be exerted in the field of migration and there is danger that, being blinded by the need for it, we may fail to realize all its complexities.

The sudden curtailment in freedom of movement threw into the limelight the human aspects of migration and dimly there can be detected a dawning consciousness that migration policy should be based not only on business and economic but also on social considerations. Even in the absorption over international technical complications in the migration of laborers, there is emerging a recognition of the social implications in migration be it viewed in terms of labor units or family units. Recently the Migration Committee of the International Labor Office asked for a report on conditions surrounding migrant laborers. It fell to the international director of the International Migration Service to gather data from case records on the subject. In acknowledging that report the chief of the Migration Section said that it had confirmed him

in the belief that social organizations can give very precious collaboration on questions of migration; that they can be particularly valuable in supplying information on what happens in actual practice, not only in individual cases, but also in cases of more general terms in the vast and complex field of the daily practical application of theories with their lacunae, incoherence and even sometimes their inadequacy.

Such collaboration between labor and social groups marks progress.

Those who are occupied with untangling the snarls in human lives that result from migration, have been impressed with the ic

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shocking degree to which family life is affected. A newspaper editorial recently commented that "probably stern restriction of immigration is here to stay, whether for good or for ill, but that administrative measures enforcing it might, nevertheless, be made to harmonize with the ideas of family obligations which are commonly held in civilized countries."

The discharge of family obligations implies either an unbroken family unit or at least ties that are not strained to the breaking point. No civilized government means to quarrel with this basic conception of society, yet "separated families" have been a subject of conference, congressional lobbying, and the just concern of social agencies because of a restriction that kept families separated against their will. As a result improvements in administration, amendments to the law and special acts of Congress have sought to remedy the situation without complete capitulation to unrestricted immigration. European countries have tried to meet the situation intelligently and constructively so far as possible when not hampered by diplomatic difficulties. In several countries wives and children of men resident in the United States have been given preference in the issuance of passports so that families might be reunited before new emigrants set forth, despite pressure of unemployment or of population that made the migration of wage earners desirable. But there are still many who must wait for years to be included in the small yearly quota.

However, in our distress over the inexorable effect of quota restriction on family unit, we must not forget that mental, physical, and literacy requirements have for a much longer time been a basis for rejection; and that many of the cases of "separation" are laid at the door of quota restriction that do not belong there. Or quota may be only one of the hindrances to family unity. European as well as American social workers realize this and are giving more thought to the other reasons.

There is food for thought in the situation, not uncommon, of the man who migrated to the United States fourteen years ago and whose family have just overcome all the obstacles to reunion. Beginning with the war period and its total restriction, there fol-

lowed the quota law restriction which delayed them another three or four years. When his wife's place on the list was finally reached, she came to Warsaw, a simple peasant woman without schooling and failed to pass the mental test made in most large European capitals before the migrant departs. So she took her children back to their grandmother and herself returned to the city for three or four months of study. Her determination and sporting spirit were rewarded by passing a second examination, but by that time her son had become automatically ineligible as an illiterate by having reached his sixteenth birthday, so it was arranged that he should be left with the grandparents until schooling might qualify him to follow the mother and daughter. For the fifth time the mother covered the distance between village and capital only to find that her daughter had developed a serious eve condition which must be cured before she could sail. The mother was thus forced to leave her daughter to the care of strangers and set forth alone. It was six months before the daughter joined her parents and the son has not vet come. It may be that the family affection will carry them through the inevitable conflict between the old standards and customs and the new which the man has acquired during the fourteen years of separation. The fact that he has not wearied of waiting and that technical difficulties were finally overcome makes it a successful case from the technical point of view, but were we able to measure the effect on family life of such experiences, and to do bookkeeping in higher values, what would be the summing up?

In marked contrast as to ending, a similar story is that of a man, well established, owning property, thoroughly Americanized and naturalized who discovered after twelve years that his wife is not eligible for admission and probably never will qualify. Their sixteen-year-old daughter preceded the mother in the full anticipation that she would soon follow. The father has grown bitter over the girl's deprivation of her mother through such a difficult period of adjustment. The only chance of reunion in that family is for the man to sell his business and his home, discard his citizenship, and repatriate himself with all difficult re-

adjustments attendant upon such action. The only other choice is desertion.

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Under the average circumstances of migration, the man must go in advance to the new country to make the home, or so we have thought, and little consideration has been given to the possible obstacles his family may encounter in attempting to join him. In these family situations, we should not blame restriction entirely, nor question the protective measures aimed to exclude mental or physical defect. Is it not, rather, that we are short-sighted in our concept of migration and that in the control of it we have ignored the importance of family unity? A man should know that his wife can never qualify for admission before he spends twelve years establishing himself in this country.

Any policy of control needs to be carefully weighed. With so large a part of migration motivated by economic pressure or necessity, any attempt to curtail the freedom of the wage earner to migrate, would meet with opposition. Yet if the man in the United States, separated from his family through no choice of his own, wearies of family obligations in which there are no satisfactions, and deserts, there is a problem of dependency for Czechoslovakia, or Greece, or Germany, in which mother and children are left stranded. If he illegally provides himself with another family, America finds itself with a whole set of problems, from bigamy to illegitimacy.

Likewise unwise and ill-advised migration might be averted. Take for example the desperate mother who, unable to support her three children and a disabled husband in Sub-Carpathian Russia, migrated in the belief that it would solve her economic problem even though in doing so she left her children neglected. She now shows sign of the mental strain over her failure and the prolonged separation. For other reasons we may question it for the boy whose uncle took him away from a job and from life among well-to-do relatives in an effort to bring him to a mother who had left him behind in Persia when he was a tiny boy. Her husband had gone insane and she wanted the boy's help in supporting the other children. At the transit port he was rejected

because of the possible hereditary character of his father's insanity. Is it not conceivable that with a possible inheritance of instability the boy might better have remained in his Near Eastern setting rather than be subjected to the speed and tension of a great America? Could not the strong tie of kinship, indicated by his willingness to come to his mother's help despite her early neglect, have been capitalized, by stimulating him to make regular contributions to his mother's support from the distant country in whose native setting he might be better off?

Separation is not always an unmitigated evil. It may be socially sound or at least present enough advantages to make it preferable to reunion. Again we see that migration problems cannot be pigeon-holed too hastily and that subtle factors underlie

them.

It is easy enough to decide to bring a small, neglected boy back from Greece to America where he was born and on which he thereby has a claim, but quite a different matter to bring him to a father who, after instigating and backing the plan for his child's return, disappears completely. Wider investigation discloses a fact in the earlier history of the man which if it had been discovered might have given pause to any plan for repatriation. On the death of his first wife, he had put four children in an orphanage, and upon remarriage, when confronted with the necessity of caring for them had suffered them all to be taken back to his native land and dumped on incompetent and unscrupulous relatives. So was the story finally patched together, with threads of it picked up here and there in three countries far distant one from the other, and trailing through remote mountain villages and sophisticated cities. The mere finding of the boy meant traveling from six in the morning till after eight at night and with no definite address to pursue at the end of the journey. A letter sent earlier to a man whose only postal address was a café, but who was luckily found by the social worker, had asked that the boy be brought to the town with documents all in order. But although the boy had been brought in, the documents had not, for lack of money to pay for the stamps necessary to their legalization. Another start at six in the morning took the social worker to the town where the boy's identity certificates were obtained "with some difficulty."

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How is the local agency to be of help to a young woman who after five years of happy married life finds herself and her boy of four deserted. Though she had encouraged her husband to visit his parents on an island in the Mediterranean, his failure to return at the end of a year, the cessation of letters, and the lack of any excuse or explanation, left her baffled. Passage money she sent was returned unclaimed. Even her offer to follow him and make her home in a country not her own failed to bring a response. A social agency financed an investigation, which was carried on by a European social worker, fortunately trained in mental hygiene. Through skillful interviewing, she discovered that the man was incapable of making the decision to return under the influence of his mother who coveted him as her only son, and had chosen to ignore his marriage. Furthermore, as only son and consequently sole heir to his parents' property, another factor entered into his struggle and avoidance of a "break" with his mother. He admitted complete happiness with his wife but seemed unable to withstand his mother's influence. The man has set a date for sailing, but it remains to be seen whether he will have the strength to carry through his determination and what the future holds for that family. With the full story in the hands of a psychiatrist and social worker in this country, there is a chance that the family may be helped to find normal relationships once the man has returned. This sort of picture is, I suppose, what is commonly known as "background." The particular complex with which this man struggled is not uncommon, but the additional elements of distance, native soil, and customs introduce new factors which are difficult for any of us to appraise properly without more study of special characteristics which are to be found in international cases.

Re-emigration lends itself to this kind of desertion though not deliberately planned as such. More than one mother has been known to return to her native country on an alleged visit which

is prolonged into years. In one such case the woman after six years' absence from her husband decided she wished to take up life with him again. But he had learned to get along without her and kept her out of the country by refusing to file a petition for her entrance in the preferred quota. The use of a technical device such as this, or migration itself, may serve to make desertion effective. The problem is under study by one of the sub-committees of the League of Nations Child Welfare Commission. The government delegates are interested in "support allowances" for families left behind by migrating men, and Mlle Ferriere representing the International Migration Service on that committee aptly remarks that "it is easy to place a frontier between oneself and a responsibility which weighs on one." There are those who are potential deserters when they set forth but more often desertion comes about gradually and through the force of circumstances. Delays, lack of facility in correspondence, misunderstandings, new adjustments, technical barriers, may put too great a strain on the sense of obligation, and separation grows into desertion that was not premeditated. What strange psychological effect have distance and frontiers on obligations?

Even parents often migrate, leaving children behind under most precarious conditions, and for years neglect their parental responsibilities, then suddenly exhibit a desire for the children that cannot but arouse some suspicion as to ulterior motives. Perhaps the most difficult problems with which the international case worker is confronted is the weighing of the best interests of the children in cases where the foster parents have given them devoted care and affection through the whole period of childhood. only to have the original parents rise up and claim them. Frequently the children themselves protest the uprooting. A gifted French case worker in handling one such case made the rather daring proposal that if the father wanted his child whom he had callously abandoned when a baby, he should give up his job in Massachusetts and find one in Marseilles, and so get acquainted with her and win her, not take her. A delicate bit of persuasion surely, especially since the worker who was in touch with the child was not the one to talk with the father face to face. Nevertheless, so careful was the interpretation of the French worker, so sensitive the appreciation of the American worker, that there was true integration of effort and participation of the client—and the man went to France to win his child.

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ed er ad in ed on he If we can untangle the threads in these problems more thoughtfully, we may detect the factors that so often evade us because of their intangibility. Concurrently with the proposal of remedies for outstanding defects in law and procedure, the larger statesmanship suggests that we need some new attitudes toward migration—attitudes which make the means of control incidental to the concept and policy. Clearly we should give attention to the removal of barriers to family reunion, but do we not need to give some thought to the prevention of broken families and unwise migration? It would seem to require the visualization of the potential migrant who has a family, as a part of a family unit that must be recognized, planned for, safeguarded by both states concerned in the migration—if it is for permanent settlement.

Social work ought to take a part in creating the broader concept of migration as an inevitable social phenomenon which resists efforts of control based solely on economic and political considerations. Its destructive elements can be illuminated and preventive measures developed, but better still, leadership given to a social control based on more intelligent understanding of all the elements involved. Someone has put it that given the international character of the problem migration should be regarded from the point of view of social psychology, world outlook, political geography, and world economy, and, I might add, human economy and family welfare.

### THE QUOTA LAW AND THE FAMILY

Mary McDowell, Head Resident, University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago

STHE Quota Law more sacred to the government than the family? was the question asked in this division at Des Moines in 1927. It was answered only partly by Congress by the passage of the Relatives Act.

Congress recognized that the Quota Law of 1924 was not so important as the family unity of all American citizens; that this unity was of vital importance to the welfare of the nation. It considered that for the conservation of family life the Quota Law must be altered to admit members of the families of immigrant citizens (please note that this applies only to citizens and not to families of aliens legally living in the United States) permitting them to enter the United States to join their own family

group.

The Division on The Immigrant of the National Conference of Social Work, meeting in Des Moines in 1927, discussed thoroughly the ill effects on family life of the law as it was at that time, and that a joint committee, composed of the various organizations interested, be formed to secure legislation that would extend non-quota immigration status to the wives and children under twenty-one of aliens and citizens legally domiciled in the United States. But Congress gave only partial relief through the Relatives' Act passed in 1928. Children of citizens were given non-quota status up to the age of twenty-one, not eighteen as formerly. Husbands of citizens were given non-quota status if the marriage occurred before June 1, 1928, quota preference if on or after that date. Wives of citizens continued to have non-quota status. Wives and minor children of aliens, however, were merely given preference within quota, which meant much in

countries with large quotas, but very little in countries which have small quotas.

We are not an unkindly lot of folks. Even congressmen are quite human when faced with facts of suffering of women and children. They would not willingly be, but often are, thoughtlessly cruel; for cruel we are so long as we permit, in our midst, families of aliens or citizens to be separated—part of them in the old country, while perhaps the chief breadwinner is in this "land of the free trade." It is questionable whether we are not doing an immoral act, even if done unthinkingly.

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It was humiliating to those social workers from the United States attending the International Conference of Social Work in Paris, July, 1928, to hear so thoughtful and gentle a person as Francois Sokol of Poland, and from the League of Nations, say:

When the immigrant has become established in a foreign country and wishes his family to come and join him, if artificial barriers over which the members of the family have no control are created to keep the members of that family from being united, then the case becomes tragic. Such situations merit careful study, since they are truly intolerable. How can we look on unmoved at a spectacle so inhuman?

It was my pleasure to announce to that conference that in our country there were many who could not look upon this thoughtless inhumanity to man unmoved, and that Congress had just passed an act that gave additional relief to the immediate families of American citizens. While we were rejoicing over this act of justice we were disappointed in the slight relief that was given to aliens. We thought of the tragedies in the family life of aliens, lawfully admitted and living in the United States, who have made heroic efforts to become citizens that they might bring over wives and children, or grandparents who are too old to compete in the labor market here but who must be supported. Many of these aliens have been hindered by petty technicalities and have had to wait years before they could achieve their perfectly moral longing to secure to themselves and to our nation a normal family life.

The question is often asked: Why do these immigrants keep on being aliens if they are so desirous of reuniting their families? I

am sure a few real experiences will clear the questioner's mind. It is not a simple thing to secure citizenship papers. For instance, an Armenian shoemaker, Mr. V., whose wife and children were on the other side waiting for him to send their tickets and passage to the United States, during the war lost sight of them. But they, after much suffering, got in touch with him, but not before the Quota Law of 1924 went into effect. This shut the door of entrance to them until Mr. V. could become a citizen. He had no time for study, yet worked hard, making his application at last. He missed one question, which postponed his hearing for three months. The second time, he passed and became a citizen, but by that time his son had become twenty-one years of age and could not be admitted with the mother and other children, but must wait many years for his turn in the quota.

Not only was this normal family separated for many years, but the money that went to Turkey for their support was an economic loss to the United States. Furthermore, had the son been admitted, his earnings would have been spent in the United States. Money going out of the country all the time for the support of disunited families is not good business for the United States.

Another case of an alien who missed out in securing papers: When we women secured the passage of the Cable Act, giving to women their own political status independent of the husband we did not dream that the passage of other laws, such as the Quota Act, superimposed upon the Cable Act, would bring great hardships to many women. A case in point is that of an American-born wife who cannot return because her husband, a Lithuanian, is not a full citizen. She was married before September 22, 1922, and thereby lost her own citizenship. Their situation further illustrates the hardships for husbands and wives whose reunion is delayed because of naturalization difficulties. They settled in Chicago before the war. The husband has been employed for years by the Michigan Central Railroad. There are three American born children aged seventeen, fifteen, and nine. In 1922, the wife went to Lithuania to visit her aged father, taking with her the

An International Institute case.

two younger children. After his death, they attempted to return to their home in the United States. The two children, because born here, were of course given American passports and came back to live with their father. Their mother was unable to secure a non-quota visa as a returning alien. As the wife of a non-citizen, she is entitled only to preference status. Her husband had made a declaration of intention years ago, but found, when he attempted to petition for "second papers" that his declaration was declared invalid, according to the law then in force, because filed thirty days before election. He filed a second declaration, but had to wait two years before he could file his petition. He made affidavits of support for his wife in 1928. His son has gone to work. His fifteen-year-old daughter keeps house for the family, but is not strong and is overburdened with her school work and home duties. She needs her mother.

Such wives of legally domiciled aliens should be granted nonquota status by legislation, without further delay. We believe that wives of aliens and grandmothers as well, should be granted non-quota status.

The law provides no way by which an alien resident in the United States can bring members of his family to join him unless they can get quota numbers in the preferred part of the annual quota, that second 50 per cent of the whole, a number often so small that it would take many years for all the wives and children to secure visas. In some cases women had returned to their old homes with their children to visit their parents and were shut out by the sudden closing of our gates. These children if American born can return when they are old enough to come alone. In the meantime, they are losing the chance to have an American education or even to learn English.

An American born woman who lost her citizenship by marrying an Italian before 1922, when the Cable Act was passed, presents this case: One child was born in the United States; the couple then took the baby to Italy to visit the home of the father. They stayed three years and two children were born in Italy. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The naturalization law has recently been amended in this regard.

father returned to America just before 1924 and has been unable to bring his wife and three children back to the United States. It required a minimum of five years for him to secure his citizen's papers, and there have been other delays. Meanwhile the child who was born in the United States is deprived of his father if he remains in Italy, and deprived of his mother if he returns to the United States.

An American by right of birth cannot conceive of the many petty hindrances that prevent the securing of citizenship. You must remember the name of the ship you came over in. Even if it were to save my citizenship, I would find it impossible to recollect the steamer on which I returned from Europe ten years ago!

You must know—generally, without anyone telling you (it may be in very small type on a paper sent you in a language unfamiliar to you)—that you may now get your first papers thirty days before an election; but you cannot get your second papers before any election. Do you wonder why? Yours not to answer or to question, if you are a newcomer! These small matters loom large when it may prevent a mother, a grandmother, or children from joining the family they naturally belong to.

A careful estimate made by the Chicago Immigrants' Protective League of the waiting list of immigrants in foreign countries shows that in a country like Austria, where the quota is 1,413, it

is estimated that 21.2 years will be the waiting time.

In Bulgaria with a quota of only 100, 150 years may elapse before the grandmother or wife can come to her own in America: in Czechoslovakia, 86 years; in Italy, 51 years; in Hungary, 46 years; in Persia, 100 years; in Syria, 470 years; in Turkey, 888 years; in Denmark, 12 years; in Germany, 5 years; in Norway, 28 years.

Do you know what it means to have the grandmother left behind—she who has always been an important and useful member of the family? It was she who, with the children, cared for the house, the cow, the goats, the geese, while mother and father were in the fields. It was she who plucked the goose feathers and helped make the feather beds. The grandmother kept alive the

traditions of the family, the church and the community. She is left alone or perhaps dependent upon others, to grow old alone; to be ill alone; to die alone. The support of this aged member of the family, who in the old country is old at sixty, comes from her daughter or her son in America. Perhaps her children are prosperous, can give her a comfortable home, love and care for her until she passes away; but if she is an alien or her children are out of the pale of citizenship, she cannot join them on earth.

Full citizenship as the price of reunion of immigrant families is often too great a price to pay and reacts dangerously. For instance, there is in Chicago an Assyrian, born in Urmia, Persia, who has lived in the United States ever since his arrival in 1913. His naturalization was delayed by the court case deciding the eligibility of his race for American citizenship. He made his declaration in 1919 and was summoned in 1925 to bring two witnesses in court. When he arrived he was told that it was impossible for him to become a citizen and that he would be summoned later. He never received the second summons. His declaration lapsed so that it was necessary for him to file another, which he did in September, 1928. This man married an American girl in October, 1918, and has two sons born in Chicago. He has done well in this country, makes a very comfortable living as a manager of a chain store, and has savings in the bank. He was exceedingly anxious about the long delay in his naturalization, as he wished to bring his mother to the United States from Russia. She was a refugee in the Caucasus region, having escaped from the Turks under the protection of the Russian army in 1915. She too had been born in Persia. The Persian immigration quota is only 100, and the demand for immigration visas from that country is very great, so great, in fact, that there would be no hope of a quota visa during her lifetime. When her son becomes a full citizen of the United States in 1930, he would have had the privilege of sending for her in the preference quota, but even that would mean years of waiting. This son, however, was compelled to allow the matter to drop; for in September, 1929, his mother died while waiting her turn to come to him. What has been the

effect upon his spirit? He now harbors burning indignation and resentment against the laws which have deprived him of the companionship of his mother in her old age. Citizenship in the United States will be only irony for him. He doubts if it is worth the price. This case must grieve any true patriot. This intelligent man may be a missionary of bitterness, giving to other countries an impression of our country that reacts to our discredit. Nations have emotions and moods that may be changed—as Dwight Morrow, Charles Lindbergh, and Will Rogers by their friend-liness proved in Mexico, and in the United States of America also.

In the past, citizenship was often refused because the family was in Europe, leaving the father, the breadwinner, in the dilemma of being unable to become a citizen while his family was on the other side, and unable to bring the family here unless he became a citizen. Although this practice of denying citizenship to men whose wives are abroad is far from being as prevalent as it once was, it is found in certain courts. What can a man who is petitioning for citizenship do as he faces an ignorant official who decides that he is a deserter of his family and works on this supposition of family disintegration until it may become real?

Delay in reunion is hard enough when the cause is lack of means, but then that is only a hope deferred and there is a joy in working for the desired end of uniting the family; but when all of a man's labor is of no avail and he sees the family falling to pieces, he loses heart; becomes demoralized. He burns his bridges behind him and often starts another family in this country. Is that what we wish to encourage—a nation that makes so much of normal family life as a civilizing element in the nation's development? We have been taught that family life is the

cornerstone of the Republic.

It goes against the grain, I am bound to say, for an old time American citizen who is eligible to belong to any or all of the women's patriotic societies, who has great respect for the Constitution, to think for one moment of our United States of America legally contributing to the delinquency of fathers, mothers, and children, in breaking up family life.

What can be done about it? Shall we again go to Congress with a resolution that it extend the non-quota immigration status to the immediate families of aliens legally admitted to the United States? This is what we asked in 1927, but we must ask it again, even if we are refused.

Recommendations as to alleviation of hardships of families separated by the Immigration Law: Believing, first, with our former President, that our immigration restrictions "ought not to cause a needless separation of families and dependents from their natural source of support, contrary to the dictates of humanity"; second, that Congress did not intend to bring about a situation which is now causing family breakdown and privation; third, that it is to the interest of this country as a whole, that family life should be preserved; fourth, that their admission, nonquota, would in no way affect the fundamental principles now underlying the present immigration policy of this country; we therefore would ask Congress for an amendment to the Immigration Act of 1924 to give non-quota status to parents, children, husbands, and wives of legally domiciled aliens or citizens of the United States.

When we permitted part of an immigrant family to enter we took upon ourselves a responsibility that is a trust. I am sure after hearing these stories of parents of "legally domiciled aliens," whether or not full citizens, you will see they should be given non-quota immigration status. Since we secured the Relatives Act in 1928, there has been too much of the feeling that the Quota Act of 1924 and the amendment of 1928 have disposed of our obligations to aliens. This comfortable complacency must be disturbed and I feel sure the cases which I cited will prove that we are not yet showing, as a nation, our finer side to the world. We had a generous awakening in 1928. Now we must again do justly, love kindness, and walk humbly before the world's judgment.

#### NEW FEATURES OF MEXICAN IMMIGRATION

James Hoffman Batten, Executive Director, The Inter-American Foundation, Claremont, California

HE oldest and newest features of Mexican immigration are one and the same—a dense ignorance of the facts which make impossible an intelligent judgment by the individual citizen or the enactment of just and adequate laws by our national legislators, if indeed, any legislation is needed.

How many Mexicans are in the United States? We do not know. The census report of 1920 showed 486,418. The present Mexican population is variously estimated from 1,000,000 to 3,000,000. Those best qualified to judge believe the census report of 1930 will show somewhere from 1,000,000 to 1,250,000. The Department of Labor statistics show that 468,889 Mexicans entered the United States legally from January 1, 1920, to June 30, 1929. For the five years ending June 30, 1929, an average of 4,667 Mexicans a month were legally admitted. From July 1, 1929, to March 31, 1930, the first nine months of the present fiscal year, the total number legally admitted on the Mexican border had been reduced to less than 10,500, a monthly average of 1,165. Of these only 1,199 were common laborers who would come within the scope of a quota law, or an average of 133 per month.

Through the cooperation of the Department of State and the Department of Labor we have passed in practically one year from a wide open Mexican border to a practically closed Mexican border. This has been accomplished, not by the enactment of any new restrictive legislation, not so much by new features even, as by the strict enforcement of existing laws. But this in itself is an outstanding new feature in Mexican immigration. This remarkable result has been accomplished with so little publicity that the average citizen is unaware of it. It may prevent the

passage of restrictive measures aimed primarily at Mexico, and so force a number of congressmen to devise a new issue upon which to campaign for reelection. The practical demonstration of the ability to control Mexican immigration through existing laws has caused a change of sentiment upon the part of many prominent members of Congress. Senator Hayden of Arizona, perhaps the best authority upon Mexican matters in the Upper House, and Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, both of whom were formerly in favor of a restrictive law applying to Mexico, have declared that the present effective control makes unnecessary any further action.

Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917 specifies in detail the classes of aliens who should be excluded from admission into the United States. This applies to aliens from both quota and non-quota countries. But so far as Latin-American countries are concerned, it has been chiefly "honored in the breach rather than in the observance." The general belief that the Mexican peon was absolutely essential to an adequate supply of common labor in the Southwest resulted in visas being issued to applicants by our consuls without much regard to the prohibitive clauses. The strict enforcement of our immigration laws would almost wholly prevent the entry of Mexican laborers. To illustrate, a Mexican applicant at one of our consulates for a visa, has no assurance of work when he crosses the line. Therefore, he may become a public charge. On the other hand, he may have a job already arranged for in the United States through some friend or relative. This may be interpreted as "contract labor." In either of these cases, the visa is denied. Through recent correspondence with our consuls in Mexico, I have ascertained that the laws governing the granting of non-quota visas is now being administered so effectively as to practically prohibit the admission of the peon class.

Another new feature, not in the law itself, but in its enforcement through the Border Patrol, has practically reduced illegal entries to the vanishing point. The claim that as many Mexicans have entered illegally, as legally, has never been true. However,

illegal entries have been a large factor in increasing the Mexican population. Naturally, where the law governing the issuance of visas for legal entrance remained a dead letter, very little effort was made to prevent illegal entries. But with the new order of a drastic enforcement of immigrant quality tests by the State Department, there came an increased membership in the Border Patrol and a corresponding cooperation by the Department of Labor in preventing illegal entries. The results are manifest in that the number of smuggled aliens taken into custody by the Border Patrol rose from 10,686 in 1927 and 18,000 in 1928, to 29,568 in 1929. These figures include both the Canadian and Mexican borders, but by far the larger percentage applies to the Mexican border.

Correspondence with officials charged with the enforcement of the law against illegal entries brings the information that during the present fiscal year, there will probably be a decrease in the number of such arrests. This decrease is attributed to the deterrent effect of the act of March 4, 1929, making it a felony for an alien to enter without inspection, and providing a more severe punishment for one who returns after having been deported. Before this law was enacted, the Mexican who crossed the line without proper documents was not even guilty of a misdemeanor; the worst that could possibly happen to him upon being detected was deportation at the expense of the United States government. This law has also put into the heart of the Mexican who is illegally in the United States the spirit of fear. You will come in contact with this in every Mexican colony and in every Mexican consular office of the Southwest. The fear of examination by the Border Patrol in passing from place to place, the fear of arrest, of jail and deportation, are constantly with them. Because of the strict enforcement of existing laws, the Mexican now in the United States is not urging his friends at home to come. This attitude upon the part of resident Mexicans has had a decided effect in reducing entries during the past year.

With this enforcement of existing laws governing legal and illegal entries, has been joined a more adequate enforcement of

our deportation laws. An official of the Department of Labor in his correspondence upon the deportation question says:

The writer does not deem it exact to say that the laws governing deportation of Mexicans are being more rigidly enforced than in previous years. With the increase in the personnel of the Border Patrol, and with increased appropriations for deportation work, naturally a greater number of deportations have been effected.

District No. 25 of the Immigration Service, with headquarters at El Paso, and District No. 31, with headquarters at Los Angeles, show the following figures for deportations and voluntary departures during the past three fiscal years: During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1927, there were 2,244 deportations and 7,137 voluntary departures; for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1928, there were 2,515 deportations and 8,178 voluntary departures; for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1929, there were 3,425 deportations and 10,234 voluntary departures. In both proceedings during these three years less than 500 aliens, other than Mexicans, were handled. Voluntary departure proceedings are allowed in cases considered not of an aggravated nature, when the aliens subject to deportation prefer to depart voluntarily rather than be kept in detention awaiting disposition of formal proceedings. The fact that 25,549 voluntary departures were effected in these two districts during the three years as against 8,184 who were deported through formal proceedings, would seem to indicate a high degree of consideration upon the part of those charged with the enforcement of our deportation laws. It is often charged that our deportation laws are enforced with an unnecessary degree of harshness. While there may be occasional grounds for such statements, the facts would seem to show that they are exaggerated. Separation of families sometimes occur, but generally they are voluntary rather than mandatory. The Service extends every assistance to enable an entire family to depart together even when all of the members are not deportable. It is also true that in many instances deportees are left stranded in their own country upon returning without money, friends, or employment. However, as they entered in violation of our laws, it would seem that the obligation rests upon their own government, rather than ours, to care for them upon the return to their home communities.

The operation of these laws in the reduction of Mexican immigration and Mexican population has been materially assisted by the voluntary return of Mexicans to their own country. I do not refer in this statement to voluntary departure under deportation proceedings, but to the fact, that in increasing numbers, Mexican residents of the United States are returning permanently to their own land. Indeed, this has been a constant process from the beginning of Mexican immigration to this country. John F. Simmons, chief of the Visa Office, Department of State, has shown that between 1910 and 1920, the Mexican-born population of the United States increased by 119.2 per cent; but that available migration statistics for the same period show that more Mexicans left the United States than entered it. Official Mexican data shows that between 1920 and 1925, 489,748 persons returned to Mexico. Consequently any net gain in the Mexican population must have resulted from irregular entries, which, under the new policy of strict law enforcement has practically been abolished. The only reliable figures available as to the number of Mexicans returning to their own country are those of the Migration Section of the Department of the Interior of Mexico. The United States government makes practically no effort to record returning Mexicans. As the director of one of our district immigration offices stated, "The writer cannot furnish you with figures as to the number of Mexicans who return to their own country. There is not sufficient force available to make a record of all departures." While in Mexico City last summer, I had the opportunity to go over the files of the Mexican Department and ascertain their methods in connection with recording the emigration and repatriation of their nationals. They are just as particular in securing complete data on all who return to Mexico, as they are with reference to those who depart for the United States. Their records show that during the eighteen months from July 1, 1928, to December 31, 1929, 63,917 Mexicans entered the United States legally. During the same period 113,-

781 returned to Mexico. In other words, 49,864 more Mexicans returned than entered. This figure would be increased to 56,078 if we accepted the figures of the United States as to the legal entries for the same period, which were 6,214 less than shown by the records of the Mexican office.

President Ortiz Rubio has announced his purpose of repatriating Mexican nationals now in the United States, settling them upon small tracts of land, and financing them until they become established in order that Mexico may benefit by the experience gained in modern agricultural methods during their residence in this country. The first month after this announcement was made, 12,000 Mexicans in Texas and 4,700 in California applied for grants of land under this proposition. The Mexican peon is an intense nationalist, but he is an individual nationalist. He has no real conception of a unified national consciousness. Nevertheless, the love of his native land is so strong that practically no Mexican peon enters the United States without expecting to return. Securing permanent employment, however, many of them never do return. Their children, especially those born in the United States, bind them to their new home. But the proportion of those who become permanent residents is far from sufficient to justify the statement frequently made by thoughtless or ignorant writers, that they are here in such large numbers that they are making "a re-conquest of the Southwest," "forcing the white population to move farther and farther north into non-Mexicanized areas." Statements of this kind simply represent prejudiced oratorical "ballyhoo," exploited mostly by labor demagogues and politicians more anxious to save their seat in Congress than they are to "Save California for Californians."

An interesting study of Mexican immigration in the United States, by Manuel Gamio, a prominent Mexican scholar, shows that 56.92 per cent of the total immigration comes from the three states of Guanajuato, Michoacan, and Jalisco. It is significant that these three states are all located in the Central Plateau region of Mexico, and that they have been the center of the revolutionary and religious disturbances of the entire period since the

overthrow of Diaz. The records show that during every revolution, emigration to the United States increased, and that it decreased with every succeeding period of peace. Whenever prolonged constitutional periods occur, free of frequent revolutionary interruptions, the national economic and social conditions of the country are improved, and the migratory movement shrinks to insignificant proportions. With the present progressive movements in Mexico, demanding an increased labor supply in the building of highways, irrigation projects, and the opening of new agricultural tracts, the entries of Mexican peons to the United States will become merely nominal, provided a stable government is maintained. That is largely dependent upon the United States maintaining toward Mexico the same attitude of economic and diplomatic fairness that has been inaugurated by Ambassador Dwight W. Morrow. The United States can either make or break Mexico.

It has been stated that "the Mexican laborer holds California agriculture in the hollow of his hand." I do not believe this is true, but I do believe that Mexican labor in agriculture is preferable to any other now available, and certainly introduces fewer elements of social and moral danger than the Filipino or Porto Rican. The seeming necessity of agriculture, transportation, and unskilled industry, is fallacious as an argument for unrestricted immigration from Mexico. On the other hand, the statement frequently made that "sufficient white labor is available for all types of work now performed by the Mexican" is simply a wild statement unsupported by facts. Within the past few years communities in Southern California have tested the possibility of replacing the Mexican with white labor, only to find that a sufficient number could not be secured to meet the demand, that some of those who could be secured would not do certain types of work at all, and that others would only accept the work offered at prices so exorbitant as to be prohibitive.

It is not entirely a question, as is often assumed by uninformed people, of "cheap labor." Measured by the day's wage, there is no such thing in California. The daily wage paid in agriculture is higher than in any other state in the Union. The problem in the Southwest is rather one of "casual labor." The agriculture of the Southwest is of a highly specialized type. It is largely a one-crop proposition, requiring a large number of laborers at certain periods of the year. At the close of this employment period they must migrate to other sections. When no work is available they are congested in such centers as Los Angeles, El Paso, and San Antonio, presenting a social problem and becoming a liability upon the taxpayers. In a certain sense the large centers of the Southwest are subsidizing the agricultural sections through this indirect payment of "charity wages" to the Mexican laborers during their period of unemployment. It is also true that a very large proportion of those who drift into the cities in this way and become settled in a large Mexican colony, prefer to remain, even with a lower income, than to again migrate to the agricultural sections for a brief time with unsatisfactory living conditions. I am inclined to believe that we have a sufficient Mexican population to meet all labor demands of the Southwest at the present time, if they were properly distributed in communities where they would be a productive asset. This cannot be done without a larger measure of cooperation upon the part of the agricultural sections.

Agriculture in the Southwest is not only highly specialized, but there is perhaps no section of the country where it is as well organized for production and distribution. But it is not organized for crop diversification or permanency of labor conditions. In fact it has never been interested in building up a real labor policy. With its proximity to what seemed an unlimited labor market beyond the Mexican border, it has been content to use the peon simply as a temporary labor commodity. If he returned to Mexico at the close of seasonal labor, or drifted into Los Angeles to become a burden upon the community, well and good; other labor of the same type would be available when the necessity arose. The problem of a permanent agricultural labor supply in the Southwest can only be solved by the adoption of a statesmanlike labor policy. That involves a larger diversification of crops and

the furnishing of adequate and sanitary living conditions for the Mexican laborer. We must admit that to so diversify crops in the Imperial Valley, San Joaquin Valley, the Salt River Valley of Arizona, and perhaps even more so in the citrus and walnut belts of California, would involve many difficulties, expert agricultural research, and at the beginning of the experiment, probably even financial loss. Nevertheless, there are great ranches which are finding it possible to so adjust crop conditions as to give employment to the laborers from nine to ten months of the year. Given this much employment at the average agricultural wage paid in the Southwest today, would result in an annual income that would tie the laborer permanently to the land. The problem can be worked out in no other way, and I have confidence enough in the intelligence of the citizens of the Southwest to believe that it will eventually be done.

# SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS IN DEPORTABILITY

## THE LEGAL BACKGROUND AND THE NEW LEGISLATION

Peter Frederick Snyder, Assistant to the Secretary, United States Department of Labor, Washington

HEN the figures for the current fiscal year now drawing to a close shall have been compiled, they will show that the United States Department of Labor has succeeded in expelling from the United States the largest number of alien deportees in the history of the country.

By far the greatest number of expulsions are effected at our southern boundary. There seems to be no way by which a normal fear of the consequence of an unlawful act can be instilled in the mind of the Mexican peon. Incarceration in jail seems to be no great hardship to him; nor does infraction of a regulatory statute seem to him to be a serious matter. It is not surprising, therefore, that of the approximately 16,000 aliens who will have been expelled by June 30 of this year more than one-third are Mexicans. Their violations of the law, to be sure, cover every class or kind, but for the most part we expel them because of unlawfully acquired residence; that is to say, for violation of the Immigration Act of 1924, in that they entered without appropriate documents; and for violation of the Immigration Act of 1917, in that they entered without inspection.

Criminal aliens are disposed of by the Immigration Field Service and the Department of Labor with comparatively little difficulty. All penal institutions report to government officers when an alien felon is about to be released from imprisonment, but the law in respect of these people is highly technical and not easy for the layman to comprehend. In the first place, there is no provision of law for the expulsion of an alien whose criminality consists only in the violation of a regulatory statute, such as the National Prohibition Act. Nor may an alien be deported for the commission of a crime involving moral turpitude if such a crime is the only one he has committed and if it was committed more than five years after his last entry. On the other hand, if an alien is convicted more than once of a crime involving moral turpitude, each crime involving a sentence of one year or more, he becomes deportable even though he has resided in the United States a score of years; even if he came here during infancy and has never set foot outside our borders.

For the purposes of this function the last entry of the alien is the one upon which expulsion proceedings are based. For example, not long ago I had a case of a young man who was born in Italy; was brought to the United States in infancy; educated in our common schools; and employed in a large industrial center. He was convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude, committed eighteen years after his first entry into the United States but only two years after his last entry. His last entry was pursuant to a picnic excursion trip into Canada. He was held to be just as deportable on the basis of a last entry, following a brief excursion to the foreign soil of our northern neighbor, as if he had been only two years resident in the United States.

It so happened in this case that the governor pardoned the alien, thereby defeating the deportation, but if the young man had not found powerful friends to prevail upon the state executive in his behalf, the Government of the United States would have carried out the mandate of the law, as interpreted by the

courts, regretfully perhaps, but none the less certainly.

I do not think there is anyone who has to do with the enforcement of the immigration law who does not agree that Congress ought to modify the drastic provisions of the Act of March 4, 1929, which forbids the readmission of an alien who has been expelled at any time in the past, or who has been ordered expelled. So many hardships and injustices arise under this statute

that one finds difficulty in excusing the failure of Congress thus far to amend this harsh enactment.

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My classic illustration is that of two adventurous youths who entered the United States last summer by way of the freight tunnel under the Detroit River. They entered surreptitiously, evading inspection, and by so doing clearly violated the law. They beat their way on freight trains to the Middle West en route to the harvest fields of Kansas and Nebraska. They were put off the train in a small Missouri town; the immigration officers were notified, and after a few weeks in jail they were ordered deported. The Washington representative of a Canadian newspaper having heard of it through some anxiety of kinsfolk in his home city came to me about the matter. He wanted to secure authorization for the voluntary departure of these young men, so that they would not be in the status of deportees. Unfortunately there was nothing that could be done. They had been ordered deported-expelled-quite properly, as the law by its mandatory terms provides. Even if some philanthropic soul had offered to pay their fare on their return to Canada and even if the great Government of the United States had accepted that offer, the very making of an order of deportation would forever prevent the readmission of these two lads.

I have no objection to the expulsion of an alien who violates a law, even as the law was violated by these two boys. To the contrary, I think the deportation provisions ought to be rigidly enforced. But it seems to me that once we have accomplished the expulsion of a law violator the question of his readmission, should he desire it, ought to be one for the consideration of those who are charged with enforcement of the law. Manifestly no honorable government executive would authorize or approve the readmission of a criminal, an insane person, a prostitute, a procurer, a pauper, an anarchist, or any of the various undesirable classes that are constantly being expelled. The general law prohibits admission of such persons anyhow. But there ought to be authority in a particular case for the readmission of an alien whose violation of our law has been of a technical nature, or who has been shown to be

lacking in viciousness of intent. The law might well be that such a person should be obliged to remain outside the United States for a year or two, or even more. I am not particular as to the length of time that an expelled person ought to stand excluded. But I am convinced that the perpetual barrier of the existing statute is too drastic, and that the denial to administrative officers of authority to consider the merits of particular cases is a reflection upon the probity and judgment of such administrative officers and as great an injustice to them as to the aliens whose cases they must consider.

When the Act of March 4, 1929, was first placed on the statute books, officials of the Department of Labor immediately considered what might be done to prevent extraordinary hardships through the enforcement of expulsion provisions. The latter being mandatory in their terms, containing no authority for the exercise of forgiving grace, the Labor Department could only execute, or neglect to execute, in respect of a particular case. In other words, a deportable alien, believed to be entitled to special consideration because of extraordinary aspects of his case, or believed to be equitably entitled to reenter the United States, could receive relief only by the withholding of an order of deportation, or the withdrawing of such an order if it had been previously entered, with permission to depart the country in a status sanctioning a later lawful return. Administrators of the act were then face to face with the question: In what class of cases, or under what circumstances, could the withholding of an order of deportation or the withdrawal of such an order, coupled with voluntary departure privilege, be justified? It was determined that in the ordinary case the law, no matter how drastic, would have to take its course. And it was further determined that the only class of cases in which it would be proper to permit departure without perpetual banishment would be that class in which the alien concerned could show that an extraordinary hardship would be inflicted upon an American citizen wife or child in the event of his expulsion and permanent exclusion.

The wisdom of the determination of the Labor Department in

this regard has been questioned. A member of the House of Representatives Committee on Immigration and Naturalization who helped to prepare the Act of March 4, 1929, expressed his opinion that other classes of aliens, not identified by him, ought to be permitted voluntarily to depart from the United States in lieu of deportation. My answer to him, given in open hearings of the committee, was that such an attitude and procedure would inevitably lead to lax enforcement both of the act of 1917 and the act of 1924. Both of these statutes specifically state that the Secretary of Labor shall "arrest and deport."

The word "shall" is mandatory. There is not now, nor has there ever been, statutory authority even for the sort of voluntary departure that, wisely, justly, and for economy's sake, has been permitted by the Labor Department throughout a long period of years. If we are now to permit aliens who are clearly subject to deportation to deport themselves, we will not only disregard express provisions of the two most important older statutes, but we will completely nullify the latest expression of Congress, which we as administrators ought to consider more binding on us than any other.

It must be appreciated that administrators of the immigration laws are eternally under pressure from those who would prevent expulsion of aliens. Senators, congressmen, their secretaries, lawyers, private citizens, secretaries of embassies and legations, and even the weeping aliens themselves appeal for relief from the stringency of the statutes. Manifestly an honorably intentioned administrator must set up every possible protection to himself against the onslaughts of such influence. If he were deliberately to adopt a policy of laxity in respect of any group or class of aliens, he would find himself overwhelmed, and would almost immediately fail utterly to carry out the mandates of Congress as set forth in the laws.

Every administrator of the immigration laws whom I have known—and I have known most of them during the past fifteen years—has realized to the fullest extent the hardships involved in expulsion proceedings, and necessarily has steeled himself against the persuasive appeals that are made in hundreds, even thousands, of cases. The Labor Department attitude is now, as it has been in the past, and as it undoubtedly will continue to be, that a relaxation of administration will begin when Congress modifies the laws and not before. So long as the statutes contemplate proceedings which appear harsh, and sometimes are harsh, just so long will the administration of them be precise and thor-

ough.

There is an element of the administrative problem affecting deportation that is little appreciated by the public at large. It is the fact that before an alien can be sent out of the country some other country must be willing to accept him. Our northern neighbor, Canada, is very particular about receiving former residents of that dominion. Many European countries decline to receive persons born within their borders who have been absent a period of years. Perhaps the most embarrassing situation results from our lack of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic. I do not urge the establishment of such relations, but I deplore the fact that we are unable to accomplish the repatriation, through expulsion proceedings, of Russians who are found unlawfully in the United States. The problem of the Russian visitor within our country is a great one. Because the Russian quota is comparatively small and is largely committed for years in advance, only a few Russians may enter this country as immigrants for permanent residence. If they come at all, they come as visitors or students. There is no provision in the Immigration Act of 1924 by which a visitor may change his status and become a permanent resident. Therefore, if a Russian visitor or a Russian student gains entrance to the United States, decides that he likes this country and wishes to stay, even though we go to the trouble of arresting him and ordering his deportation we are powerless to send him out, unless by chance he has passed through another country and possesses a passport assuring his readmission thereto. Many Russians are in the United States bearing certificates of identity issued by the League of Nations Office at Geneva. Fortunately many of these are honorable persons who will depart, but if a Russian

makes up his mind that—law or no law—he will stay in the United States, in nine cases out of ten we are without authority to say him nay.

Practically the same situation obtains in respect of Armenians. Their former country is now a part of Turkey, and Turkey will not receive back an Armenian. Now and then we are able to return an Armenian to Greece or to Syria, but if his birthplace is now Turkish or Russian, we are obliged to postpone deportation indefinitely.

Those who appeal for relief from the hardship of expulsion proceedings make us administrators of the statute a little impatient at times. When we order the departure of an alien law violator, we are not directing his execution. We are not putting him under the guillotine, nor in the hands of the hangman. Neither are we putting him in jail. We are merely obliging his departure to the land whence he came. That land was good enough for him once. It may be good enough for him again. We should not lose sight of the fact that the United States is not the only country in the world. In the minds of some people it is not even the best country in the world. So, when an alien is expelled from the United States, the punishment involved may or may not be severe. My personal attitude toward the matter is that we may be doing the alien a service for all we know. We have no foresight in the matter. We have no authority over the future. When I send a man or a woman out of the United States, I do so because the laws of the United States command it.

#### DETENTION OF DEPORTEES

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HE procession of those sent out of the United States last year numbered 12,908, and this year it is estimated that some 17,000 will form the long line. The reasons for these deportations are manifold—insanity, mental or physical defectiveness at the time of entry; various forms of criminality and immorality; radical activity; liability within five years of arrival of becoming public charges, or having become public charges from causes not shown to have arisen since coming; deserting the ship (in the case of seamen); overstaying a time limit allotted for visit or study; and last and most common, entering illegally and undetected across the vast stretches of land or sea border of the United States.

What happens to them previous to their deportation? The aftermath is usually a vanishing into the unknown. Of the 12,-908 deported last year, no statistics are available as to how and where they were detained, for how long a time, and how many were released on bail bond or on their own recognizance or paroled to social agencies. Of that number, approximately 11 per cent were criminals and so probably held in penitentiaries or jails, 5 per cent were public charges and held in public or semipublic institutions, while 80 per cent were illegally in the country and detained for the most part in county jails, the few port immigration stations equipped for detention, or liberated until deportation. Here again, there are no statistics of the total number held in county jails or released. However, it is known that 128 different county jails were used for detention of deportees, that 146 bail bonds were forfeited for lack of compliance and 95 persons failed to appear when wanted after being released on their own recognizance.

It must be remembered that being sent from the country constitutes no legal punishment, for deportation, accomplished by administrative process, is the "removal of an alien out of the country simply because his presence is deemed inconsistent with the public welfare and without any punishment being imposed or contemplated." Yet the situation has been immeasurably complicated by the Act of March 4, 1929, by which any alien entering the country illegally is guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both. Thus, the luckless Pole who, stranded in Canada without employment, paid ten dollars to a man who promised to take him to get work, found himself all unknown in Detroit and there apprehended and, unlike Ko-Ko in the Mikado, taken to "the county jail by a set of curious chances." An alien apprehended by the immigration border patrol may be detained in the county jail by arrangement with local authorities until the warrant for his arrest is issued by the Department of Labor in Washington. The warrant is issued immediately, and the alien is held in jail at the expense of the Immigration Service for the non-criminal reason of deportability; meanwhile his illegal entry is reported to the local United States Commissioner who may, if the evidence warrants, hold him for the grand jury, who in turn, if an indictment is made, hold him for the next sitting of the federal district court. After the report to the United States Commissioner, the alien is a prisoner of the Department of Justice, held in the same jail as before, but this time on the criminal charge of violation of the act of March 4, 1929. He may be sentenced by the court to a term to be served in the same jail, and on its expiration is again turned back to the Department of Labor, who meanwhile have issued a warrant of deportation for him. If the Department of Labor has been unable to complete arrangements, such as procuring a passport, the alien may continue to wait in the same jail, but he is back to his original state of being held on a non-criminal charge. If the person who smuggled him in has been apprehended, the alien may be held in jail on the

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<sup>1</sup> Fong Yue Ting v. United States, 149 U.S. 709.

further non-criminal charge of witness against his smuggler. In practice, where an alien is held for a long period of time to testify against his smuggler, his own violation of the law may not be prosecuted. Also, at border points where many illegal entries take place, the grand jury and federal district court may sit at rare intervals, so the alien is often held in jail so long before sentence is given that it is dated back to the day he first entered a jail. Another practice of some judges is to suspend sentence for a certain period, with the proviso that if the alien so sentenced and deported re-enters the country, the sentence automatically begins. Of course some aliens may be released on bond, one to the Department of Labor and one to the Department of Justice, if necessary.

The thousands of miles of border offer opportunity for such illegal entries by land and sea, bounded here and there by difficulties of nature but in general only by the activities of the immigration border patrol. Aliens apprehended after entering are responsible for conditions of indescribable overcrowding in local jails; indeed the situation has become so serious that the Secretary of Labor called attention to it in his last annual report:<sup>2</sup>

The detention of aliens held under warrant proceedings has long been one of the serious problems of the Immigration Service, especially in localities that are remote from such immigration stations as are provided with detention facilities. There are almost no such stations except at the principal seaports, and for obvious reasons these are not available for the detention of aliens who are apprehended along the land boundaries or in the interior of the country and who must be detained in jails. This already deplorable situation has been made immeasurably worse since the passage of the immigration act of March 4, 1929. . . . . The detention of aliens awaiting prosecution and their imprisonment upon conviction of illegal entry has in several instances overcrowded available jails along the land boundaries to an alarming extent.

Thus recently the jail in Bangor, Maine, with a capacity of 70, was holding 130. An attempt is being made by the Immigration Service, where possible, to transfer aliens held in overcrowded jails to others not far distant; thus in Detroit the situation is relieved by transfer to Toledo.

The story of the county jail has been made old by the telling

<sup>2</sup> For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, p. 21.

but conditions continue with little improvement. The lack of segregation is notorious, so that persons whose only offense may consist in succumbing to unemployment distress or the desire to see long separated relatives and in crossing the border, are allowed to mingle with narcotic addicts and prostitutes. And "illegal entries" are confined in probably the worst of those county jails small, ill-equipped places at far off border towns, where there are no social agencies and the jail is the only available detention place for adults and children, insane and ill. The immigration officials make every effort to keep women and children from jail but this is not always possible and cases have been noted of women and children in jail or even of children alone. A further difficulty arises in the lack of responsibility for the aliens detained, as they are held by the counties in their jails as "boarders" of the federal government at rates varying from 371/2 cents to \$2.00 per day; often they are not only unwilling boarders themselves but also unwillingly received by the counties, whose consent is necessary for any improvement in detention conditions.3 The burden falls unequally on different states and different counties. Thus Dr. Hastings Hart has found that the fourteen states which border directly on Canada and Mexico have a ratio of federal prisoners 45 per cent greater for each million inhabitants than the ratio for the remaining states.

Besides long detention in jail, there are other complicating factors. We can deport no one from the United States unless we get another country to accept him, for he cannot, like the Flying Dutchman, wander the seven seas; no matter how undesirable he may be here, or how deportable under our laws, he must be received elsewhere or we must keep him here. The only possibility of deporting men without countries is by "re-shipment foreign" as seamen, for then only seamen's papers, issued by the master of the vessel, are required. As it is impossible to secure

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Vide Hastings H. Hart, "United States Prisoners in County Jails," Report of the Committee of the American Prison Association on Lockups, Municipal and County Jails (1926), Russell Sage Foundation.

<sup>1</sup>bid., p. 29.

nearly enough such positions to fulfil the government demand, a man may await the possibility for a long time and then have to be deported in the usual way. As we have no diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia we can, in general, deport no one there, for there is no diplomatic or consular representative from whom passports may be obtained. Again, if a person away from his country has expatriated himself by long residence, as often happens especially in the case of Germans; or if he left home "with no intention of returning," as Norway puts it; he will not be taken back. The varying international complications play infinite varieties on the citizenship theme.

There are many different systems and requirements for obtaining passports, and the greater the complexity, the greater the period of detention for the alien. If he has a valid passport, as is rarely the case, he may be deported at the end of his sentence, if there is one, and when transportation arrangements are complete. Often in the blind hope that it will prevent deportation he has thrown his passport away. So if he has no passport, or an expired one, effort must be made to secure another. The request often has to go for investigation from the local immigration district to the Department of Labor, to the Department of State, to the embassy of the foreign country in Washington, to the Foreign Office in that country, to the local officials in the town where the alien was born, and back through the same channels before authority is given the embassy or local consul in the United States to issue the passport. This takes from two to three months at least. In an effort to shorten it and the consequent period of detention, the Department of Labor is willing to pay the expense of a cabled reply from the foreign country when such investigation is necessary, finding that the cable expense to the Department is more than offset by the saved detention expense, to say nothing of the effect on the alien's welfare. The difficulties may be imagined of obtaining passports in such cases as those of a girl who left England with her parents at the age of six months and lived twenty years in the United States before deportation as a prostitute or of an Irishman living thirty years in Canada, then entering the United States illegally and becoming deportable to Ireland, having lost his Canadian domicile by residence of two years here.

The social consequences of long detention may be imagined: of being kept from work and the support of a family; of associations formed during long periods in jail; of the possible effect on health. The courts have repeatedly held that indefinite imprisonment while awaiting deportation is not authorized and the person held must be deported within a reasonable time. 5 What "reasonable" time is varies largely with the difficulties entailed in obtaining passports. No statistics are available as to length of detention in general, but a recent study of 600 cases in the files of the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor shows a total of 383 held in county jails for periods varying from one day to thirteen months, with the modal length of detention falling at two and a half months. Only 29 were released on their own recognizance and 3 to social agencies, while 68 were released on bond after varying lengths of detention. Of these latter the bond was breached in 6 cases. The other cases offered the possibility of bond were unable to afford it. It is of note that two men apprehended in Montana as illegal entries were allowed to go at large because of lack of funds in the appropriation, but after a month at large detention funds became available and they were held in jail four and a half months before deportation. Another interesting case is that of a man released on his own recognizance in New York but as he "had no place to go," he requested detention and was consequently held on Ellis Island a month pending deportation.

The records contain many requests for early release from jail, chiefly on account of need for work to support families. Thus one from the Erie County Jail in Buffalo says:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> United States ex rel. Ross v. Wallis, 279 Fed. 401. Vide also Petition of Brooks, 5 Fed. (2d) 238, where it was held an alien cannot be imprisoned indefinitely pending recognition of the Soviet government. Also, Ex parte Mathews, 277 Fed. 857, where it was held an alien who had been in confinement for months on a warrant of deportation which the government was unable to execute because of uncertainty as to the country of his nativity or the absence of a recognized government there was entitled to discharge on habeas corpus.

The only crime (?) ever indited against me is that I wanted work to provide my family with sustenance. . . . . For over twelve solid months I fought against the industrial depression I found so rampant in Canada but employment was not to be had. Under circumstances like mine wouldn't you yourself have done the same and felt yourself justified? When I left England I hadn't the slightest idea of entering America but when I experienced the state of trade in Canada, I wrote your representative in London, Ontario, but my efforts to get in on a sound legal basis proved useless. I eventually took a chance and entered your country illegally. I was not desirous to rob, embezzle, or forge, all I wanted was work. . . . . To me my detention means little, to my dependents—all. I have no qualms of conscience in this matter, under the same conditions I would do it again. Seven-eighths of my fellow-prisoners are fundamental law-breakers, some habitual. All these grades of criminals will after a short period, be allowed to dwell again in your midst, whereas I will probably receive the most severe sentence of all, I shall be ostracised by this country.

Small wonder that the secretary of labor and the commissioner general have recommended suitable federal quarters for the detention of aliens, especially along the land borders. A beginning has just been made in the act of May 12, 1930, which gives authority to a federal bureau of prisons in the Department of Justice to provide proper quarters for all persons held under United States authority. If county or state accommodations are suitable, the bureau may contract with the authorities for detention of federal prisoners. The rates to be paid for such detention are no longer to be at the discretion of the county or sheriff but to "take into consideration the character of the quarters, sanitary conditions, and the quality of subsistence" and are to be such as will "permit and encourage the proper authorities to provide reasonably sanitary and healthful quarters and subsistence." If no local facilities are found suitable and sufficient, the attorney general is to select a site and order the erection of detention facilities. A beginning has been made in the temporary federal detention quarters in New York (used for deportation cases only where writs of habeas corpus have been obtained, for otherwise Ellis Island is used) and the projected stations at El Paso and Detroit.

There is still one more phase to detention which must be noted. When the alien is ready for deportation, he must await one of the great deportation trains which start about every six weeks from Seattle and San Francisco and wend their way east, picking up de-

portees as they go and leaving some to be deported from ports en route. Consisting of seven or eight tourist cars, with barred windows, two guards in each car, a matron for the women and children (or if necessary more than one matron), a doctor and an immigration inspector in charge, these trains bring all types of deportation cases together, from insane and criminals to the ill and illegal entries. Their sorry load is discharged at Ellis Island, from thence to be deported by the first available ships.

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At Ellis Island, the length of detention varies, but attempt is made to send the deportees within two weeks of their arrival. The same is true at Philadelphia with its large detention quarters, used for aliens who entered via that city and especially for seamen who are going to be "re-shipped foreign." In both places, the insane are kept in the hospital, criminals separated from non-criminals and prostitutes separated from the other women.

What is needed to help remedy the situation? First of all there is need for more adequate statistics concerning numbers detained, points of greatest congestion, length of detention, numbers released on bond or their own recognizance, facilities available for proper detention and care for those who need such detention. Second, many difficulties could be obviated if more aliens could be released on their own recognizance and an effort should be made to see if this practice could not, as is probable, be safely extended. Third, the matter of providing bonds should be carefully studied, with a view to the possibility of wider use of bail bonds; the question of the financial ability of aliens to provide such bonds should also be studied. Fourth, a means should be worked out by which those who are merely liable to become public charges should never have to go to jail for lack of other detention. Fifth, the problem of support for the dependents of those detained should be considered. Last of all arises the question of whether deportees should be detained with other federal prisoners or in separate immigration detention quarters. The development of federal detention stations is a step forward from the catch-all of the county jail and as such is a blessing; but if deportees who have committed no offense other than illegal entry are not properly segregated from such other federal prisoners as violators of the narcotic laws, the need for separate immigration detention quarters becomes apparent. Should such quarters for holding persons for the Immigration Service be built, it is important that in their building and management, it be always remembered that deportation is not a punishment for crime, and that the fact of segregating aliens as such is to keep them from possibly worse associations, not because they as a group are wrong doers.

These suggestions may help the detention situation but the important problem is one of public opinion. As far as our attitude goes toward those of foreign birth and our unscientific tendency to regard them as malefactors merely because of that accident of birth, the main remedy is, in the words of Mr. Justice Holmes—as indeed for the other evils of public opinion, "for us to grow

more civilized."

## THE HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL WORK

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# THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL WORK AND ITS PLACE IN THE PROFESSIONAL CURRICULUM

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HE shift in literary emphasis which has made "humanism" and "humanist" words in daily use by the critics and reviewers, leads me as a follower, not of theirs but of dear Mary Richmond's, to take the Century dictionary from the shelf. "Humanism," says the Century, is "a system or mode of thought in which human interests predominate, or any purely human element is made prominent." "A humanist" is "a student of human nature or of matters of human interest, one versed in human affairs and relations." These definitions have a familiar ring. We might accept them as descriptive of the organizing principle which actuates our social case work practice. But the new humanist, while he is concerned with the present day practice, with fresh experience, and with resources being made immediately available, has a mind alert to discover what the historic past has to offer which may quicken his perception of what are the central needs of the human spirit, which are the experiences which have durable worth, what means tend to create permanent values.

Seventeen years ago on my way to Seattle to attend the National Conference of Social Work I got a vivid impression of the intrepid spirit of the pioneer as I rode along the Fraser River and for miles followed the then abandoned Old Tote Road. In the period of the Klondike furor that road had borne a throng of men making their laborious but confident way to the gold fields,

enduring hardships lightheartedly for the sake of the anticipated reward at the journey's end. Now, when I read what is being written in this first year of a new decade about the importance of traveling along old roads in order to find the right turn to take for reaching fertile ground, the spirit of adventure is quickened within me, and I am eager to respond to Mr. Bruno's request to speak on the place of history in the curriculum of our school's social work. The adventure, I realize, will be vicarious, the appeal made in behalf of social life itself.

Let us hear what two young people have said in response to the opportunity given by the Saturday Review of Literature to writers under thirty years of age to submit essays in criticism, which should deal with solutions of the problems of the day as expressed through literature. Harlan Hatcher, the prize winner, one of the more than a hundred who responded, entitles his essay, "As a Man Thinketh." He writes of "a new realism," and as spokesman for his generation of literary aspirants, born each within the twentieth century, states that he and his fellow writers are "in quest of the good," that they "are trying to see life in terms of the permanent values which illuminate it." Even though they wish "to expose follies and hypocrisies," their prior interest is "in making room for a purer blood stream of basic humanity." Their approach is as young Hatcher adds, "high hearted." These statements would have sounded natural coming from the pen of any student of any one of our schools at any time since their foundation. But what does not have a familiar sound is that he and those for whom he speaks "do not wish to cut loose" and that they "are forced into prayers and meditations to keep [their] faith pure," and to preserve "balance and proportion." When he turns to George Herbert for inspiration, one recalls Sir William Osler's selecting Sir Thomas Browne to be his "lifelong mentor."

Virginia Moore, the second of these two writers for the Saturday Review contest, speaking in behalf of the "youngest generation," says that it is dissatisfied with its immediate forerunners and turns from them to "the powerful past." It is in revolt

against materialism which "contracts everything to the limit of the five senses" and thereby effects "a slow dying." Hot upon so mordant an affirmation comes the statement of a seasoned critic. Lewis Mumford, who caps Miss Moore's indictment with the assertion that "the new mechanists are the legitimate heirs not of the ages but of the last hundred and fifty years of physical science and mechanical invention." He adds, what carries us straight back to the thinking of our first forerunners in the settlement and charity organization movements, when he says that Greek philosophy and Jewish morals have had a more permanent influence upon human life than Roman engineering. Cannot one feel oneself coming under the spell of Towett in Balliol College, going from under the influence of the great student of Plato direct to East London to seek to realize the truth of the Master's teaching through experience in service; or meeting with Charles S. Loch, also a classicist, in the old Charity Organization Society offices near Buckingham Gate on the Thames, in order that one might be brought to interpret human needs in terms of ethical and spiritual values; or facing under Bernard Bosanquet in Edinburgh the dilemma presented by the conflict between the purpose of social intervention—the good of souls—and the means available for the effecting of that purpose.

I turn from Mr. Mumford to make my first point. The schools of social work, in my judgment, not only should train for a new profession, defining its terms and boundaries, but should within themselves develop a dispassionate and balanced habit of mind, with roots sunk in a historic past. Their attitude towards social life should be an organic one, an attitude fed by a knowledge of what has made for social growth in past fruitful ages, and, also, what has been the outcome of old social experimentation.

It is not for me to do more than stake a claim in behalf of history. I must, necessarily, leave to the schools to determine the place which the history of social life as well as the history of social work shall come to hold in their programs of courses, and what the student may be required to have had in preparation for admission.

The New York School has shown its interest in the history of social work through publication in translation of two sixteenth century documents, the section on charity from the Shulhan Arukh, and the letter of Juan-Luis Vivès, concerning the relief of the poor or concerning human need.

The second point I would make is that the inclusion of history is peculiarly important now, because of the turn which thought itself is taking. As I have nothing original to offer to substantiate my claim, I continue to borrow from other fields. From the field of art I take a statement which has corroborative value. W. M. Ivins, Jr., curator of prints of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, writing on the etchings of Tiepolo, says that

the fast increasing knowledge of the aims and ideals of late baroque art and the sympathy and understanding of it . . . . are enabling us to appreciate the art of these men and to see it in a light that thirty or thirty-five years ago would have been thought impossible. . . . . To an extent few people are aware that nineteenth century thought and ideals have taken their place in the past tense.

The third point I would suggest is that the schools might select persons, some one member of a faculty on sabbatical leave or, as the case may be, some other experienced social worker who should on salary or fellowship dig into the past to find what a particular period has to yield to the research of the practical student of human reactions and relations. Such research would be in behalf of the development of a social philosophy as distinguished from social expediency. It should lead to the application of principles of action which are basically social and rise above the dictates of politics, of opportunism, or of the tendency to take short cuts. A subject which would call for years it might be of painstaking study is the elusive one-materialism-which Miss Moore recognizes as deadening to the sixth sense. The fruit of materialism, I take it, is preoccupation with possessions, and this, so modernist a thinker as Bertrand Russell says, does more than anything else to prevent men from living freely and nobly.

We in the family field are face to face with the results of our publicity methods and of our failure to think through the implications of our relief practices. We are adopting a new attitude towards the public as over against the private administration of relief; but what, if any, are the fundamental reasons which lead us to make the shift? There is a long history of public relief, well documented, I assume, which should be studied in the light of European and American nineteenth and early twentieth century trends. The research fellow would have to consider again Greek and Roman and probably Egyptian experience; the thwarted efforts of Akhnaton, the results of the Roman policy as to the rights of the citizen to receive relief from the state. Sir Charles S. Loch's chapter on the Roman experience in his *Charity and Social Life* is illuminating to me.

Personally, I am keen to have a social work fellow study what Francis of Assisi effected in behalf of the social good of souls. His method drew men away from preoccupation with possessions and in so doing released powers which lead to tremendous adventures on the part of the human spirit. The message of Francis of Assisi, written by an English clergyman for school boys, speaks of Bernardone, Francis' father, as having been a Forsyte. No comparison could better place the period as allied to our own. The man of property of the thirteenth century, like our Forsytes, thought that the source of happiness lay "in things." His son, nevertheless, spoke to his fellow men "through things" even though he had discarded possessions. H. T. B. Mackay points out that Francis began his work of church buildings, not as an architect, whose rôle is to construct, but as a laborer who lays stone to stone.

As I think back over my years of experience as a social worker, I seem to see the turning point, where one took the path marked architecture (scheme building), and by so doing moved away from the narrower path along which the hand worker travels. Partly under the guidance of the new psychology, partly as a result of the exercise of our own common sense, we as social case workers came back on to the old path. But, to drop the digression, what Francis set out to do was as amazing an innovation for his world as it could be for ours. The mind of his day was no more inclined than is ours to concern itself with values other than

those which are tangible, concrete. The thirteenth century conflict of conceptions as to what constitutes a full life was relentless. It made heavy demands on those who came through to the point of creative surrender. It meant for them the acceptance of two principles. These principles the early Franciscan joyfully appropriated. First, that the poverty which he embraced as his mistress was "a state of mind, of which neither rich nor poor have the monopoly" and second, that release from the tyranny of possessions meant that in spirit one had dropped the attitude which in saying "this is mine" implies for the whole remainder of humanity that "this is not yours." These principles became living, social forces. They were realized in deeds done by individual Franciscans. They were not imposed as rules to be executed by someone other than oneself. Many years ago while staying at Hull House, I realized that Jane Addams, in the Franciscan spirit, was sharing with any wayfarer the most personal of the properties of that delectable dwelling place.

Mahatma Gandhi tells in his autobiography of how he, in endeavoring to understand the implications of divesting oneself of possessions, found guidance through the study of English law. He recalled Snell's discussion of the maxims of equity. The position taken by the English jurist was reviewed in the light of the teaching of his own religious leaders. Through meditation on these diverse contributions he came more clearly to see what it

means to be a "trustee."

History, considered as a reality, is now. A Francis, a Gandhi, a Jane Addams, belong to the present, because the present contains the past, just as the present is always in process of becoming the future. What, it seems to me, the student of the history of social work can do is at a given moment to lift from the crowded canvas of any past period a man whose conduct left enduring marks or a measure of social intervention, which had continuing effect, to see whether such a life or such a measure has a meaning for, or a lesson to teach us. The question Maurois asks in his Aspects of Biography is, of course, pertinent. Is it possible to know the truth about a man? And, one might add, about a period?

Whether it be or not, history can give perspective, history can help to give substance to the future, by making the present serve as a link between the generations.

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In January of this year a Canadian, E. J. Urwick of the University of Toronto, spoke in London on the subject of "The Principle of Reciprocity in Social Life and Action" as Loch Memorial lecturer. To materialism, possessions, trusteeship, may I add reciprocity as a subject for historic consideration? Professor Urwick said, within easy distance of Downing Street, that the citizen is born a debtor not a creditor. I do not suppose that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was present when those words were spoken. It is, however, a noteworthy fact that Philip Snowden is said by so capable an observer as Harold Laski to be looking upon "maintenance as an intolerable necessity, dangerous to efficiency and in the long run fatal to character." These enunciations may be taken as straws, showing the way in which the wind begins to blow. Professor Urwick described what was the attitude of some of us who were at work in the nineties and in the first decade of this century—the naïve period of social work—when he spoke of the expectation that the problems of the people who suffered under adverse conditions would be solved through their adjustment to their environment.

Personally, I feel that we have again much to learn by turning to Thomas Chalmers in an endeavor to catch the meaning of his insistence on the principle of reciprocity. What bearing might his precepts have on our present social work? Social practice is immeasurably enriched by our case work experience, and by the relationships established with other fields of cognate effort. It is steadied and expanded through the legislative adoption of prohibitive and preventive measures to safeguard life and to improve methods of living. The sum of facilities developed for physical, mental, and emotional well being is enormous. Nevertheless, the experience of 1819 has lessons of value for 1930.

Sir Charles S. Loch, writing in 1897, said that two ideas were at the root of Dr. Chalmers' plan, which though tried for so brief a time in Glasgow, did serve to kindle a warmth of feeling of citizen for citizen. These ideas were: first, "definiteness in the ascertainment of facts with limitation and express direction of effort and endeavor"; second, "trust in the natural resources of the people and as a corollary in the cooperation of rich and poor and poor with poor in the work of charity." One might separate the statement into several parts, to see with which items our pres-

ent practice is in agreement, at which it balks.

Through a study of Dr. Chalmers' Scottish, canny adaptation of the Greek motto, "the goods of friends are common," some fellow of a school might elaborate the fundamental distinction between the standard of comfort in a community being increased on the one hand, through person by person acting as if every man were of one's own kith and kin, and on the other, through the state being brought to provide more and more means for daily living. It is in the interest of steady, slow social progress, not of social propaganda, that any suggestion of any study is made. But again I claim that it is timely that with the aid of historic precedent, in the light of old social experiments, the schools should give attention to the question as to how far the state or any other collective central scheme of financing can carry society or any selected community forward until such time as leaders of social effort have accepted as basic the principle that citizens must needs be friends one of another. Systems of public relief can sustain social life, it would seem, in proportion as they grow out of mutual understanding, common sacrifices.

I realize how like a counsel of perfection, a ludicrous appeal to the millennium, this may sound. I take it, however, that the schools in the years ahead have two tasks—in addition to their primary one of giving technical training. These tasks are to develop, first, a social attitude of mind, and second, a philosophy of social progress. They must in time face the cost imposed if they as profession centers are to enter into the heritage of the great

schools—those of Sorbonne, Oxford, Harvard.

We know that at present the scientists are big in adventure. They are actuated by a sanguine temper. They tell us that their revolutionary discoveries are made when knowledge is tran-

scended, when someone or more of their number gets to a point beyond knowledge. Broadcasting, for instance, was discovered when a man steeped in the spirit of research accepted as fact, capable of application in service, that hypothetical waves in a hypothetical ether could effect concrete results. Without minimizing the importance and the cost of meeting what is a primary claim on the schools, I underline my first point, and add the assertion that they in their development of technique must reach the place where they, too, rise to the vantage ground which lies beyond technique.

Lewis Mumford went on to say in the essay, A Modern Synthesis, from which I have already quoted, that the "ideologies seek to make the facts conform to the needs of the personality, that they impose upon the mere welter and chaos of existence the order and measure of man's personality." In the realm of social endeavor that means to stay poised above the preoccupation with the present scene, so that one may look forward into a land other than the one through which one is traveling. A land, however, which one can enter, history teaches, only through payment of the cost of advance.

Mankind is on the march, says the distinguished author of A Preface to Morals. No one would wish to dispute that statement, nor its corollary, that the will to explore is dominant. But may one ask to what point is it marching, whom has it for guide? Some of us have recently been carried back into Hebrew history, those of us that is, who have had the poignant experience of seeing The Green Pastures. We have before us the picture of a people on the march, who are clothed in the color of the soil, who carry their burden of goods on their backs, who move forward to the refrain of the Spiritual: Let my people go—out from tyranny.

### THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL WORK AND ITS PLACE IN THE PROFESSIONAL CURRICULUM

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HE subject of philosophy in relation to social work is so vast and spherical that it is almost impossible to grasp it. What do we mean by philosophy? The wisdom of the ages? Ideas as to the nature of reality? The nature of knowledge? Ideas as to what is good?

Has social work any special use for general ideas as to being, knowledge, goodness? Does social work have any special place in the old or new philosophies? Is there a philosophy of social

work?

Is philosophy a respectable ally even for social work? Is not science rather the true method and goal of social work? Are we not concerned with how things work in our field rather than with why and how they should? Physics was once "natural philosophy," surely it has progressed since then, from philosophy to science. Psychology was not so long ago a part of philosophy. It too has made strides toward becoming a science. Sociology is in like case. May we not hope that social work also is developing from vague ideas toward definite knowledge and from a will to improve toward experimental method? This point of view is held by, I believe, many social workers.

Now suppose we say that social work is not research only but also the application of knowledge, and as such it is different from the sciences of psychology and sociology and related rather to the professions such as medicine and law. The same social worker who sees progress in the fields of knowledge as away from philosophy and toward science may say—as one did recently to me—medicine and law have no philosophy special to themselves; no profession has, except possibly the church and the church does

not count in this connection. Why then should we seek a special philosophy for social work? Philosophies are of life, not of professions, and persons hold ideas as individuals, not as professionals or practitioners.

This point of view, however, can hardly be maintained. Every profession is partly science and partly an art of practice; each one is a way of dealing with some aspect of life, and each one has its purposes and its own particular human interrelationships, and

out of its own conflicts evolves its system of values.

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In each profession it is possible for the practitioner to become so preoccupied with the technique that all questions of purpose or value are taken for granted or ignored. To do so, however, is the mark of the immature practitioner or the technician and not of the seasoned professional person. In the performance of a surgical operation, for example, there may be a number of assistants whose sole duty and interest is in the detail of local anatomy, retraction, ligation, anesthesia, etc. But they do not constitute the practice of surgery. In any difficult or questionable case there must be someone who makes decisions which are based upon the weighing of certain values, such as the risk and disability of operative procedure against the risk and disability of the disease in the particular case, considering general health, age, temperament, occupation, attitude of the patient. Sometimes the hardest of the doctor's tasks is to say which is worse, the cure or the disease.

Nothing brings out more clearly the fact of accepted professional philosophies than a situation such as that of a condemned criminal who is sick. How easily we acknowledge that no doctor who was a doctor would hesitate to ply his art to save this man from dying a natural death, although according to another accepted code of ethics his days are arbitrarily numbered. A recent newspaper photograph had this legend: "The Aftermath of the Tragedy at Columbus: Doctors Working among the Convicts Brought from the Blazing Buildings in Desperate Efforts to Revive Any of Them Who Could be Saved." Saved, for what? It does not enter into medical philosophy to inquire. The values for

medicine are, in this order: life, function, comfort, beauty (or in medical parlance, cosmetics): Comfort may outweigh function, according to relative degree. I am not sure what the professional values are for the practicing lawyer, perhaps order, and the client's legal rights. Certainly "life" and "legal rights" are concepts which have different meanings in the professional think-

ing of doctor and lawyer.

Both medical and legal values relate to general social ethics in ways interesting in this connection. Mental Hygiene Bulletin of March, 1930, had a leading article entitled "Battle of the Experts: The Real Function of the Psychiatrist in Criminal Trials," which well illustrate these relations. In this article the psychiatrist, attempting to maintain a psychiatric interpretation of responsibility, is made to defend the public welfare, while the lawyer is made to stand for the client's individual interest, buttressed by an arbitrary legal definition of responsibility.

"What I want you to do, doctor, is to testify in court for my client. With all these things wrong with him nervously and mentally, he certainly is not responsible for this robbery, and I want to get him off."

"Well, you have picked a very dangerous man to get off. His record shows

. . . . , etc., so you see he is not a harmless person when at large."

"I know that, but I don't care anything about that. It has nothing to do with the legal question. This court has to determine whether he is guilty of the offense of robbery of this particular grocery store, and it doesn't make any difference what he has done before that. Now if he is mentally sick and not responsible he can't be found guilty of that robbery."

What is responsibility? On what theory of free will or determinism are courts and experts to give judgment? What is jus-

tice? What is good for the culprit? What for society?

I mean here only to indicate a few questions of truly ethical nature, not of etiquette only, with which professions as such must in practice concern themselves. Such questions, if not metaphysical or epistemological, are, to my mind, none the less profoundly philosophical. They may not have much to do with the nature of time and space, but they have to do with purposes and cross-purposes. In meeting them we may discuss the good in relative and not in absolute terms, but then so did Socrates. They are of the very essence of the matter with which our later "prag-

matic" philosophers deal. (I was about to say "more modern" philosophers, but I do not know that there are any more modern than Socrates.)

In order not to attempt more of an argument than our time and capacities allow, let us set ourselves a definition of a term at this point and say that in speaking of a philosophy of social work we mean a system of ideas first as to what is good for the human group and second as to what is good for the individual in his social experience and third as to the meaning for social work of certain hypotheses and abstractions. In other words, we mean a rationale of ethical values relating to a certain limited area of our thinking, which is determined by the purpose of a particular expertness—social work.

The existence of questions of ethical value within this field hardly needs demonstration. I can show the kind of question I have in mind, and at the same time get at once into its place in the teaching of social work, by quoting some subjects brought up by students in the course of their classroom and field work. I am sure that any teacher of social work can duplicate such experience many times over. I leave it to my hearers whether such questions are academic or of actual practice as well as of the school.

Let us relate ourselves to law and medicine by taking first a social work version of the question of responsibility. In a social case work course the discussion is of a man who suffers a change of behavior after a head in jury. He becomes irritable and unreasonable, especially with his many children, who live with him in small quarters, and he drives his two young daughters out of the house. One goes to a relative, and one, old enough and wise enough to know better, runs away with a drunken sailor and contracts a gonococcus infection. The class asks, is the man responsible for his unkindness? Is the girl responsible for her infection? What is responsibility? It makes a difference as to what a social worker will say and do in the situation. We are about to use an idea in attempting to accomplish a certain purpose, not punishment, not health, not the imposition of an order of procedure, but a better social experience for these individuals. Social workers find it

constructive to act as if there were such a thing as responsibility, the discussion runs. We give responsibility to a person and get certain responses. Even the poor man who was hit on the head can probably take part in control of his experience, and will do better if we stimulate him to do so. Yet, says the class, isn't there such a thing as truth irrespective of what works for our purposes? What is the relation of these "as if's" of social work to the findings of sciences, what to the teachings of religion, what to the philosophies, ancient and modern?

The discussion runs further. Responsibility and irresponsibility are not, in any practical analysis or for any practical purpose, two contradictory terms in the Aristotelian sense. In life and in social work when one asks, is this "A" or "not A," the answer usually is, both. For the social worker, a situation is to be understood as a combination of terms, and the practical success of the understanding depends upon correct analysis of the quantity of each, how they combine with each other, and what factors determine them. This brings the discussion back to the technique of social work, analysis for purpose of treatment. So closely is how related to why in study of method.

This question of responsibility happened to come up in a course in social case work, but it is equally applicable in group work and community organization, and I believe that most of our questions of ethics and meaning are of interest throughout the whole pro-

fession of social work.

In technical social work courses the teacher is sometimes at a loss to know how to meet adequately the students' questions as to values and meaning and at the same time do full justice to the technique as such. The same problem arises in field work, where we are in even greater danger of hanging on one or other horn of the dilemma as we try to avoid the cultivation on the one hand of the narrow-minded technician and on the other of the unskillful dreamer.

Several students have brought to me this year, as every year some do, their questionings as to the justification for the interference in the lives of clients which orthodox social work technique seems to require. This is a conflict as old, it must be, as organized charity, and perennially new to all recruits. There must be something wrong with the young worker who is not troubled by it. It is a problem of social ethics peculiar to social work because of the manner of its support, unlike that of any other expert service. Paid by the rich to practice on the poor! Surely no "professional" born and fostered in such a predicament can ignore the ethical problem of its own right to be.

The alliances of social work with medicine, psychiatry, teaching, and law enforcement offer some practical opportunity for economically self-supported social practice. Private practice, however, must always play a minor rôle in social work so long as the factor of economic insufficiency looms large in the problems the social worker attacks. Group-supported social work for the group itself seems in theory the only road to security. But how big a group, how selected, how organized? What do we think of the public agency as against the private as to its value to society?

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Whichever we shall have, public social work or private—and no doubt the answer is, both—there will be a worker-client relationship the ethical quality of which will depend upon certain concepts, held by worker and client, of the meaning and value to individual and to group of self-dependence, initiative, variation on the one hand and on the other social conformity, adaptation, group protection, group responsibility, group life. How can we save the individual virtues, so precious in themselves as well as for the group, and also further the growth of the social organism? Some biologist in a recent paper to which I cannot refer exactly speaks of the surprising subordination in the living organic unit of the individual cells to the whole, "some even having no life of their own, but with their dead bodies forming a protective covering for the organism." Analogies as such prove nothing, but may there be more than analogy in the tendency of the life forces to organize now on one scale, now on another? Did the unicellular being fight for its individuality and give way in face of that tendency in plant and animal life? What is the meaning of the tendencies we see in social life to the formation of larger and yet more complex and compact units? What is to be the value of the individual in the society of the future?

In a "social work seminar" the question comes up: In a perfect community, is there any place for social work? Let us by "perfect" mean, not static, but free from all pathology as of a certain point of development. Has social work anything to contribute to normal social life and the development of normal group organization? Has social work anything to say as to what is normal in social life, now or at any time? How does my expert arrive at any idea of a norm? Perhaps the method can always be reduced to a statistical determination of averages, from many measurements of deviations. But does the quickened mind sometimes overleap the long counting process and form an ideal which, though it may be mathematically erratic, yet may work, and by its effect upon thinking create itself in concrete form?

In a book on drawing called *Dynamic Symmetry* the author, Jay Hambidge, says:

They (the Greeks) saw that nature was tending toward an ideal, that the principles at work underneath the surface of natural phenomena were perfect, but that natural manifestations of the operation of these principles, as exemplified by animal and vegetable growth, owing to vicissitudes of circumstances and the length of time necessary for development, were seldom or never perfect.

Art, science, philosophy are not contradictories, they are different workings of ideas and ideals. "There are no ghosts," says Watson, the arch-scientist. But there is counting, and the conditioning of reflexes does telescope, and the upshot is that though experience gives us only deviations, yet it is norms which seem to us positive.

Is medicine to think of sickness and never of health? Is education to focus its attention upon ignorance? Is law and penology forever to put its whole force into repressing crime and contribute nothing to good behavior? Sometimes it seems so, and it seems as if social work likewise could be concerned with nothing but misery and its causes. Yet in every case the negative implies the positive; the more the practice seeks causes, and becomes scientific, the more emerges the purpose of prevention, of realization of the ideal, of working for a positive good.

I am an advocate of pure science or idle curiosity as a motive in social work and in life. Knowledge as well as beauty is its own excuse for being. But the purest science runs into philosophy. Social work in keeping itself philosophically oriented need not lose any of its impulse toward exactitude. Indeed the more scientific it can become, the better, philosophically and ethically speaking.

In thinking of the relationship of science to philosophy it is helpful to refer to Mr. Whitehead's description of the "rhythm of education" (*The Aims of Education*, p. 27). He says:

I think Hegel was right when he analyzed progress into three stages which he called Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis: . . . . In relation to intellectual progress I would term them, the stage of romance, the stage of precision, and the stage of generalization.

#### A little later he asks his hearer:

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not to exaggerate into sharpness the distinction between the three stages of a cycle . . . . I mean throughout a distinction of emphasis, of pervasive quality—romance, precision, generalization are all present throughout. But there is an alternation of dominance, and it is this alternation which constitutes the cycles.

Perhaps the progress of a profession, like the intellectual progress of an individual, has such a rhythm. Perhaps it is our period of romance from which the Young Sociologist wants to see us emerge, and our period of generalization to which our philosophers look forward, while all the time "romance, precision, generalization are all present."

The school may then have to represent social work to the student in these three recurrent yet ever present stages, and in doing so may organize the student's educational procedure so that each one individually goes through the experience of awakening interest, understanding of techniques and of factual knowledge, and the exercise of abstract thought and ethical judgment.

# THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SCIENCE TO SOCIAL WORK

### THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIOLOGY TO THE PRACTICE OF SOCIAL WORK

Frank Hankins, Professor of Sociology, Smith College, Northampton

HEN I, more or less thoughtlessly, agreed to write a paper on the above topic I was innocently unaware of the trouble I was contracting. After a certain amount of reflection and reading around the subject I concluded that the proper answer should be, "Nothing, at least nothing very much, so far as I can see." Being a sociologist and hence having a certain professional pride at stake, I was not entirely satisfied with that answer. However, I am not sure that I have convinced myself that this first hunch is not substantially correct. One reason for this is the outcome of an analysis of the topic itself.

There are three key words there and all of them give me pause. They are "sociology," "practice," and "social work." It takes a lot of nerve to attempt a definition of sociology; my experience with the practice of social work is extremely limited, but I would not be willing to say that a narrow technical training served a profession better than a broad, theoretical one; and social work has come to mean a great variety of different activities requiring quite different theoretical and technical backgrounds. The primary difficulty is that sociology is a theoretical and abstract subject. In so far as it is a science it deals with the general aspects of the life of men in organized societies. Its unit of study is the group; it concerns itself with the phenomena characteristic of the group life viewed as a whole. It seeks to discover those

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causes, conditions and processes which produce both group unity and the evolutionary changes resulting in the rise and decline of cultures. When it attacks these problems by the latest statistical devices, it searches for norms, or averages, and general trends.

On the other hand, social work is, in its actual practice, concerned almost entirely with individuals. It seeks an analysis of the individual personality and his problems of psychological, economic and social adjustment to his family, neighborhood and the larger community. The social worker is an artist and artisan, working in part according to rules of thumb, in part according to attested scientific principles, and in part according to prevailing fads and fancies. He deals with a particular person or an individual family in a very special setting and must accommodate his treatment to a multitude of variable elements. It is this point that the difficulties of my subject reveal themselves: the generalities of the sociologist do not have a direct utility in the technical artistry wherewith the social worker solves his problems. One cannot, on account of human and social variability, apply an average result to an individual case. If, for example, he is dealing with a broken family, he is not told what to do, when the sociologist tells him there is now one divorce for every six marriages, that divorces granted to husbands because of cruelty of wives are on the increase, and that the industrial revolution, by preparing the way for the economic independence of women, has been a factor in the rising tide of divorce.

This picture of the general relations of the two fields seems valid however one defines sociology and whatever phase of social work one contemplates. They are related somewhat as the general to the particular, or the mode to the exceptional instance. Social work is not, however, applied sociology. Not only may one question whether sociology has yet reached that state of exactness which would warrant the use of its conclusions as the basis for social guidance, but social work draws much more heavily upon psychology and government for practical guidance. However, the fact that schools of social work have been established in connection with university departments of sociology

and have sometimes been headed by sociologists suggests a certain community of interests. Historically viewed, they have both grown out of a desire to improve the lot of the poor and unfortunate members of society. Sociology has another root in those efforts to understand the historical process as a whole which has been called the philosophy of history. This latter branch of the sociological effort, refined and purified by the growth of scientific method, is now easily in the ascendant. While there are still plenty of sociologists who think sociology is primarily a gospel of social uplift and who peddle one or another nostrum for all social ills as the genuine elixir of the millennium, they are less numerous, less vociferous and more chastened than formerly. At the opposite extreme are those sociologists who do not highly esteem social work in any form; who feel that, in the long run, social work will show itself to be an expression of ignorance of underlying social laws and of misguided humanitarian sentiment; and who see social work now as a gigantic vested interest, whereby an increasing multitude of soft-hearted seekers after soft snaps are acquiring both earthly and heavenly treasure and enabling wealthy patrons to do the same.

Such scepticism on the part of sociologists meets its counterpart in the attitudes of some social workers toward sociology. These feel that sociology is not only not an essential prerequisite for professional training, but that it is a positive handicap in that it gives the student too much to unlearn. Some think there should be a contribution from sociology, but do not see that there is any, while others would like to see one but can't imagine what it would be like. These negativistic attitudes are explainable by the heterogeneous character of sociology as given in different institutions and the equally heterogeneous training and equipment of social workers. When a sociologist devoted to one plan of social uplift meets a social worker equally devoted to another, there is too little basis for the formation of a mutual admiration society. Differences of opinion among scientists lead each to increased scepticism as to his own views, but similar differences among uplifters

sometimes lead to mutual disrespect.

The line of reconciliation here is clear, at least in theory. The sociologist, in so far as pure scientist, is not interested in substantiating any particular scheme of uplift. Such interest may be tray him. The scientist seeks to understand, to explain in terms of cause and effect. But it is nevertheless true that the sociologist hopes to penetrate the mysteries of the social processes far enough to lay bare the springs of social evolution and thus to make possible sufficient social control over them to guarantee the perpetuation and perfection of a dynamic and progressive social order. He is doubtless far from so ambitious a goal, but he can see that any plan of social amelioration must find its justification, at least in part, in sound social theory. By seeking and exposing the causal relations which prevail in society as an evolving microcosm through a long term of years, the sociologist is constructing a basis on which any acceptable plan of social work must rest. It is obviously true that such an ideal cannot be realized until sociology is surer of itself than it is at present. But one can easily find in the history of past social experimentation, in the fields of poor law legislation and administration, crime and penology, child rearing and child labor, and the disposition and treatment of delinquents and defectives, ample evidence that erroneous plans of social amelioration have been widely practiced. Sociology has contributed to a more enlightened view. One may add here that we do not know even now the ultimate effect of many of our plans of social relief on the qualities of the human stock and the reactions between racial quality and social processes. Nor do we understand even dimly the subtle selective processes now going on in society, nor the effects of our social arrangements and ameliorative activities on their suspension or subversion. It should be clear, however, that social work activities are not soundly based until we know their long time effects on the mental and physical traits of the population. There should be a "check up" of the social value of social work; and when it is made it will necessarily derive its criteria of valuation from a sociological orientation.

It would seem, then, that the first and most general contribu-

tion of sociology to the social worker's equipment would include some knowledge of social origins, evolution, and present trends; of the primary institutions for social maintenance, perpetuation and order; of social processes; and of the relations between the cultural setting and the kind of personalities that develop therein. This is the kind of knowledge that social workers may neglect, but they cannot rise to the highest dignity of a profession without it. Such knowledge is for them what the theory of law and jurisprudence is for the lawyer. Many of the latter find a shortcut into the profession by learning the bare rules of the game of law practice; they may be useful and successful, but they are in dan-

ger of remaining close to pettifoggery.

As I see this matter, both sociologists and social workers are seeking a deeper orientation. Both are going in for research on a larger scale and with more effective methods and equipment. It is here that I seem to see a more or less rapid rapprochement between sociology and social work. Armed with statistical and survey techniques they are both intensively studying various aspects of the group life and checking up speculative dogmas and hypotheses and practical aphorisms in the light of a counted and measured reality. The researches of each have a very definite interest and value for the other. All those sociological studies bearing on the abnormal, below normal, or maladjusted individuals or on the areas of social crisis or conflict, together with the conclusions and theoretical analysis and reflections thereon, should be of real value to the alert social worker. A study of the lists of doctoral dissertations or research projects presented by our departments of sociology reveals extensive investigation of such problems as crime, delinquency, family disorganization, suicide, and social inadequacy in all its forms.

It is just here that we discover a supplementary relationship between the two fields. Not only is the social worker directly interested in these matters but he is much better situated than the sociologist to gather original data regarding them. It follows that the sociologist has sought the aid of the social worker in gathering statistical materials, and to this end has brought what pressure he could to have case records kept in such ways as to increase their usefulness for statistical purposes. There is still a large opportunity for improved cooperation in this direction. Meanwhile social workers are acquiring a research interest and mastery of research methods. It is, in fact, scarcely possible at times to distinguish researches put out by the social worker from those put out by the sociologist. Perhaps the latter will say that when the former carries out a research project he has temporarily turned sociologist because he is searching for averages and modes. In any case, the sociologist can make a contribution to the mental equipment and social orientation of the social worker first, by aiding in the development of research on problems of special interest to the latter, and second, by studying the larger social bearings of the conclusions of such researches.

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Turning now to the contributions which academic courses in sociology can make, one may note first that we should not expect much from undergraduate courses. Only a very small fraction of students in them ever become social workers. The primary purpose of such courses is much the same as that of other subjects of an intellectually liberating type; they are not designed either as training or as background for social work. They do, however, serve more or less incidentally as valuable background material. The social worker cannot be said to be devoid of interest in the primary factors in social life, the primary social institutions, the nature and course of social evolution, the social processes, and the relations of the cultural environment to personality and human behavior. They also have an interest in courses dealing with social reform movements and with specific social problems, as also in courses dealing with methods of research. Since academic courses are designed primarily as liberal studies, it would seem desirable for schools of social work to organize sociological courses designed for their own students. Such courses should, in my view, cover at least four fields:

First, the evolution of the present social order, tracing the decline of feudal and patriarchal institutions and mediaeval mysticism, the rise of a new social stratification, a new industry, ur-

banism, feminism and the scientific outlook, together with some attention to their accompanying philosophies of individualism. democracy, utilitarianism, capitalism, and rationalism. In this connection it cannot be emphasized too strongly that it is not capitalism that is at the basis of the present social order, but science and engineering. These rest one on the other and both imply the application of rationality and imagination to the solution of human problems. Nor is it too much to say that they have so far solved the problems of the mere production of goods for the first time in human history. Science is thus the true humanitarian, and what we call the humanitarianism of the age is but a secondary consequence of the larger wealth and comfort made possible by the progress of pure and applied science. Parallel with this provision of a broad material basis for a new society, the logic of science and its methods are being extended slowly but surely to the rationalization of the social superstructure, or of the scheme of laws, institutions, and folkways in which individual lives are lived. They will in time enable us to control the hereditary quality of the population and the cultural environment within which personality evolves. All this signifies that it now takes much more than humane sentiments to make a social worker. If the latter is to rise to the highest status of professional equipment and partake of the qualities necessary for the expert social engineer who would remedy and prevent social wastage, the enlarged perspective of a sociological background would seem essential.

Second, the psycho-social basis of human behavior. This field represents the overlapping of sociology and psychology. It is the phase of sociological study which is most directly related to the practice of social work. It is also the phase now most effectively covered by courses given by psychologists and psychiatrists.

Third, the bio-social problems centering in reproduction, heredity, and selection. This is an aspect of social maladjustment that is commonly very largely neglected. But if social work is to see itself as a part of a large scheme of social telesis it must cultivate this field. Rates of reproduction and size of family are di-

rectly related to problems of poverty and family difficulties. Heredity is a factor in a great variety of human ills whose successful elimination requires the control of the hereditary potentialities of the race. Then there are the subtle selective factors which bring about the rise of individuals from low to high social status and their fall from high to low, and are largely responsible for the fact that poor human stocks are found in inferior environments and superior stocks in better environments.

Fourth, methods of research, of which I have already spoken. In a word, sociology can make little, if any, contribution to the practical technique of social work. It may, however, give intellectual breadth and poise, a better understanding of the social setting, a more profound realization of the extraordinary complexity of social causation, a realistic grasp of the meaning of individual differences and of modes, averages and probabilities, a keener sense of relative values, a warmer attachment to the logic and methods of science, and an enlarged interest in the broader significance of social work for the construction of a new society.

## THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY TO SOCIAL WORK

Edward S. Robinson, Professor of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven

Work depends upon our conception of this calling. If the social worker is to represent a trusted profession, it is clear that his intellectual development should be, not only accurately directed, but also broadly and substantially based. There should underlie his training in strictly vocational subjects, such facts and views of man and nature as will make for the greatest possible degree of practical versatility. While there is nothing in the curriculum to replace first hand contact with concrete social problems, there is no substitute on the battle front for that broader intellectual equipment provided by the fundamental sciences.

One might argue that, since there are admittedly valuable vocational courses to bridge the gap between general education and apprenticeship in the field, it therefore makes little difference what subjects are included in the early stages of the student's work; any of the established academic disciplines will do equally well. Still, there does seem to be more reason in the assumption that general biology, psychology, economics, sociology are capable of playing a peculiarly relevant part in the shaping of the social worker. Such an assumption carries no indictment of the classical and modern languages, of pure mathematics, of the history of art. It simply recognizes that where time is finite and where there are actual differences in the ultimate intellectual needs of various callings, it is well to make the best judgments we can make regarding educational essentials.

The mere fact that there is an increasing number of vocational courses for the social worker does not decrease the importance of our judgments about pre-professional study. Indeed, the more elaborate is the body of knowledge and technique specifically constituting the field of social work, the more urgent it becomes for us to consider the broad scientific backgrounds of this field. An instructive situation has developed in engineering and in medicine and I think that something of the same kind is happening in law. New inventions, new procedures, new complexities in our economic life are occurring so rapidly that professional education in the old sense of highly specific training is no longer able to keep pace. If the student is furnished with definite ways of meeting every problem of his profession, he is swamped. And that is not the worst of it. The very rapidity of scientific and social change, which has hopelessly enlarged the task of learning, diminishes the value of that learning. Most of the details of his so called practical courses are almost sure to be promptly forgotten by the young professional except for some limited field in which his first efforts are exerted. The engineer best equipped to adapt himself to new developments is he who is more solidly grounded in mathematical and scientific modes of thought. It is not strange, therefore, that certain educators are favoring an increasing emphasis upon the more basic types of intellectual skill in the belief that, if such skill is acquired, the more specific and unpredictable problems which arise will be readily mastered. Similarly the physician who has a deeply established understanding of anatomy, physiology, and chemistry is the one who is best fitted to grasp such medical changes as are now occurring at a disconcerting rate.

In the case of these professions which are discovering the impossibility of a factually complete vocational education, it is important that the solution is being sought neither in the old practice of reliance upon apprenticeship in the field nor in the other old idea that one type of general training is as good as any other so long as it is strenuous enough to put a premium upon industry and native intelligence. There is a search for a general type of training, but a type which is, nevertheless, of fundamental relevance for the profession in question. There is little disposition

to assume that the courses which furnish the most secure groundwork for engineering also furnish the most secure groundwork for medicine. It seems to me that those who are considering the education of the social worker may well enter upon a similar line of thought. The multiplication of the more highly specialized courses has limits and so have the absorption capacities of students. Yet there must be among the basic natural and social sciences certain methods of inquiry, certain ways of thinking about human nature, which are capable of a crucial rôle in the practice of social service.

It may be claimed that social work is so variable that its problems are not to be solved by the devices of science. In this connection one will do well to remember that science is much more than a collection of tricks and devices. A science is, in its most significant phase, a manner of looking at and thinking about a complex group of natural phenomena. And nowhere do we need keen and orderly thinking more than in this social field.

It may be said that social work is an art and that it must, therefore, lose something through scientific approach. There is just enough in this statement to give it plausibility. The practice of social work cannot be based upon a mathematical equation. It cannot be guided entirely by the light of correlation statistics. Like the good general diagnostician in medicine, the social worker should have a skill that goes beyond his articulate knowledge. Sometimes skill has actually been known to suffer when unconscious mechanisms of behavior have been brought to light. A number of years ago the story was told of how one of our foremost professional golfers experienced a temporary, but violent, breakdown in his skill as a result of studying too assiduously photographs and press descriptions of his stance and grip and swing. Then we all remember about the poor centipede who became utterly unable to walk, when at the request of the frog, he turned his attention to the matter. Yet we would not attempt to cast engineer, physician, banker, teacher, or lawyer after the pattern of the golfer or the centipede. In the present situation we need only inquire as to the group with which we are to identify

the social worker. If he had a closer psychological resemblance to golfer and to centipede than to the professional callings it would be dangerous to arouse his cogitations in any widespread way. But some of us would like to feel that thoughtfulness in the handling of social problems is something we can well afford to risk.

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If the education of the social worker is to have a foundation in science, psychology should have a central rôle in that program, because psychology, at its best, embodies the most general of our scientific views of human nature. I am quite ready to admit that there are difficulties in securing the soundest type of psychological training. Professors who ought to know better are occasionally prone to spend more time upon the latest petty controversy of the subject than upon those facts, principles, and methods which have stood the test of adequate criticism. Other professors are so insistent upon some detailed method of studying color vision that the intellectual balance and perspective of students who are not going to become laboratory investigators are largely neglected. Such difficulties, however, are by no means peculiar to psychology. They are present wherever basic sciences are cultivated. I do not think they should be accepted with indifference on that account. The psychologist, like the biologist and the economist, should be urged to think more critically of the ultimate place of his own teaching in the intellectual lives of students who are going on to careers in other fields of endeavor. But at the same time those practical men who are evaluating psychology should learn to recognize that scientific training, since it is designed to alter viewpoints as well as to supply immediately serviceable knowledge, must necessarily depart considerably from the level of obvious practicality.

There are a number of specific points at which I should hope and expect psychology to contribute to the equipment of the future social worker. If his training in the subject is thorough it can hardly fail to add much to his factual knowledge of human nature. The belief is still current that, since psychology treats matters with which even children are acquainted, it therefore does

nothing but elucidate the obvious. It is interesting, however, that these facts about human nature which seem so self-evident when they are mentioned by the psychologist have actually had only the haziest recognition in common thought. Suppose that I should ask each member of this group to write down upon a piece of paper three or four of the principal factors that determine the rate at which we forget. You will probably agree that you ought to know what these factors are. Yet I am not sure that I should have many perfect papers if this test were tried. On the other hand, suppose that a psychologist should give a little talk here upon those very factors. It is quite likely that some of you who would not have written perfect papers would feel that you were learning only what you already knew. We may expect, then, from formal training in psychology, not so much the widening of acquaintance and vague familiarity, as the increasing of precise knowledge about human nature.

In still another regard the contribution of psychology touches upon that general acquaintance with human nature possessed by everyone. The casual experience of mankind with man has itself developed a host of uncritical generalizations. Consider a principle upon which our very laws are based: the principle that when a sane man does wrong, his deed expresses a deliberate preference for wrongdoing. To the psychologist this is far from an accurate expression of the facts. It is characteristic of the criminal to work out for himself a crude philosophical system under which the wrong he chooses to commit is honestly judged to be the right. This is only one of a host of instances in which psychology reverses traditional opinion. We may, therefore, say that training in psychology has the function of revealing errors at the very points where we feel least in need of education—at those points where uncritical tradition is most sure of itself.

From psychology the student should gain some organization for his knowledge. There are too many people who know an inferiority complex when they see one, but do not know how to fit this phenomenon into the rest of their knowledge of human nature. There are too many people who have learned to recognize indirect manifestations of sexual interests without knowing of the wide range of motives underlying indirect behavior in general. Individuals who know enough of psychological facts to be interested in the field, but not enough of psychological modes of thought to be critical, are the ones who swell the ranks of the cults. Of course a thorough training in general psychological theory will make one's knowledge of fact more serviceable, since it will hold seemingly discrete items together. But perhaps the main advantage of all of this is that it will build up a wholesome resistance against those oversimplifications of human nature which are constantly tending to sweep amateur psychologists, and often even the less wary professionals, off their feet. Typically the revolutionary theory which reduces all hard problems to one childishly simple formula is at first embraced. It is then recognized to fall short of explaining everything in terms of muscle twitches, sex, or insight. As a consequence the theory is rejected, which would not be so bad, if the very name of psychology did not come into bad repute. Training in psychological theory is needed in order that the person who wants to think hard and straight about human nature may be able to recognize that there is a core of psychological conception which has been developing through the ages—a core of conception which can readily be distinguished from the wild-eyed outbursts of cantankerous crusaders. I do not mean that there is a fixed and orthodox systematic framework of psychology. I mean simply that psychology's general viewpoint of human nature, even though it is constantly subject to critical remodelling, is not to be confused with the cults like Behaviorism, Freudism, Gestaltism, which are here with a brass band today and gone into a vast silence tomorrow.

In most cases where scientific psychology has been applied to practical affairs, this application has been of methods of fact finding rather than of facts or conceptions already established. When the urgent war problems arose, there were in existence no tests which could be applied immediately to the measurement of the intelligence or trade skill of enlisted men, but there were at hand methods by means of which such tests could be developed

to fit this particular situation. There were no ready rules to solve all of the problems of gun pointing, but there were laboratory methods which could be utilized in the psychological analysis of this activity. When the psychologist is asked to aid with the problems presented by the museum public, he is in no position to climb immediately upon a soap box and give advice. But he has methods of observation by means of which a new type of accuracy can be established in our knowledge of the museum visitor and his behavior, and this is his main hope of making a contribution. Now whatever else a student should derive from the study of psychology, he should not miss its methods—its techniques of fact finding. He should be familiar with the typical errors of anecdotal evidence. He should see what can and what cannot be hoped for from the use of questionnaire and interview. He should learn the advantages of the laboratory and also its limitations. And, by no means least, he should have enough experience in interpreting quantitative evidence about human nature to develop in himself something of a statistical conscience. While there are other valid forms of fact besides the statistical, only he can afford to neglect statistics who knows enough statistics to know that he is neglecting.

And now I wonder whether it would not be possible to compress these expectations of fundamental psychological training. The crying need these days is that in respect to human nature we attain two things: greater emotional poise and a more critical sense of fact. I believe that the right kind of psychological training is capable of protecting one to a considerable degree from impassioned forces of partisanship while at the same time giving one sufficient intellectual confidence to discourage the enjoyment of mystical bafflement. I believe that the right kind of training in psychology will add substantially to one's positive knowledge of human nature and also to one's honest ignorance. And I believe that no one who is to enter a profession in which the uncovering of special human facts in connection with special human problems is to be of paramount importance can afford to neglect those

varied methods of inquiry which are at the heart of psychological science.

Psychological skill should do more than produce in the social worker a sound conception of his profession and its general problems. Such skill should make more effective the face-to-face relation between the individual social worker and his case. This latter accomplishment will be realized if the worker reaches the point where he is able to apply his psychology to the understanding of himself as well as to the understanding of his client. Self-discipline and tact are frequently present in those without scientific training and they are too frequently absent in those who should know better. But here again I should be willing to trust to knowledge in the long run. Despite inevitable exceptions, I should look for the better self-control in him who has seriously considered how strong is the tendency for internal unrest to express itself in irritated judgments regarding external circumstance.

## THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BIOLOGY TO SOCIAL WORK

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SOCIAL work deals with humans; therefore, it deals with organisms; therefore, social work is most intimately and essentially dependent upon the science of biology. It is of these obvious statements that I am asked to supply a measure of explanation. The implications of each of these statements are becoming increasingly complex. As biology develops, so also the

significance of these theses is bound to grow.

Technique can be developed without backgrounds, without implications, without a realization of its significance. The laboratory technician can be trained to follow a set of directions, to change a tissue from an aqueous to an alcoholic medium, and from this in turn to xylol. She can become adept, a thorough expert in her technique without having even the remotest idea as to what she is doing and why she is doing it. So the social worker too can be trained in social work technique. She can be given questionnaires, blanks, record cards, history sheets, to be filled out. She can be made to follow slavishly the prescriptions of an agency regarding first contacts, interviews, referrals, follow-up, but none of this work alone—painstaking, exacting, searching though it may be—will ever make a social worker. Two further steps in the training of any technician are definitely required before the technician can be metamorphosed, first into the scientific student and then into the artistic practitioner. Technique, theory, practice or art, these are the three steps, not necessarily consecutive, but more desirably synchronized and interpenetrating, which we long for in the programs and curriculums through which the social worker is evolved. To each of these three steps

in the life history of the social worker the science of biology has made and is still making contributions of paramount value. These contributions pertain, first, to the biological presuppositions of social work, and, second, to the biology of man.

First, let us consider some of the biological presuppositions of social work. The social worker deals with an organism, with the environment of that organism and with the interplay between

the organism and the environment.

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The organism.—Biology has struggled through centuries towards a clarification of the concept of organization. Time was when structure and the interrelationship of structures were regarded as the basis of that organization. This purely morphological phase passed, to be succeeded by a physiological phase when the functioning of parts became the controlling thought, but this phase too had to yield to an even profounder concept, for it was realized that beyond structure and function lay something more fundamental, the chemical constitution as well as the physical state of the chemical substances which make up the organism. Now "organism" is the fashion of the day, or the organismal concept of the living thing. We have come to realize that organization means more than the morphology, physiology, and chemistry of the living thing. All of these partial phases must be integrated and from the integrated process emerges that mysterious unity that we call life with its analysis defying characteristics—unity and purposefulness. Sociology too has realized that organization is something more than the sum of the individual entities making up an association. That "something superadded" challenges the sociologist's analysis and if it has thus far defied adequate definition, the sociologist is no worse off than the biologist who, after his centuries of struggle, has simply leaped from chasm to chasm of mystery in his quest for the explanation. The biologist has thus far attained to the concept of hormones as chemical integrates of functional unification. The sociologist is struggling for an analogous explanation to carry out our parallel.

But sociology is not social work. Social work as an outgrowth of sociology became possible only when sociology itself passed

from its group-study phase to an individual-study phase. By its very definition and name, sociology at one time stressed the group relations of man. It was only when the conviction grew more deeply into the minds of thinkers that group relations can be understood if the individual who enters into those relations is better understood that intensive and exhaustive social work could grow out of the broad generalizations of sociology. We are here confronted with a most suggestive historical parallel. Biology too has had an experience similar to that of sociology. The intuitive generalizations of men such as Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and Weismann, afforded the soil whence experimental biological research drew its intellectual sustenance, but it is only when those experimental studies were concentrated upon the study of the individual and the individual reactions that the mod-

ern era of biological thought could dawn.

Related in concept to organization is the concept of individuation. It is only half a century since Huxley could defend, on the basis of then existing knowledge, the unity of protoplasm in all living forms. Such a view, particularly when associated with the implied consequences of the inalterability of protoplasm, could afford very little encouragement to the social worker. But research has wrought its changes in the world of biological views and today we no longer talk of protoplasm as a uniform and universal basis of life. We think of that physical basis as different in each species, in each individual, in each part of an individual; different too in the various phases of the life history of each individual. The steps by which the change from the older to the newer concept was affected need not be detailed here. Suffice it to say that we now have evidence little short of overwhelming for a true biological basis of individuality and the studies of the social worker are thus given a biological background which cannot but elicit the fullest confidence in her technique, in her concepts of social pathology, and in her social therapeutics. Biology, through this newer concept of the individual, has supplied the scientific foundation stone upon which the social worker can base her further efforts at social progress.

Similarly the newer concepts in heredity have kept step with the developing concepts of the organism. It is scarcely a decade and a half since a biologist of note could still write in a preface, "Where then is the evidence for the plastic details of childhood?" Today the pendulum of science has swung more favorably into the one sector in which the social worker must achieve her results. Hereditary determinism affords little comfort to the social worker. If the organism is what it is because from the first instant of its existence of a fertilized ovum it cannot become anything different than what is determined at that moment, then the prognosis for social betterment is all but hopeless. If the organism cannot be changed, then the only expectation of improvement can come from a change of the environment. Today we are asking ourselves seriously whether the change in social conditions is due to the change in the human organisms, or whether the change in the human organisms is due to a change of the environment. Such an alternative in the face of the older concepts of heredity—and by older concepts I mean the concepts that were commonly accepted in the first and part of the second decades of the present century—would be nonsensical on the presuppositions of hereditary determinism. But hereditary determinism has had its day and more and more is the social worker encouraged by the present progress towards hereditary indeterminism. Heredity is not a mold, a coercive force, a command. It is rather an elastic configuration, a persuasive force, a counsel. It does not utter to the organism a harsh "Thou must," but a permissive "Thou mayest." Such a concept of heredity holds out to the social worker the sincerest hopes of individual betterment as well as social betterment. The social worker knows that she does more than simply modify the environment, for by modifying the environment she has well founded expectations of modifying the organism too.

Environment.—The second major biological topic of interest to the social worker is environment. On this question particularly the clarification of concepts, the deepening of insight, the broadening of definitions in the biological field, have opened up limit-

less possibilities for a mutual understanding between the biologist and the sociologist. The biologist has still available information of the most far reaching importance which he might well share with the sociologist. The distinctions between adequate and inadequate environment, between effective and non-effective environment, between external and internal environet, have all found some degree of application in the social worker's labors. The distinctions, moreover, between antagonistic and synergistic environmental factors which to the biologist have become almost truisms, are still perhaps rather vaguely defined in the mind of the sociologist, but indications even now are definite and clear that the sociologist too is learning to think in such terms. The further concepts too of the biologist concerning the supplementing of inadequacies in the environment either by modifying the environment itself or by modifying the organism within the deficient environment, while still in the dawn zone for the biologist, hold out increasing promises of help and of contributions beyond value for the sociologist. All these contributions of the biologist. so it seems to me, are progressively supplying viewpoints which the newer sociology, and therefore, the newer social work, cannot afford to ignore, and what is more important, are supplying a progressively firmer basis for the derivation of social work from the abstract principles of sociology itself.

The interplay of the organism and the environment.—Debating societies of scarcely a decade ago were fond of announcing a word contest on the resolution: "Resolved, that nature is more effective than nurture." Today we all know that such a thesis is fortunately antiquated. In our thinking we do not any longer oppose nature and nurture, heredity and environment. In any adequate study of an individual, the interrelationships of those two factors in human development must today be regarded not as antagonists but as synergists, as two equilibrants in a sensitive equilibrium. The principle of the interplay between the organism and its environment has come to mean so much both in biology and in social work that no brief review can ever hope to even indicate the far reaching implications. Even Aristotle realized

that life is adaptation, but it took the centuries between him and the biologist of today to unravel the concept of adaptation, to view every single biological action of the organism as an adaptive process. We have reached the extremely valuable viewpoint that a constantly changing organism is what it is precisely, because of its response to a constantly changing environment. To be sure in such a radical departure from the old static concepts of the organism, the old static concept of the environment also underwent wide amplification. The organism has thus become for us an action system, with a world of physiological implications. Latent periods, fatigue, persistence of effect, summation of stimuli, habit formation, modifiability of behavior, these and countless other details have thus received a deeper significance as manifestation of an organism-environment equilibrium.

And all this the social worker is today prepared to carry over into her field. While she recognizes the difference between merely biological and social reaction in the individual, she also sees clearly that the social reaction is interpretable in terms that have become the mental armamentarium of the biologist, and she, too, has thus learned to throw light upon the meaning of her personal histories, her case studies and her records, to analyze them from a broader viewpoint and to see in her data such significant interrelations as the biological viewpoint alone can adequately disclose.

I would not be understood in all of this as saying that the organism with whom the social worker deals is in all respects comparable to the organism with which the biologist deals, for surely psychology, history, philosophy, economics—all of these and many other sciences—must contribute their offerings to an adequate viewpoint in social work. Despite this fact, however, the biological viewpoint makes possible specific interpretations unattainable, I believe, by the methodology of any of the other sciences upon which social work must lean.

Second, dealing more specifically with man, biology offers to the social worker of today a much more profound understanding of such phenomena as sex, race, health, and disease. Time was when these topics were the battle ground of opinions. Today they are the forum for the exchange of conclusions based upon experimental evidence. The social worker approaches them with a firmer confidence.

Sex.—Sex is no longer a vague phenomenon of human life. Today more than ever we realize its morphological, its physiological, and its psychological implications. The more we probe into this dark mystery the more, it seems to me, do we discover viewpoints of importance to the social worker. The infinitesimal minutiae of detail into which the sex differences extend, the complexity of hormonal control in sex activity, the wide range of individual variation in the sex characters, all these and ever so many other newly discovered facts on the borderline of our ignorance, afford to the well informed social worker endless new starting points for associations which cannot but find an effective reflection in her work and prove of extreme value in the interpretation of social data.

Race.—The concept of race too has come to us through a similar history. At one time the entire problem looked so beautifully simple; today its intricacies are all but forbidding. We can no longer regard it as a question that can be pushed aside by sharp cut classifications and arbitrary definitions. We are despairing of classification largely because we realize today more than ever, on the one hand, the possible modifiability of some racial criteria through environmental individuality, and, on the other hand, the pertinacity of other racial traits under the most violent environmental distorting strains. The social worker has taken over to a large extent and will take over more and more the social implications of this new complexity and of these paradoxes in heredity.

Health and disease.—And again the limitless field of health and disease is overlapping ground, for the two classes of thinkers with whom this paper deals. Here again the viewpoint of the present-day biologist concerning the organism as a strongly individuated, a plastic but still a dynamic entity, has brought about radical modifications of the physician's conclusions. His ideas of

today would be completely unintelligible to the physician of three decades ago. And all of this too the social worker has made her own. Her views of social pathology, of social therapeutics and prophylaxis have gained by contact with the newer biological knowledge.

All knowledge must pass beyond the informational stage before it can be translated into effective programs. Before knowledge can be thus utilized ideas must be transformed by a vivifying light into desirable standards of conduct and desirable standards must be further galvanized into driving forces for personal or group action. It is this stimulation of such action which is the social worker's goal. In all three phases looking towards social betterment—the informational, the inspirational and the dynamic—biology may be of some use to the social worker, but in the first and basic one, surely biology cannot but be considered indispensable. Biology can and does supply the fundamental knowledge upon which the social worker bases her practice. Biology can and does rationalize her optimism in the difficult task of reconstructing human beings. Biology can and does spur her endeavors towards her comprehensive all-mankind-embracing ambition.

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## THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL RELA-TIONS TO SOCIAL WORK

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HE basic thesis upon which this paper proceeds is that the ills ministered to by the social worker generally have their roots in economic causes. This is far from saving that every case of maladjustment, of whatever sort, arises out of insufficient income. It does, however, proceed from the thought that nothing less than the whole social environment is worth considering in any serious attempt to discover the causes of maladjusted personality. And it is intended to suggest that the most important element in the social environment is ordinarily the degree of mastery or lack of it possessed by the individual, or the family of which he is a part, over those aspects of life that are economic in character. However we may stress the broader aspects of social work and the relatively small part that distribution of relief (in our hopes at least) plays in the whole scene, the fact remains that the clients of social agencies are, with insignificant exceptions, persons of low income. And that means, since organized social work is carried on principally in cities, that its clients are mostly of the wage earning class. An appreciation of the wage earner's economic problems becomes, therefore, a matter of prime concern.

No one knows exactly how many wage earners there are in the United States. The census does not classify persons in gainful occupations in such a way as to make possible for all callings a precise division between persons of the rank and file who work for wages and those of the managerial or technical fields who receive a larger income in the form of salaries and who are the captains of industrial enterprise. However, on the basis of available figures, it is reasonable to assume that there are in the United

States at the present time upwards of 30,000,000 persons who work for wages. That the wage earning class should constitute about two-thirds of the whole gainfully occupied population is, of course, a fact of first magnitude in considering the bearing of industrial conditions and relations upon activities and decisions in the field of social work. Accordingly, this paper will attempt to deal with two major sets of facts: first, the economic hazards to which the wage earner is exposed; and second, the forces that may be called upon to aid in rehabilitation and prevention.

Economic hazards.—The first test of economic security is the pay envelope measured against the cost of living. An outstanding fact of recent years is the rise in the purchasing power of wages. Money wages have doubled or trebled since 1913, and its purchasing power, despite the increase in price levels, also shows a substantial gain. This movement is tremendously important and means that American wage earners who are steadily employed are, in general, better off than they ever were before. But it only means that they are relatively better off. Professor Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago, whose exhaustive study Real Wages in the United States was recently published, says that it "requires some \$1,600 to \$1,800 for a family of five to live at a minimum of health and decency in our American cities." This figure corresponds very closely to other estimates. Professor Ogburn's "comfort budget" of 1918 for New York called for an income of \$1,760. The index of the cost of living for New York was practically the same in 1929 as in 1918 so that figure may be taken without change. Dr. Houghteling's study of the standard of living for unskilled laborers in Chicago in 1925 made use of a budget, not including rent, of \$1,548.88. Correcting this for changes in the cost of living in Chicago would give us a figure of \$1,440 for 1929. Adding \$300 for rent, the amount necessary to maintain a minimum standard would become \$1,740.

We may reasonably take \$1,700, therefore, as the minimum income necessary to maintain a bare standard of decency for a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Information Service, Federal Council of Churches, May 3, 1930.

family of five in American cities. Comparing earnings with this figure it becomes evident at once that some wage earners are able to maintain a standard of living far in excess of the one indicated. Locomotive engineers, for example, earn over \$3,000, as do many skilled workers in building construction and other occupations. On the other hand, the average income of all wage earners in the United States in 1927 is put at \$1,205 by the National Bureau of Economic Research.<sup>2</sup>

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes wage figures each month for twelve groups of manufacturing industries. Taking for purposes of comparison the industry in each of the twelve groups with the largest number of employes, the striking fact emerges that in only three out of the twelve was the average as high as \$1,700 in 1929. These were the printing of newspapers, petroleum refining, and the manufacture of automobiles.

The inference to be drawn from this is supported by studies made by the National Industrial Conference Board. In a recent report covering eight industries, it was made clear that in most localities where the study was made, average wages were inadequate to meet the Board's estimate of the cost of living for a family. It is significant, also, that of sixteen industries in New York state employing adult males almost exclusively, exactly half paid less than the average of \$1,700 necessary for a decent living for a family, in the calendar year of 1929.

These figures, which are presented only as illustrative material, throw considerable doubt upon the ability of the average male wage earner to earn enough to support a family at current wages even if steadily employed. But the average wage earner is not steadily employed. The National Bureau of Economic Research reports the average unemployment in the United States during the eight years, 1920 to 1927, to have been 2,319,000. This is an impressively high figure, yet the unemployment of the last six months has been still greater. We are thinking more about unemployment just now than is our wont, partly because

W. I. King, The National Income and Its Purchasing Power, p. 87.

of this year's astonishing amount of it, but also because of what we are learning to call technological unemployment—displacements of labor due to the invention of machinery or the improvement of technique. This has been going on since the beginning of the industrial revolution, but it appears to be operating more generally, over the whole industrial field, than ever before. Its effects are to be noted in the decline in number of employes in certain major industries during recent years at the same time that production was increasing.

Between 1920 and 1927 the output of mines increased 38 per cent with no increase in number of workers. During the same period 8.5 per cent fewer railroad men increased the total railway transportation by 2.5 per cent; 7 per cent fewer farm workers did 18 per cent more work, and 9 per cent fewer factory workers produced 30.5 per cent more goods. Altogether in agriculture, manufacturing, and railway transportation, there was a decline of about two million workers during this period.

It is contended by some that these displaced workers have all been re-absorbed in other occupations, such as in salesmanship, or in occupations accessory to automobile manufacturing, or in entertainment, or personal service. This point cannot be satisfactorily established by available data. Such studies as have been made indicate that displaced workers, even in periods of economic activity have great difficulty in finding new jobs.<sup>4</sup>

Sickness is a regular cause of work interruption. It is estimated that the average wage earner loses eight or nine days annually from this cause. Twenty thousand wage earners are killed at their work every year. More than 100,000 receive injuries causing permanent disability, ranging from a minor handicap to total inability to work. Nearly a million workers, every year, are temporarily disabled for a period of one to four weeks and another

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Report, Secretary of Commerce, 1928, p. xxx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See, for example, The Absorption of the Unemployed by American Industry, Brookings Institution, "Pamphlet Series," Vol. I, No. 3 (July, 1929) summarized by Isadore Lubin in Survey Graphic, April, 1929, p. 11. See also Myers, "Occupational Readjustment of Displaced Skilled Workmen," Journal of Political Economy, August, 1929.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Commons and Andrews, Principles of Labor Legislation (1927 ed.), p. 465.

half million lose four weeks or more. The total wage loss on account of industrial accidents is generally assumed to be in the

neighborhood of \$1,000,000,000 annually.6

In a recent publication of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics the occupational mortality experience of the Industrial Department of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is set forth by Louis I. Dublin and Robert J. Vane, Jr. The report indicates that the death rate of male industrial policy holders during the age periods when they are actively at work, is consistently greater than that for three other groups-males generally in the registration states, non-industrial male policy holders, and female policy holders in the industrial group, most of whom are not wage earners. In terms of life expectancy the industrial worker is under a definite handicap. At age 20 his life expectance is 7 years less than that of a 20 year old worker in other fields. This handicap continues at each succeeding age period. At 30 the difference is 6.6 years; at 40 it is 5.5 years; at 50, 4.2 years; at 60 it is 2.6, and at 70, 1.3 years. Commenting on these facts the authors say:

The above comparisons . . . . reveal the influence of industrial environment on mortality rates and life expectation. The difference in the mortality rates for these groups gives a rough measure of the tax which industrial work exacts, and reflects the hazards to which workers are exposed. Other items obviously account for a part of the disparity in these figures. Heredity and innate differences play some part in the end result. But probably the most important factors are the conditions incidental to industrial employment, including deleterious dusts, excessive fatigue, bad posture, crowded work rooms, dampness, extreme changes in temperature, and sometimes specific occupational poisoning to which industrial workers are so frequently exposed.<sup>8</sup>

Thus it is evident that economic insecurity is a major characteristic of modern industrial life. There is no certainty that the wage earner will earn enough to support a normal family even when steadily employed. When the hazards of unemployment, illness, and accident are taken into account uncertainty in many cases becomes certainty. But if this be true about earnings for current needs, saving for old age, in the case of the average wage

<sup>&</sup>quot; U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, November, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bulletin No. 507, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, February, 1930. <sup>8</sup> Pp. 7-8.

earner, becomes an impossibility. Careful investigation in limited areas indicates that in the United States as a whole there may be over 1,600,000 aged dependents. This is about a quarter of the total population 65 years of age and over.

Here, then, we have the economic conditions that make for dependency. What will the social worker do with them? Relief, except in emergencies, has long been abandoned as a major tool and rehabilitation and prevention have come to be its major objectives.

Forces of rehabilitation and prevention.—It is of the essence of the situation that social workers do not accomplish their tasks unaided. Even at the lowest level, that of the distribution of relief, it is the money of other people that is distributed. When it comes to rehabilitation and still more to prevention we need to take stock of our resources and discover who are our allies. Who are they in this task of discovering economic stability for the wage earner? I suggest that in general there are three—the employer, the worker himself, and the state.

I mention the employer as a potential ally not because he may be presumed to have money. In this respect he is no different from many people who are not employers. I am referring here to the employer in the performance of his function as employer. Equally am I far from suggesting that any employer may be cast for this rôle. On the contrary, many an employer by his very activities and policies constitutes in himself the major problem of the community. Rather I am thinking of the employer at his best. Such an employer's acquisitiveness is tempered by intelligence, knowledge, and good will. Such an employer regards the organization and development of personnel within his plant as a matter worthy of the best thinking of which his organization is capable. He endeavors through selection and training to obtain the best possible working force. He recognizes that if he is either to keep such a force or to avail himself of its potential efficiency he must provide them with working surroundings that are as attractive as possible, in which the safety and health

U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, April, 1930, p. 13.

of the employed are conserved. He pays as high a wage as the industry can reasonably afford and thus attracts and keeps a higher grade of worker. He gives serious thought to the matter of the length of the working day and week, and here, as elsewhere, is a leader rather than a laggard following reluctantly in

the rear of the procession.

Moreover, he will have regard for the economic problems of his employes that arise out of interruptions in working time. Both because it has a distinct bearing on their well being and his ability to attract the best type of worker, and because it is a policy that is of tremendous business importance, turning losses into profits, he will attempt by every means in his power to regularize his industry and offer employment twelve months in the year. Because he may fail in achieving 100 per cent performance in this respect and because there are individual causes of interruption in earning power such as accidents and illness, he will give careful thought to the matter of compensation to workers temporarily deprived of an opportunity to earn.

Finally, he will treat his employes with consideration at every point. He will not assume that they are unable to assist him in arriving at sound personnel policies; rather he will recognize that no one but the employe himself has an intimate and first hand knowledge of the ultimate effect, in terms of living, of the policies that are worked out in the shop. Consequently, there will be some form of collective bargaining, with mutual respect between employer and employe and mutual recognition of rights.

Where such conditions prevail the employer, whether consciously or not, is an ally of the social worker. They constitute a first-class start toward the elimination of economic insecurity. Good wages and stable working conditions offer a sound contribution toward the maintenance of health and the development of sound social relationships. Moreover, such an enterprise is a center for experimentation for the purpose of discovering ways of developing a sound economic basis for work relationships and,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Cf. paper by Percy Brown, president of the Taylor Society, "Progress in Regularizing Employment," 53rd annual meeting, National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1926, p. 352.

at the same time, a demonstration of the value of business policies that take into account the welfare of the workers. An understanding of these policies and their effect should be a part of the equipment of every social worker in an industrial community.

In considering the employe as an ally of social work, we must necessarily take stock of those who are members of organizations of labor. The unorganized as a group represent a passive or inarticulate force. Individuals among them are good citizens or bad, conformists or non-conformists, they are constructive or destructive, but taken as a whole the unorganized mass is unable to

register a group opinion or take collective action.

The organized will have to be considered as falling into two groups. Just as is the case with the employer there is an element in organized labor that is dominated by greed and ignorance. A different story is told, however, when we turn to trade unionism in other and larger aspects. On the purely economic side trade unionism means higher wages. This makes possible a higher standard of living which is a bulwark against ill health. It suggests the possibility of the building up of reserves sufficient to meet at least a part of the loss of income due to work interruptions. A notable contribution has already been made by certain unions toward the development of insurance schemes for the purpose of tiding the worker over periods of unemployment, the fund being provided by joint action of employers and unions. A part of the union program is the movement for the shorter work day. This is not only a movement in the direction of health conservation; it is a contribution to social and cultural advance of no small significance; and it has additional justification when offered as a remedy for unemployment in an age dominated by technological change. Health programs have been set up by unions in certain areas, and increasingly the union movement is concerning itself with the promotion of educational activities among its members.

These are some of the specific fields in which trade unionism is making its contribution toward the economic stability of the wage earner. But there is another and more general sense in which trade unionism affects its members and by which it makes a contribution toward social values. The union provides a forum for individual self-expression. It develops powers of initiative and a sense of responsibility. At the same time, through collective bargaining, it lifts the individual out of the relative insignificance of the job and makes him a factor in the making of decisions about the conduct of industry. Thus it tends to create that sense of dignity and personal worth which is one of the essentials to good citizenship and the good life.

Trade unionism, in its larger and better aspects—one might say in its normal aspects—is a powerful and valuable social force. Its major purposes have to do with elements that are essential to the upbuilding and maintenance of family life. It develops initiative and self-reliance, enhances self-respect, and contributes to the beauty and dignity of life. As such it is an ally to be

courted by the social worker.

The third ally of the social worker is the state. Space will permit reference here to but one field of activity. A most impressive example is legislation providing compensation for industrial accidents. Twenty years ago not a single state possessed legislation of this character. Now only four remain that have not turned from the limited and unsatisfactory operation of the common law of employers' liability to the more humane and reasonable compensation laws which guarantee financial relief in the case of industrial accident. What has been accomplished in this field may be indicated by a comparison of conditions existing under the old régime with that of the present. In 1907, Crystal Eastman made her well known study of industrial accidents for the Pittsburgh Survey. She found out how much compensation was paid on account of the death of 319 men with families or other dependents, who were killed at their work in twelve months in 1906 and 1907. In 28 per cent of the cases the dependents received no financial compensation. One hundred dollars or less was paid in 35 per cent of the cases, and from \$100 to \$500 in 19 per cent. The first 82 per cent of the families therefore received nothing at all or funeral expenses. Similar findings resulted from the

studies of the New York Employers' Liability Commission of 1909. In 181 cases of fatal industrial accidents to married men in 1907 and 1908 in New York and Erie counties, there was no compensation in 31 per cent of the cases, and in 35 per cent, \$500 or less was paid. In effect, therefore, there was no compensation in two-thirds of the cases. Now, under the workmen's compensation law, the present worth of awards made in death cases in New York, arising from industrial accident, is in excess of \$6,000.

We have made no similar progress in the field of insurance against sickness or unemployment. But we are slowly developing a policy of old age pensions, twelve states now having legislation of this sort on their statute books. In view of the tremendous contribution to economic security that has been made through the medium of workmen's compensation, it seems reasonable to assume that we shall, in the future, make increasing use of a similar tool in dealing with the other problems arising out of the hazards to which the wage earner is exposed.

We began with the fundamental thesis that the social worker is dealing with problems essentially economic in their nature. It is believed that the evidence presented not only tends to support that thesis, but that it emphasizes the fact that when remedial measures are proposed they too must be economic in character. A logical inference would seem to be that training for social work should be built upon a sound and thorough preparation in economic science. This means not only a study of the general principles of economic theory, but a consideration of the practical incidence of economic motive in the conduct of industrial enterprise and the relations between employer and employed. Such studies, regarded as preliminary to, or a background for, the acquiring of social work technique, will go far toward creating an understanding attitude with respect to some of the major problems encountered by the practicing social worker. With the mind of the worker thus attuned to the economic implications of the job, the meaning of technique is enlarged and social work becomes increasingly a major constructive force in social advance.

## THE PLACE OF FIELD WORK IN TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK: ITS EDUCATIONAL CONTENT

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O DISCUSS the educational content of field work without first delimiting the part which field work should play in the training of a social worker would be difficult,

if not impossible.

The field work part of the training process, in turn, leads back to the objectives of training for social work. Lee and Kenworthy have enumerated three: first, "to familiarize the students with the subject matter of the field of social work . . . ; second, to stimulate the thinking of students in regard to purpose, goals, meanings . . . , in general, the philosophy of the field; third, to develop in students facility and precision in the application of knowledge and philosophy to practical situations." Obviously, the last named objective of social work training is the one with which field work is primarily concerned. These authors have defined, in addition, the function of psychiatric field work, thus:

(a) To provide an opportunity for the development of skill through practice in the use of its several ingredients: knowledge, philosophy, and technique; (b) To develop in students the ability to discern in actual situations and in human beings, facts and concepts with which they have become intellectually familiar through study; (c) To provide the test of practicality for theories and methods with which students have become familiar through study.

Is not this statement of the function of psychiatric field work equally true for any kind of field work? Moreover, is not "the final test of capacity in practice" in all field work, the test which is cited by these authors as being for psychiatric field work only, namely creative imagination?

If the function of field work is threefold, how may we determine its educational content? Are there any criteria for evaluat-

ing a particular assignment? The process utilized in an effort to answer these questions was somewhat in the nature of an exploratory operation and the real task is not completed. More time and more resources must be available for the latter and it will probably require the aid of many workers; meanwhile the results of this brief study may possibly be accepted as a step in diagnosis. Practical considerations of lack of time and funds, narrowed the scope of the inquiry to a study of the notes written by fifty students at the University of Minnesota during the month of February. That particular month represented the middle point in the winter term and also the middle point in the year's work. Although the majority were first quarter students, there were enough second quarter and advanced students to raise questions as to the validity of this method of determining educational content.

Summarizing the social problems in the assignments given to this group of students they include most of the ordinary human ills; various forms of illness, both physical and mental, including defects and the sequelae of industrial accidents. There were other problems centering around family disorganization with such complications as inebriety, illegitimacy, forced marriage, and adult delinquency. The assignments for first quarter students were chiefly sources with a special preference for records of other agencies, documentary sources, schools, and employers. There were a few contacts with clients, some letters and some case analyses. (One explanation of the general character of these assignments is that the average undergraduate doing elementary field work is immature, and therefore the method of training differs from that used for graduate students in a professional school.)

The notes written by students for the case records were fairly objective material. Information from sources gave some information as to the problems involved in a specific case but did not tell the whole story. In a similar manner, a treatment interview with a client may or may not touch on all the problems. Consequently, the notes of the students were in themselves inadequate

to determine educational content. In studying these notes, another puzzling question arose as to the difference between the educational content of field work and the value to the student of a particular assignment. Is the educational content measured in terms of what the student actually learns, or what the supervisor hoped the student would learn? Undoubtedly, two different students may derive from the same assignment different values and the same student may get more of a specific task at one period in her development than she would at another.

Because the students' notes did not indicate the value to the student of the different tasks, another source of information was sought. At the University of Minnesota the students prepare monthly reports for the university supervisor. For each case record which has been read, the student must state the problems, list her assignments, and indicate the next step. The student's suggestions as to the next step indicates her grasp of the problem as a whole but she may have derived some value from one of her assignments without an entire grasp of the problem. An assignment may elicit a response which would not be indicated in this monthly report of the case records which have been studied.

On these monthly reports there is a question as to what interested the student most during the month. The answers to this question included comments on unemployment, on the need for vocational training for dull normal children, on the district conference, and many others. One student felt guilty about securing information in a first interview, several were especially disturbed by the treatment of clients applying for public outdoor relief and one enjoyed "investigation where the clue was slight." Such comments are some indication of the students' development but they do not define with sufficient accuracy the relationship between content and value.

The material which was consulted next was the record kept by the university supervisor of her interviews with the student and also the interviews with the agency supervisor regarding that particular student. These interviews individualized the students but did not indicate why a particular assignment had been given to the student at that stage in her development. The omission of such data suggests that a record showing why the assignments were made would be helpful. Such a suggestion, however, means more work for the agency supervisor and is perhaps not feasible except in a training district.

The value of a training district was quite evident in the notes and the monthly reports of this group of students. For two years the public health nurses in Minneapolis have been segregated in one district in an attempt to give them, in the brief time allowed for field work, a clearer conception of case work and the relation between this field and public health. The results were so satisfactory that this year the Minneapolis Family Welfare Association arranged to have twelve training course students placed under a supervisor whose primary responsibility was the students. The development of these twelve as compared with the other first quarter students appears to have been more rapid and more intensive.

Since the students' notes and monthly reports were inadequate in determining educational content, another source was utilized. The students who were also taking the classroom course in case work at the same time had been asked to keep diaries for that course. These diaries included all the experiences in the daily lives of the students which pertained to social work. Many of the students were taking the group work courses simultaneously and the diaries indicated the degree of integration which had taken place in the students' minds. The case work students in the training district especially, showed that they had gained a rather satisfactory grasp of the whole field of social work. One student wrote: "I just go around with new eyes since I've taken field work. People are all interesting. I wonder what they are doing and what are their purposes and difficulties." On another day she writes: "even barbers have techniques! They prepare you for further interviews," and then she made an application of the class discussion on techniques of interviewing to the barbers' methods. The same student was interested in the campus Big Sister work and wrote: "It's hard to annex a backbone to someone after they've matured but I'd love to be a skillful surgeon and give her a couple of strong vertebrae."

The diaries contained some clippings and the students' comments on these social problems which they had recognized in their reading indicated a quickened social perception (or apperception) but the diaries did not show how much awakening of their social consciousness had come from class discussion, how much from reading, and how much from field work experience.

The final source was the reports of the supervisors of University of Minnesota students who have been discussing in small subcommittees the following questions: the coordination of case work theory and case work training; training practices for first quarter students; training practices for second quarter students;

training practices in specialized fields.

As a result of the deliberations of the first subcommittee, an experiment was tried in the correlation of field work assignments. In two districts the students were given, during the first month, the same type of interview as that which was being discussed in class. The two supervisors reported that in order to do this it was necessary to use a larger number of records which has been found to be confusing for beginning students and in addition, a congestion of students developed in the use of certain types of sources such as documentary and other agency records. Such a close correlation of the assignments in the two courses did not seem to be of enough greater value to the student to counteract the difficulties involved. As a result of this experiment and a discussion of its results, another experiment is now being tried. The classroom course in case work has been made a prerequisite to all field work in the case work field. Insufficient time has elapsed as yet, to judge the results of this plan. The supervisors' approach to the study of educational content of field work was along the following line and I believe such an approach is characteristic of other schools of social work: What do we expect students to know and be able to do at the end of the first quarter (after sixty hours of field work)? At the end of the second quarter, and so forth? Such limits constitute both a knowledge and a performance test. What are these intellectual hurdles which the student must pass? Do they consist of types of problems or types of experience or do they form a more general unified conception of the practical application of the philosophy of social work? The subcommittees found a wholesome difference of opinion on these points especially as to method. The question whether to teach investigation and treatment as separate processes or simul-

taneously was especially provocative of discussion.

As a result of studying this material from different sources which, nevertheless, all pertain to the educational content of field work, it would seem that rather extended research is needed. Some sort of a rating scale might be devised and tried out by students and supervisors in several different schools of social work. The scale should be applied to all the field work assignments given to each individual student for the entire two year period of training. There would be a concise statement of each assignment, followed by a statement from the agency supervisor as to why that particular assignment was given to that student at that time. The student's comments as to the value derived should follow. This statement would need to be compared with the goal which the agency supervisor had in mind for the student. In other words, did the student obtain from this assignment what the supervisor hoped she would gain and if not, has the supervisor any explanation to offer? At this point the supervisor in the school may be able to determine the cause of success or failure.

There is still the danger of subjective judgments both on the part of the student and of the supervisors and some means would need to be devised to make the results as objective as possible. Perhaps the idea of diaries can be utilized, especially since they are associated with the classroom course in case work which is usually taught by a different staff member than the field work supervisor.

The narrow scope of this discussion precludes the possibility of generalizations that would apply over the whole field of social work. It is based chiefly on a study of the performance of a small

group of students, mostly elementary ones, in just one training school. An adequate study of the subject must include many more students, both in case work and group work, over a longer period of time and must cover the same student's work in several agencies. The introduction of so many variables will make the task most complicated but not too complicated for our present research methods.

The discussion has also omitted all reference to apprenticeship training. Possibly this subject may offer an opportunity to determine the relative merits of the two methods of training. The training school, especially one which is an integral part of a university, is under a very wholesome pressure to make the content of field work measure up to the content of classroom and laboratory courses. Field work must train the student in accuracy, critical ability and reasoning powers in the same way in which laboratory work in the natural sciences trains the student. The task of the university supervisor who is removed from the pressures of a social agency is to help the student integrate his field work experience with the rest of his training. The challenge to the graduate training schools is to make their graduates of so much more practical value to agencies that communities will be willing to compensate them in proportion to their training.

## SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY

## THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY IN SOCIAL WORK

Leon Whipple, Associate Editor, "The Survey," New York City

THE title of this address is grandiose: it promises more than I can ever deliver. I am not a philosopher; I am not a social worker; I am still in a questioning mood about publicity; and as for bases, I have not even gotten to first! But I do know the two short cuts to being a philosopher. First, you can preserve a vast impenetrable silence; and second, you can ask questions. Now, this Conference is the last place in the world where one can retire into the silences, therefore, I shall imitate Socrates, and ask questions. The first two are very necessary: What is social work today? What is educational publicity in social work?

To a layman, social work is roughly the organized effort of private benevolence or public states to better the physical and social conditions of individuals, and to improve the environment to this end. I add two axioms that I need for my thesis: first, social work is based on knowledge—it is founded in the physical, the psychological, and the social sciences; second, it is philanthropic and unselfish. These facts distinguish our educational publicity from much commercial publicity and propaganda.

Social publicity is education, mostly adult education, by the techniques of group communication, speech, print and pictures, exhibits, radio, cinema, et cetera. If you will view publicity as education by group methods, you will be able to understand and defend our work. For surely from 50 to 90 per cent of social work is education. And publicity is a remarkably cheap, quick, and efficient method for certain forms of education. It can change

men's minds and their habits; it can help train people to use or support social services. It has a clear cut and inescapable goal—to get its message read or heard, then comprehended in a personal way, and acted upon. If it does not do these three things, then it is a failure no matter how brilliant the form or widespread its circulation.

Publicity is sometimes called salesmanship. We are to "sell" our institution or message. That may be useful slang, but I am so fearful of association with selfish interests that I assert we are not salesmen, but educators; we have nothing to sell—we give. We want no pay save better human life. And we cannot use all the devices of commerce because they risk losing the very values we desire to conserve. Social workers must indeed do what may be called personal salesmanship: get people to give money; persuade clients to use your service. That is right—and publicity cannot replace this arduous labor, though it can build up the prestige and message of the organization so the case work on givers or clients is more effective. But publicity is no universal panacea, and its function is limited by its use of group techniques.

How then shall we go about this dangerous task of changing men's minds and habits? Social philosophers describe three ways:

First, give the people the facts. State both sides, the proposals, data, indorsements, and remedies. Let them choose their action—if any. This is the new doctrine for the newspapers. They are to have no function to lead or direct, only to inform. That is a fine ideal, but I do not believe it will work. The people have not the time, interest, or capacity for wise and informed choice. Therefore, second, openly espouse one view as wise and right, and persuade the people by interpretation, logic, appeals, and evidence to accept this view and act thereon. Educate them by reason and emotion and try to make permanent converts. This implies we have first convinced ourselves that our doctrine is right and sound for we need courage and certain unselfishness to enter the public forum. This to me is the best way. But it is slow and difficult (as all education is) and so we hear the modern ideal.

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able for them, or for you) and by your mastery of psychology, the appeals, fears, habits of masses, impress your message on them so they do what you want, without knowing why or even that they are coerced. Condition them unawares. This may be called the "hypnosis technique." It may be dressed up with rationalizations, but at bottom it is an appeal to instincts. The advertisers and public relations counsellors use this method to a large extent. Social workers have to a certain degree yielded to its fascinations. It does "sell" things. But does it educate?

The publicity man advances this justification. Modern life is complex and offers thousands of choices. No plain man is expert enough or has he the time and ability to decide among the competing claims. Therefore interested persons step in to choose for the public and teach it to obey that impulse. The choice may be good or bad, and the motive simply money; sometimes enlightened selfishness, and competition may and do produce admirable results, but surely such an invisible control over herd minds has plain dangers. Commerce sets up a philosophy that I judge is at least debatable—it is a good thing to save time, money, to be comfortable, amused, to have prestige, to be in style or beautiful. Then it is right to set up associations in the public mind that sell the things that save time, money, lend prestige, or secure beauty. This is behaviorism, and John B. Watson fittingly gains success in an advertising agency.

Social work finds itself in what seems a like situation. We have axioms: it is good to be healthy, to prevent delinquency, to preserve families, to better industrial conditions, to provide care for the child or the aged. Shall we not take the short cut of the hypnosis techniques? Shall we do the useful task of interesting young girls in the regimen to avoid tuberculosis by a pamphlet that shows how health endows one with "it"—sex charm and personality? I don't know. I am not critical but interrogative. I sometimes think it would be a good plan to have a sort of psychological clearing house for our publicity. Submit that pamphlet, its pictures and appeals, to the child guidance folks or the juvenile courts. Does this device, in the long run, save society time

and money? In one campaign for the use of toxin-antitoxin against diphtheria, a high church dignitary wrote a pastoral letter urging action on his church members. It helped and I think can be justified. But was it education for health, or the appeal to an emotional tradition?

The old quarrel in our own ranks over sob-stuff—the use of emotional appeals and human interest case stories, is in our mind. Charles C. Stillman, in his book on Social Work Publicity, made an eloquent statement on the need for careful and intelligent use of the emotional forms. They get immediate measurable results, but: Are the effects lasting? Are they always what you expect or desire? Do they leave the public callous and in need of a stronger stimulus next time? Do they create permanent habits or implant the reasoned knowledge that finally result not in a sporadic conversion to health, say, but lifelong obedience to its principles? Can you get an annual health examination or annual gifts on this principle? I believe in emotions and I am skeptical as to the amount of reasoned willing any of us do, but I think education demands the judicious mixture of reason and emotion.

The trouble is you never quite know how your hypnosis by association will work. You know what halitosis is—the ads taught you. Listerine cures halitosis—the ads say so. Now in a Lavoris advertisement you catch this innuendo: "You need never be ashamed of having a guest see Lavoris in your bathroom." Listerine labels you as a halitosian—the association is iron-and ironical. All this has nothing to do with the germicidal potency or benefits of a mouth wash. The notion that commercial publicity makes wise choice possible to the lazy-minded has been disproved by the Armageddon of the cigarette folks versus the sugar people. Shall we smoke a Lucky or reach for a sweet? I hope that cancer and tuberculosis, old age pensions or child labor, will never get to squabbling among themselves for possession of the public's nerve channels. We must defend ourselves by altruism, fellowship in service, and an eternal devotion to the truth.

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learned the risk of implanting fears and inferiority complexes, especially in health work. We no longer think it pays to scare a man into the doctor's office. The "fear appeal" may make hypochondriacs, preyed upon by imaginary tortures. The slogan is a wonderful tool—but two-edged. What are slogans but the reiterated commands of the hypnotist? That eleventh commandment "Safety First" has certainly helped to reduce the useless deaths of the nation. But surely none of us would declare this to be the true battle cry of the race. Suppose people really acted on that appeal! Progress, adventure, discovery, heroism—where would they be in such a program? We must take a chance. Life is not so valuable that it is to be preserved like pressed flowers under glass. What profit it a man to save his life and lose his soul? Hearken to Robert Louis Stevenson's defiant words in Aes Triplex:

If we clung as devotedly as some philosophers pretend we do to the abstract idea of life, or were half as frightened as they make out we are of the subversive accident that ends it all, the trumpets might sound by the hour and no one follow them into battle, the blue peter might fly at the truck, but who would climb into the sea-going ship? What woman would ever be lured into marriage, so much more dangerous than the wildest sea? So soon as prudence has begun to grow up in the brain, like a dismal fungus, it finds its expression first in a paralysis of generous acts. . . . And even if death catch people like an open pit-fall and in mid-career, laying out vast projects and planning monstrous foundations, flushed with hope and their mouths full of boastful language and they should be at once tripped up and silenced: is there not something brave and spirited in such a termination? And does not life go down with a better grace, foaming in full body over a precipice, than miserably struggling to an end in sandy deltas?

Slogans are useful: they put the message into men's heads who will not pause to read more. Let us use their emotions as a dynamo to get action—but give them the reasons, too! Otherwise we betray the social work ideal by coercing and belittling personality. In the long view we must respect personality, and develop the kind of people that can make choices. We never can join in the doctrine of mass hypnosis by Machiavellian appeals, based on our secret knowledge of the springs of conduct. That way lies regimentation, vicious paternalism, and corruption even to those who assume this Godlike prerogative. The responsi-

bilities are indeed Godlike. I would leave you to ponder upon these questions: Who am I to make these people do what I choose? What right have I to mold their lives? Do I know that

this message is the truth?

Now I do not want to nurture in you any inferiority complex. Man has to live according to his best light; he advances by his mistakes. But we cannot risk teaching the masses to make mistakes, and publicity can do that for the printing press and radio multiply our words a million fold. As guides we must be humble, pure in heart, and dead certain of our facts. Here we part company with much commercial publicity wherein the message often yields to the desire to sell the goods or service. But our message must be as true as we can make it, and never sacrificed for popular appeal or speed. We are fortunately based on science (as I said); we test and re-test our prescriptions; we have the conservatism and disinterestedness of the laboratory man. Let us reverence this part of our task—the message must be right, first and last.

The nature of this message has changed somewhat lately as social work has changed. Our task is more difficult as we have partly conquered the obvious and material challenges to humanitarian instincts and gone on toward the great adventure of creating better life—to social statecraft. Our course has been: remedial charity, then prevention, now creation of life values . . . poor relief, health education, recreation. But it is easier to get coals and red flannels for recognized needy than to excite people over an annual health examination; and both are easier than to interest them in character problems, domestic relations,

and the uses of psychiatry.

This change from negative to positive must be interpreted to both givers and clients. The public relations angle is this: The cold or hungry man hunted you up and took food and coal in common sense confidence (and benevolence provided them) because they met clear universal needs. The public relations were simple: to secure the coals, to prevent pauperization, perhaps to forestall loss of self-respect and independence. Likewise when a man is sick, he will look around for a cure. Now you need

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publicity to let him know what to do, where the clinic is, and to overcome certain fears and suspicious. Certain Negro families refused to send their children for diphtheria toxin-antitoxin; investigation discovered that their fathers recalled their fears from inoculation in the army. People haven't the natural confidence in X-rays and gland therapy, even in sunshine and sleep, that they have in bread and coals. We must educate them, even to trust doctors who tell them that they need plenty of rest and sunshine when they work ten hours a day in the steel mills. You see how many new factors there are inside the brain? Yet some social workers are likely to neglect this sort of education and say people are just fools.

The next step is even more intricate with intangibles. The well mother is asked to send the well child to get toxin-antitoxin. The child has no diphtheria; none exists in the neighborhood; but for the child's good and the community's we want insurance against the future. That demands persuasion, maybe even hypnosis. You have to inoculate people with an idea before you can inoculate them with a serum. So when you look to the future and base action on intangibles, the burden of interpretation is heavier. And sterner too the demand that you know your message is true.

Finally you ask people to take the modern view, and offer play as a possible cure for future delinquency; urge that children need instruction in sex; or that they need a chance to develop personality in homes, not institutions. You are now dealing entirely with intangibles and the future, the things that make a good life and society, not the cures for present sickness or even protection against future material evils. All sorts of psychological matters now enter—inertia, prejudices, ignorance, traditions, economic interests. To solve these problems demands what I think of as the statesmanship of public relations. As I have addressed various kinds of social groups, I have been struck with their preoccupation with the techniques of publicity and their apparent indifference to the large aspects of public relations. They are proud of their clever stunts and their "inches" of clippings in scrap books; they recognize in publicity a helpful tool for the

solution of urgent problems, to get a task done, to meet a budget. This is natural. But it seems to me somewhere (probably in a Foundation) some deeper study of public relations, of this adult education, should be going on.

We studied, with some profit, the techniques of commercial publicity, and learned something of how to inform and move the public mind. Have we learned what to inform them on and where to move them to? Have we studied or imitated the larger processes and attitudes of the counselors on public relations? I think we have something important still to learn from these shrewd gentlemen: their planning, their generalship, their introspection, and self-control. They think in big terms and far ahead. They sense changes in the needs and styles of public opinion; they know the human race, even if they exploit it, and, as you all recognize, that race is our only raw material, our problem and our despair. They study the institution they represent, its message, and all possible effects before they give anything out, using print, not recklessly but after long pondering. They reconcile their clients with the public—and make the client clean house if need be. Do we? Have we a voice in the policy making of our institutions? Hitherto we have not had time to plan; there was always an emergency or a need; but, with the new ideas of our task, we must take stock. We must ponder our public relations.

Take a case: we are increasingly interested in getting domestic relations straightened out for they are often basic to ill health, economic troubles, delinquency, and a train of evils you all know. Psychiatric techniques are more and more part of the equipment of the case worker. But what does the public know of this? And is the public interested? How are you going to get funds for the support of such non-material aid? I sense a new problem in getting rich men, the public, or the taxpayers to contribute for social service that deals with domestic maladjustment and mental anguish. Of course it pays even in dollars in the long run, but I fear the plain people may say: "Let the church attend to that," or "Let them settle their own troubles and behave themselves

like I do. Why should I worry? I have troubles enough of my own." Look at the common, and natural, attitude toward the criminal. "Let him suffer. He deserves all he gets." In health we could appeal on the grounds that unless the community prevented sickness, it lost money and might contract like diseases. But it will take some education to show the community its stake in domestic relations.

Two dangers also suggest themselves. We may oversell ourselves. We may promise too much. I sometimes think it must take a deal of courage to plunge into a home to settle the complex difficulties of family relations. I find my own hard enough; and to give advice to my friends requires great temerity. Experience, the outside view, and sound psychological knowledge certainly can do much. But I am sure the scientific psychoanalysts wish many of their disciples were at the bottom of the sea. The popularizers have excited the public and given them a lot of scrappy ideas that it will take years to cancel. Domestic relations cure-alls should be treated as we do cancer cures. We need to walk charily. Second, we may be accused of pauperizing people's spirits as once we were accused of pauperizing their bodies. We may make them dependent on outside strength when their sole salvation is within themselves. The new Lady Bountiful may appear among us—this time getting a "kick" not out of bestowing coals and red flannels, but out of being Miss Fixit to our family discords. Here surely are problems in public relations.

But let us descend from such rare heights—to plain money. Philosophers (I am told) are indifferent to money: in the Socrates home it was Xantippe who made the budget. But we cannot be thus indifferent—not while boards of directors are what they are! They ask embarrassing questions, righteously, but often in ignorance. But the time has come when we must study the economics of publicity. I hear these questions: Does publicity pay? What should our publicity cost? What per cent of the budget should go for publicity? How much should the publicity director get? Can you define the right ratio between publicity costs and

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I cannot answer those questions, but they are worth answering. They need study. We are too vague on these matters. This vagueness is part indifference, and part inherent in the work. Like all education ours is extremely hard to measure: again we face intangibles. When you change men's minds, how much did

it cost per capita? was it worth the price?

Certainly it is ridiculously easy to waste money on publicity—to do it inefficiently, or efficiently at a higher cost than other organizations pay for like results. I know hundreds of executives must wish to the Lord they had a yardstick for publicity and could decide what is a fair salary and expense item. I think the commercial publicity folks sometimes get away with murder. But their clients can stand the loss. All publicity workers are inclined to make a mumbo-jumbo out of their work and sidestep any accounting on the ground that the results are too intangible. They certainly work hard; they often produce a showy job. But all this is dead loss unless finally they get the message read, accepted, and acted upon. To determine when that has happened requires clairvoyance.

Therefore you cannot get in a certified accountant with his adding machine to appraise your publicity. There is too much of real intangibles, good will, and deferred profits. Please note: Publicity is cumulative; you get more results the longer you go. They may be deferred, and so a man does in 1933 what you preached in 1930. The consequences are indirect, with no check or double check—no coupon is returned, no sales enquiry identified. The man simply goes to his private physician for a health examination. How much of the result is due to the publicity and how much to other factors are hard to determine. The doctors must be given some credit for health education. Publicity costs vary with different places. Some fields show higher costs than others. I judge you will get more immediate results with a health or childhood appeal than with such remote appeals as conservation, mental hygiene, or race betterment. The costs depend on the audience in view and the kind of message. Against some social changes there rears a solid wall of ignorance, indifference, or

prejudice that must be nibbled at for years. The folk-ways must be changed. I think of sex hygiene and eugenics. How hard it is to move the public along this line, when it begins by feeling that sex is a private matter, or a religious matter, and when the results are measured only by generations.

One credit item is that we get a lot of our publicity free from institutions that the community has established—the press, the radio, the school, the church, et al. Our unselfish social purpose gives us the right of entry here where commercial enterprises must pay. We should never neglect these avenues or abuse them or remain ignorant of their duty to us, their own difficulties, and their limitations. Understand them, cooperate with them, even on occasion criticize and educate them. We need more such efforts as the Medical Information Service set up by the Academy of Medicine in New York City, the purpose of which is to provide the press with sound facts and interpretation of medical news. There should be similar bureaus to interpret social service work and developments. Along the line of economics I recently heard this criticism: "You social workers promise to save the next generation, prevent disease, cut down taxes and the burdens on society. Yet each year you come out with larger demands for a heavier budget. Are your claims unwarranted?" Now we can answer that with wise publicity, an explanation of the new duties undertaken, the increased costs of services, and the new range of people we try to help.

The problem of using paid advertising is still debatable. But there appears to be some increase in this use. The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in New York City is employing small ads for appeals. One of the semi-public venereal disease clinics is about to launch a campaign of page ads. Certain organizations tried to counteract the effects of the business slump last fall by setting forth the increased needs. The Life Extension Institute and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company have for some years been using paid space for education on health lines. The question is of course how to justify such expenditures of money given for relief. This again sets a problem for publici-

ty. The first ad might be one explaining why you are using ads at all. One fact is noteworthy: commercial advertisers have trained the people to read ads and to apprehend messages given in display form, with pictures and slogans. It may be that people best apprehend messages thus even though they lack the authority of text presentation. So if the advertising format is effective

we can justify our use.

On this problem of costs I suggest we make a beginning by doing certain things: First, try to find what our publicity costs are. Segregate the items you can identify and do a little budgeting. This Division could well draw up a sort of model cost sheet: with items such as printing, postage, file building, letters, salaries, overhead, et cetera. I dare say nobody knows these costs now. Second, compare, among ourselves and confidentially if need be, the costs now for similar kinds of work. It would take courage but the data would be invaluable. Third, devise some concrete tests for results. We may be able to discover ways of using keyed coupons, lists of inquiries, increases in health examinations to help solve that famous equation of costs versus results. In the New York campaign for inoculation against diphtheria they had an almost perfect score card in the increased number of inoculations; and later in the decreased death rate and sickness incidence. Having the costs of the campaign you could almost figure to a cent the price of saving a child. This testing is a difficult, but not impossible, undertaking. Fourth, omit your publicity for three years and see what happens. If you suffer no losses then your publicity is an extravagance. It is a dangerous test. Commercial firms have died on non-publicity. Where is Sapolio and Spotless Town? You may be like the Scotchman who taught his horse how to do without eating—and the day he learned, the horse died.

The final point on costs is this: if your job is education, then money spent on publicity (education) is well spent, and can be defended. The publicity methods offer the cheapest form of mass education in the world. If you have money scruples ask yourself this question: If we do not do honest helpful social

education, who will? Profit-seekers, exploiters, quacks stand ready to fill the gap. Commercial advertisers have long been dabbling in health, with their appeals about vitamines, sugar diet, the value of coffee, mineral waters, and down the list. They offer to teach personality development, solve insurance problems, and they set standards of recreation. The newspapers have their departments for solving character problems and domestic relations. The challenge to educate the people wisely lies in the flood of publicity that is already educating them, wisely or unwisely. We must meet competition.

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At the end what counts, as ever, is not the philosophy but the philosopher, the lover of wisdom, the center of sweetness and light. We face the ancient root problem—personnel. What kind of people can do this grave and challenging task? I do not pose again that old question: Shall we catch a good journalist and inoculate him with the true doctrine, or take a sensible social worker and by some miracle of plastic surgery give her a nose for news? In the large, it makes no difference: just get the right kind of person—a teacher who loves facts and folks, and respects both. Such gifted ones are rare and, therefore, worthy of their hire. The good ones are priceless, the poor ones not worth their salt; nay, they may quite unconsciously be dangerously deceptive and undermine your whole program. Recall, too, that the good ones will have gifts that recommend them to the commercial seekers after ability. You will compete in salary with private enterprise. Publicity workers are not mercenary; rather I judge them remarkably disinterested, altruistic, and self-sacrificing. But they are human, and even philosophers need per diem quotas of calories and vitamines. We should pay them what their profession of social educator is worth. I feel that this task is so difficult, demands such rare and excellent talents, is so dependent on character and integrity of mind, that the publicity secretary should be regarded as the director's chief of staff, and have a voice in the policy-making of the institution.

So we want someone with the love of truth that distinguishes the scientist, with the vision of a crusader, and with the art to bridge the chasm between these and the plain folks of the world. Our kind of publicity requires on one hand conservatism and reverence for truth, on the other, a large, generous and buoyant humanity. If we have not science we shall, albeit unwittingly, tell lies and raise false hopes. We shall make mistakes that hurt souls, do hasty and ill-considered things, and come to let the means outweigh the end. But if we are unwilling to treat humans as human, not statistical items, we shall not get our truth heard. We must be simple, popular, and interesting, using the symbols and language of common men. We must teach, not preach, though our dream be of heaven on earth.

We dimly begin to see the glory of this profession and its arduous demands. It is a task worthy of the best of education, the most devoted labors, and the spirit of an evangel. I quote with pride these words by Edmund B. Chaffee I found in the *Bulletin of the* 

Social Work Publicity Council:

Against lying propaganda, no matter for what worthy cause, let us hurl our condemnation; for the propaganda which distorts through the suppression of some truths and the over emphasis of others let us have contempt; for true propaganda which is wholly selfish let us withhold our approval; and even for that true unselfish propaganda which violates the personality of men let us be very suspicious. But for that propaganda which is motivated by honest desire to help one's fellows and which is conducted with scrupulous regard for the truth and in the spirit of respect for others, let us reserve our approval and our admiration. Through such propaganda have come many of the greatest advances in the welfare of men. Through such propaganda slavery was abolished, woman suffrage was won, and the growth in temperance effected. To everyone who sees a truth, who is convinced he has something for his fellows that will make them better and happier, there comes the command like to that which Jesus gave his disciples, "Go ye unto all the world and preach. . . . ." In him there must burn the convictions which flamed in the mind of that great Jew, Saul of Tarsus, "Woe to me, if I preach not the good news."

So I leave you with that high ideal. And if I could make one wish for you, friends and philosophers, it is: may you be enabled to tell the truth so that your fellow men shall hearken, understand, and profit; may your telling be inspired by those two virtues that make the crown and glory of philosophy—humility and patience.

## THE FACTUAL BASIS OF SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY

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W. Brooke Graves, Professor of Political Science, Temple University, Philadelphia

HEN a political scientist is called upon to address a group of well trained and highly specialized social workers, some word of explanation is surely more or less in order. I very greatly appreciate the honor of the invitation, but before I attempt the discussion of the topic assigned to me, I should like to state very briefly my own limitations in handling the subject, my point of view toward it, and the general nature of the contribution that I should like to be able to make to your deliberations.

In spite of the fact that I am neither a scientific sociologist, nor a social worker, I have had as much interest in both of these fields as is commonly possible for a fairly busy person with a vast field of subject matter of his own. An interest in the processes by which political parties and individual politicians manipulate and control public opinion led me to make a study of the instrumentalities that may be used for this purpose, and of the various agencies, both public and private, which find it desirable to employ them. My contribution here, if I am fortunate enough to be able to make one, will consist, I believe, in applying what I have been able to learn about the formation and control of public opinion in general to your problems of molding public opinion in matters relating to social work. In the hope of understanding these problems correctly, I have read almost all that has been printed on the subject, and have had the advantage of conferences with a number of persons actively engaged in directing social work publicity in my home city of Philadelphia.

I have told you that I am neither a scientific sociologist nor a social worker. The distinction would seem to be vital. The for-

mer is interested solely in the discovery of the facts regarding social phenomena. He is supposed to be perfectly cold blooded and unemotional in his approach, while this is neither expected or desired in the social worker. The social worker must be dependent upon the scientific sociologist for a large portion of his facts, for while he discovers and tabulates many facts himself, this is not primarily his task. The task of the social worker is to alleviate suffering and to assist in the correction of maladjustments. This work takes on two aspects, temporary relief and where possible permanent cure, and future prevention. In the first rôle the social worker is, and must be, very practical, but in the second, he assays the rôle of reformer. Before proceeding with a discussion of the use of facts by the social worker for these two very different purposes, may I pause to say that nothing invidious is meant by the distinction that I have attempted to draw. A similar parallel can be, and I think should be, drawn between the political scientist and the politician, as was done very effectively by the author of a manuscript on the press and public opinion, which it was recently my privilege to read:

. . . . Herein is the difference between a politician and a political scientist. Both are honest, but not in the same way. A political scientist is or ought to be a detached observer, trained to see both sides and to use the evidence at hand as the basis of a balanced judgment. A politician chooses sides. Having made his choice, the conviction grows that right is with him and wrong an attribute of his adversaries. The capacity to choose sides and to identify the side chosen with the right is an important factor in the art of becoming a politician and the servant of a cause. A politician cannot be fundamentally honest in the sense that a detached observer is honest, for that would imply the ability to see both sides of the question at issue. But neither can a detached observer have the conviction of an honest partisan, necessary for the highest success in politics. The mutual suspicion (existing between them) will not disappear until each recognizes that he is incompetent to do the other's business without becoming disqualified for his own. . . . .

It would seem also that the wording of the topic assigned to me was susceptible to two quite different interpretations, the first referring to the factual content of the publicity material issued, and the second referring to the store of facts now in our possession, upon the basis of which we might develop a technique of appeal.

In the comments which follow, I hope to deal with both of these matters.

In either case, whether one considers social work publicity from the angle of temporary relief or of future prevention, the question resolves itself into one of the fitness of the people, and their capacity to give serious consideration to vital public questions. This problem which you have asked me to discuss is fundamentally the problem of the efficacy of democratic control, which has perplexed thoughtful persons in every generation within the period of recorded history. True as this is, if I were to stop here, I should not be helping you in any way to gain a clearer conception of the use that may be made of social facts, in social work publicity.

Our aim, I take it, is to determine how heavy a mental diet our people can stand—to determine the point at which we can somewhat suppress the "suppose nobody cared" motif, and still have publicity that achieves its purpose and brings results. In answering this question, it seems necessary to stress the fact that the mass of the people do not think—they react to emotional stimuli. When they think they are thinking, someone has observed, they are only too often rearranging their prejudices. After having studied public opinion for several years, particularly in its political aspects, I personally have very little faith in the capacity of masses of people to weigh facts, but I have great faith in the power of dominating personalities, possessed of the capacity for leadership. What in reality the people want is not so much to do the thing themselves, as to see that it is well done. As a matter of fact, it is not essential to democracy that the people should actually do everything themselves, but it is essential that they should be able to control those who act for them. Leadership in a democracy is necessary, and its existence does not in any way imply such an antithesis of democracy as Carlyle believed. The democratic process is, however, an expensive one; wherever it is used, we have to spend large amounts of money to hire experts to find the facts and tell us what to do, and then even larger amounts of money to convince the people that the experts knew what they were talking about, and to get them to approve at the polls, the adoption of the policies recommended. In the case of social work, the approval is given, of course, not by ballot, but by

subscriptions for the support of the work.

The use of facts in publicity for present relief.—The regular publicity of a welfare organization must do two things: first, help to create in the citizen a feeling of personal responsibility and a willingness to contribute according to his ability for the relief of those who have been unfortunate or underprivileged; and second, develop public confidence in the honesty of purpose and the general effectiveness of the work done by the agencies supported by public subscription. This makes the position of the social work publicity head a peculiarly responsible one. If he blunders seriously, he may not only fail to secure the necessary funds for the community chest or the welfare federation in the current year, but he may even make it difficult to do so for years to come. In such a case, he not only fails personally, but he becomes an actual liability to the cause of social work, by making it abnormally difficult to secure public support for the work. This is one of the situations which has occasioned a great deal of discussion as to the ethical basis of social work publicity, as to the extent to which the end justifies the means.

The effectiveness of publicity for the purposes now under consideration is limited by a number of factors. The first of these is the competition for the attention of the reader. A colleague of mine was prompted to remark the other day as he opened his mail that he wished he knew how many societies and associations there were in the United States to which he would be eligible for membership by the payment of annual dues of five dollars. No matter how significant the facts one presents may be, the reader is apt to put them aside as of little concern to him, if they are not definitely related to one or another of the interest groups to which he belongs. While theoretically everyone is concerned with matters pertaining to the public health, doctors and nurses should be especially so. Parents should be, and usually are, interested in the public schools. Ministers commonly show a good

deal of initiative in exposing conditions which endanger the morals of young people.

My point here is that in social work, as elsewhere, the old fashioned method of trying to appeal to the whole community at once, with the same type of material, is expensive and wasteful. It was hoped that in the general broadside, there would be some one or two points that would happen to take hold with each individual. But in this busy age, when we are all rushing to and fro, and when the output of the printing presses is so great and our reading time so limited that we are all in danger of developing what James M. Beck has called "the cinematographic brain," facts must be arranged for presentation to readers with regard to their respective interest groups. The barrage of publicity must give way to the discriminating selection of facts and groups, and the adaptation of the former to the latter. Where the older methods of appeal to a community relied upon chance, and upon the common qualities of human nature, the newer methods will seek to eliminate chance, and without ignoring the general characteristics of human beings as a whole, to recognize individual differences, and achieve its purpose by making appeals based upon these differences. By so doing, publicity will by simply recognizing and making use of the tendency toward specialization that is in evidence all about us. It will also be recognizing the fact that Professor Cheyney was commenting upon when he observed that "the stock of ideas and examples at the command of any man is necessarily limited." Furthermore, if the publicity material deals with a problem that is wholly new to the recipient, he is not likely to be much interested. If we are so unfamiliar with a subject that it is utterly strange to us, we are unable to establish, by the association of ideas, a connection with something with which we are familiar.

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The personality behind the publicity is also an important factor. It takes time and character to build up the community prestige of a Jacob A. Riis, a Jane Addams, or a Lillian D. Wald. Unfortunately in social work, there are few such persons, just as in politics there are few Roosevelts and few Wilsons, but it is

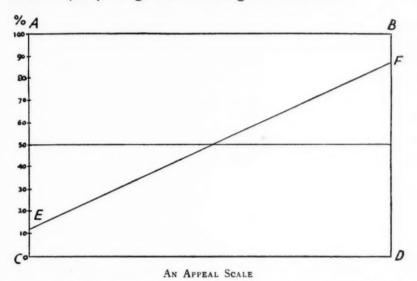
possible for a professional social worker or for a local business man with vision to secure the public confidence to such an extent that their backing will do much to assure the success of a program. Leadership is a very vital fact. The city of Detroit has one of the best bureaus of municipal research in the country. Several years ago, I remember hearing Lent D. Upson, its director, say that their regular bulletin had a circulation of only about 2,000 copies. It is not how many people you present your facts to, it is the people to whom you present them. And he continued that if he could secure the active support of fifty or seventy-five active leaders in the city for some new program, he was not at all concerned as to the outcome.

Another limitation upon the presentation of facts in social work publicity is found in their inability to move people to action without personal solicitation. Mr. Stern of the Federation of Jewish Charities in Philadelphia described to me an elaborate campaign conducted on this basis a few years ago. It was a dismal failure. The presentation of facts through circulars and pamphlets can only prepare the way, making it easier for the solicitor to get the

prospect to sign on the dotted line.

Ever since I became convinced of the desirability of directing appeals to interest groups, I have been trying to devise a plan whereby this might be done with the greatest possible effect. This problem could be solved, if after classifying our public into the various interest groups, we could determine the average mental age of the members of each group. We should then be able to prescribe exactly the sort of mental fare that each would be able to digest, including exactly the proper proportions of facts and of emotional appeal. A frequently repeated illustration comes to mind. I cannot vouch for its authenticity-indeed, I have been told by the man who now serves as chief editorial writer on the paper concerned, that it is untrue. Nevertheless, it is a good illustration. When Joseph Pulitzer came to New York City and acquired the New York World, the story goes that he caused an extensive investigation to be made, to determine the intellectual level of the newspaper reading public at that time. It is variously

reported that he decided upon a standard represented by a nine-, an eleven-, or a fourteen-year-old child. At any rate, he must have set some sort of standard. My point here is that if we can, with the aid of such of our psychologist friends as are not so deeply engaged in combat as to be uninterested in so fundamental a problem as mental tests and measurements, evolve a series of standards, they will give us something at which to aim.



AC—Scale for the measurement of the intellectual appeal. CD—Lowest intellectual level; highly emotional. AB—Highest intellectual level; controlled emotions. EF—Line representing increasing intellectual appeal. The line starts at about 10 per cent, because there would be no object in addressing the appeal to the moron or near-moron, whose intelligence level would fall below this point. The line rises gradually to 75 per cent or 80 per cent, because in no case do we find human beings who are absolutely logical, cold, calculating, and intellectual.

In urging the establishment and observance of such standards for individual pressure groups, may I hasten to add that I do not labor under any delusions as to the relationship between generosity and intelligence. In fact, Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley of the Welfare Federation of Philadelphia is very positive that there is no necessary or causal relationship between education and intelli-

gence, and the willingness to give. He believes, on the basis of a wide experience, that people give only when they learn that they can do so and still live, and he has found that it is just as difficult to extract money from lawyers, doctors, and professors as it is from people in less educated or cultured groups. Such standards would, however, enable us to fit the appeal to the individual, and would minimize the possibility of offending his sense of the fitness of things, or of disgusting him with an appeal aimed at a lower intellectual level than that of the group to which he belongs.

The fact that such standards are difficult to secure, and difficult to apply, is no argument at all against attempting to do both. We are just embarking upon the stupendous task of assembling and analyzing the data upon the basis of which in the future we shall be able to motivate and control social forces, as in the very recent past, and indeed in the present, we are learning to do with the resources of the physical world. The mysteries of human personality, and of social causation and control are no more baffling to us—I doubt if they are as much so—as were the mysteries of the physical world to our Constitutional Fathers in 1787.

The most obvious difficulty is the matter of expense. If we actually do what I have been suggesting, we shall have to classify carefully the names on our mailing lists, and instead of having all our literature the same, we shall have to have numerous special pieces. This will involve additional expense, both in printing and in preparation of copy. Small communities may find it impossible to undertake the additional burden, and even in the larger communities, we shall have to begin on a small scale and proceed cautiously, both on account of the expense and because of the scarcity of essential information.

But these difficulties need not prevent our conducting experiments along this line and checking their results. I believe that the results will abundantly justify our working for the establishment of research agencies to secure the information needed by directors of social work publicity, and by every other group which is engaged in the formation and control of public opinion upon matters vital to the welfare of the community. In every great university in the land, we have whole buildings and laboratories both extensive and expensive, devoted to research in the physical sciences. Huge corporations are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to improve their product, and to find new methods and devices for satisfying existing needs. I would not hamper any of this great work by withholding so much as a single cent, but I do believe that this new field of research is just as important and just as necessary. For it too, the minds of great personalities must be enlisted, great libraries and laboratories must be established, and large financial support obtained. In the field of the physical sciences, we have made great progress. Even in the field of the social sciences, with limited facilities and limited financial support, our leaders know many things that could be done for the social and economic improvement of our community life. When we have the data that we need—as some day we shall—we can sell ideas and programs to the public with a degree of efficiency somewhat comparable to that with which the producers of automobiles and radios and electric refrigerators now sell them things.

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The use of facts for prevention.—All that has been said thus far has had to do with the use of facts for present relief, and where possible for permanent cure in individual cases or groups. I should now like to turn to my second major consideration—the use of facts for permanent prevention. It may be desirable, and even necessary, for a patient to take medicine for the relief of a headache, but if the ache is a persistent and constantly recurring one, no one will argue that anything has been accomplished by way of permanent cure. So in the field of social work, temporary relief is necessary, but unless we expect to continue administering the same kind of relief in the same kinds of cases, something of a more permanent nature must be provided for. Some steps toward prevention must be taken; some effort must be made to remove the causes and to prevent the recurrence of the difficulty. This brings one immediately to the psychology of reform—to the psychology of the effort to change for the better existing conditions. Leigh Mitchell Hodges, in an article in *The Survey* in July of last year observed that the average social worker looks for publicity which will build up patronage and good will, whereas he should seek publicity which tends ultimately to remove the need for the social worker.

Roughly speaking, there are three possible attitudes toward reform on any given question—opposition, support, and indifference. The number in both of the first two groups is relatively small in most cases—which constitutes, by the way, a further confirmation of our interest group theory. The conservatives and reactionaries of the opposition group will include chiefly those who oppose change on general principles, or whose entrenched privileges will in some way be curtailed. The supporters of the reform are persons with a keener sense of social justice plus the inevitable number of what Roosevelt appropriately called the lunatic fringe—the perpetual and professional advocates of reform. After an interest in the reform complex which has extended over a number of years, it is my conclusion that in spite of exactly opposite temperamental set ups, the regular members of these two groups have much in common. As I have elsewhere observed:

Both are intolerant extremists, uncompromising to a high degree. Both are individualists—some of them so much so that when they find six persons who agree with themselves, they begin to wonder if, after all, they are right. Both are impractical, one in advocating change, the other in resisting it. The reformer is a theorist, an idealist, and an optimist—at least, so far as the future is concerned. The anti-reformer is a realist and, frequently, a confirmed pessimist.

They are so much alike that rarely indeed can one convince a member of either group that he is wrong.

In practical efforts to secure reform, therefore, the problem is to secure enough support from the originally indifferent group so that with the regular reform group the necessary majority can be secured. This indifferent group holds the balance of power; its members may be won over only by convincing them that they do have a real interest in the subject under discussion. Such indifference is due largely to a kind of contented ignorance, and to what Professor Cheyney has called an invincible tendency to roman-

ticize the past, to see things as soon as they are past, in a rosy light. Here of course, arises the necessity for the selection of facts, and for a study to determine the proper methods of presenting them, in order to penetrate this indifference. An analysis of successful campaigns for the securing of support for such reforms seems to disclose three general requirements: first, the campaign must be persistent, over years of time, if necessary; second, careful selection of facts is necessary, with presentation in exaggerated form; third, action is greatly speeded if the reform can be associated with a powerful economic interest.

Let us now examine each of these points separately, and note some illustrations. The first was that the campaign must be persistent, with the cooperation and coordination of the participating agencies, over such time as may be necessary to win out. Professor Munro, in his brilliant discussion of reform, has called attention to the outstanding weaknesses of reform activity in this country. The greatest of all handicaps, he says, has been the lack of team play, but added to this has been the cost of maintaining a multiplicity of organizations—a cost both in money and in dissipated energies, and a failure to properly evaluate the psychology of the groups to which the appeal is made. No campaign which fails to avoid these pitfalls can hope to succeed. Amos Pinchot expressed a vast amount of truth when he said that most reform movements are like the queen bee—they sting once and die. One might add that a great many of them never sting even once. If we as social workers want to eradicate the physical, mental, and moral hazards associated with poor housing in our respective communities, we have all got to pull together, not for a week or a month or a year, but for many years, and regardless of the particular type of social work in which our own interest as individuals may be paramount. Those who supported the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act won out because all of the interested agencies joined forces under the leadership of the Anti-Saloon League, and permitted absolutely nothing to stand between them and the achievement of their goal. In the problems of our home communities, we shall make progress much faster if we will all cooperate on the solution of the most pressing need, rather than dissipating our energies over a large

number of problems at the same time.

Our second requirement brings us closer to our main theme. It had to do with the necessity for the careful selection of facts and with the need for exaggeration, if they are to take effect. There are relatively few people with a real thirst for facts people to whom the discovery of a new fact gives a real thrill as is true, I imagine, of a professor of whom I know it was said that, to him, all facts were created equal. Consequently, it is necessary for us to select carefully the facts we use in a public appeal, in order to avoid presenting too many, and in order to use only those which are most likely to be effective. Facts that would move us if we were purely rational beings often leave us untouched because we are in fact so highly emotional. He who would influence or control the thought of the public, then, not only selects his facts carefully, but he often deliberately ignores others which might lead to a contrary conclusion, and exaggerates or "dresses" the facts he uses to make one do the work of two. If in addition he can create some kind of villain—whether a real one or a straw man makes little difference—he can capitalize the fact that men vote their dislikes and their prejudices much more wholeheartedly and more vigorously than they vote their convictions. If for purposes of illustration, I might refer again to the methods of the Anti-Saloon League, let me quote from Professor Odegard's fine and impartial study of its methods:

The liquor traffic as the enemy of children and the home was a favorite theme for League propaganda. If divorce be the enemy of the home, then drink must be made the cause of divorce. . . . . The saloon was pictured as the grist mill whose raw material was the innocent boy and whose finished product was the drunken wreck. . . . . The close association that frequently was maintained between the saloon and other forms of vice was emphasized. It was represented as the rendezvous of the criminal, the office of the political manipulator, the purveyor of drugs. . . . . Examples of the association of bawdy houses and disreputable dance halls with the saloon abounded in League literature. . . . .

The League never faltered at anything that could be done to make the results of the use of liquor seem sensational and horrible, and examples could be cited of the most revolting stories that were carried in the League publications. Similar tactics have frequently been employed in political campaigns. I do not mean to suggest that in our social work publicity, we should go to such extremes in the presentation of simple facts, but I do want to suggest as forcefully as I know how that our presentation of them must be vigorous and alive, if we are to challenge the attention of enough of the members of our indifferent group, to win the active support of the number we need to create a majority. We can, without resorting to the cheap sensationalism to which I have referred, use "picture words," and appeal to the visual-mindedness of the average reader. "Fuzzy abstractness," as Professor Overstreet calls it, is no more of a virtue than sensationalism.

My final point was that if our issue could in some way be associated with a powerful economic interest, the chances of success are greatly improved, and the process greatly expedited. To turn this time to another field for an illustration (though war time prohibition represents an excellent one) the effort to secure child labor legislation from Congress won not only because of the demands of those whose interest was a humanitarian one, but because the manufacturers of the New England states demanded it. Progressive legislation in Massachusetts prohibited the employment of children. When the South began to develop industrially, and build cotton mills, the manufacturers of this section had not only the economic advantage of nearness to the source of supply of raw material, but that of freedom from restrictions upon the employment of children. The New England manufacturers might have been able to compete against one of these advantages for the southern mills, but they found it difficult to compete against both of them. So much of the industrial East combined with the humanitarians to secure the passage of the first and second federal child labor acts. We can apply this principle to our own local problems, in a great many cases. If we can show the taxpayers (as we can) that they have to spend more for the support of institutions through taxation, and for charitable and welfare work through private agencies, by reason of congested tenements and unsanitary housing conditions, we have gone a long way toward convincing them of the necessity for reform. Similarly, if we can show them that money spent for playgrounds is an investment bearing dividends in the form of reduced expenditures for handling juvenile delinquency and in combating

crime, we have made real progress.

May I in conclusion reaffirm the belief to which I have already referred, namely, that our technique of control is in its infancy. Some day, as our knowledge of human nature becomes more precise, and is reduced to definite standards of measurement, as the springs of human action become more definitely known to us, those whose business it is to mold and control public opinion on questions relating to social work, or any other, are going to be able to strike definite chords and produce definitely predictable results, with an accuracy comparable to that with which an organist now produces a tune by striking particular keys in a particular way, or a chemist a particular substance by compounding a definite chemical formula. This will not happen next week or next year. It will not happen at all, in this form, until a vast amount of the research work to which I have referred has been done. But already the public relations counsels and other directors of publicity, including the members of this group, have made great progress, mostly by the process of trial and error. Someone, I imagine, arises to suggest that this sort of thing will be dangerous. I grant you that, as the concentration of all power is dangerous. In government, there is the danger of tyranny. In the field of physical things, there is the danger of a drunken driver of an automobile jeopardizing not only his own life, but the lives of many another, and the danger of the destruction of civilization by the exact and yet awful precision of modern methods of warfare. So here the concentration of the power to control public policy in the hands of a group of experts creates a danger of the wrecking of human society, but it also creates the hope for its substantial improvement. In one sense, the history of civilization may be viewed as an effort to secure more power, and to learn how to use it and control it after it has been acquired.

## EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES AS APPLIED TO SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY

Arthur J. Todd, Professor of Sociology, Northwestern University, Evanston

BUCATION is one of the chief obligations of a profession, and to this rule social work is no exception. More than that, an essential field for social work itself is social education with its various special techniques for character building. Social work publicity partakes of these double functions. It

carries a double responsibility.

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I take it that I need not spend much time distinguishing between education and propaganda. Lest any of us wince at even the bare suggestion that there is any similarity between the two terms, let me hasten to say that the line between the two is scarcely visible to the naked eye, that propaganda is not by any means necessarily a derogatory term, and that both education so called and propaganda, whether overt and acknowledged or covert and masked, rest upon identical qualities of human nature and similar if not identical principles of sociology and psychology. I suppose about as clear a distinction between the two words as we might hit off in simple English would appear in the subtle difference in emphasis and implication between the phrase "to get over" an idea or plan and "to put over" a scheme or a deal. In so far as social work publicity ranges itself along with teaching, it tends to think in terms of the first of that pair of phrases; if, when or as it borrows from or trots with the arts of salesmanship, it molds itself upon the other phrase.

Now comes my great embarrassment. You have asked me to put before you certain "principles of education" applicable to social work publicity. Imagine my confusion at having to confess that there are no such—literally none. A hundred years ago the principles were very definite. Classical education was highly spe-

cific in both content and methods. Nobody can question the intensely specific quality of, say, Jesuit education: its principles are fixed, absolute, and communicable. Scarcely less could have been said for the educational principles laid down by Froebel or Herbart in the nineteenth century. Even thirty years ago the literature of education consisted largely of "principles" or "philosophy." But it is difficult to find now a professional educator or teacher of educational method who will admit any general "prin-

ciples" as valid or governing in the field of education.

The ruling tendency now is to refrain from generalizing experience into broad sweeping statements, but rather to study each problem of instruction or administration as it arises and to work out methods or principles compatible with the special problem in hand. For example, how would you work out general principles for training children to be honest? Such a problem was put up to educators a few years ago by the Boy Scouts. As I remember the figures, the investigator found over 160 different situations involving that single trait of character, each in turn seeming to involve a separate "principle." Another problem familiar to many of you bears very intimately upon your work of publicity, namely, what was the net educational and character building effect of the social hygiene films released during the war? Did accepted educational principles prove out in that experiment? The issue is still highly in doubt. Likewise, what is the effect of movies upon children's race attitudes? Have we any set principles of education which hold for this problem? Again, what is the educational effect of sex education in general? How can you measure in terms of educational principles the relationship of Boy Scout membership to juvenile delinquency? Thousands of dollars are being spent in New York now in the attempt to assay the educational effect of a certain boys' club upon the youth life of its area. How will you estimate in terms of traditional educational principles the effect of newspaper crime stories or crook plays upon adolescent behavior?

It is because of such complex and difficult problems that educators have become more and more wary of indulging themselves n-

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in general principles and are giving themselves increasingly to working out specific problems along experimental lines; in other words, contemporary education inclines less to abstract theory and more to concrete research.

Do I mean to say, then, that I come to you empty handed, and that there is no help in the educational Gilead for your harassed minds wrestling with the job of getting to the public a worth while and convincing statement of what social work is all about? Not quite so bad as that. But I must remind you that frequently a negative result in science is no less valuable than a seemingly more positive affirmation. A "No Thoroughfare" sign often prevents embarrassing wastes of time and dangerous turning about in narrow spaces. But there are certain generalities which we may still offer for what they are worth.

For example, nobody, I venture to say, will question that the three basic considerations of education are: first, to know the nature of the person or group it works upon; second, to formulate a purposive objection in terms of personal satisfactions or adjustment to some preconceived social or cosmic order; third, to arrive at a procedure or technique which it can utilize in achieving its object.

Equally undeniable in these days is the fact that there is, as Dewey points out, no intrinsic educational science content. The sources of such educational content are primarily biology, psychology, and sociology. But this tripod is still very shaky, because these basic sciences are still in the making; by contrast with the long history of mathematics or astronomy they seem relatively backward. They certainly are not in any position to dogmatize. Yet certain slippery tongued popularizers of biology have seduced even staid members of this Conference into believing that we or they have in our or their hands the means of saving the world through a new decalogue of biology construed in the imperative mood, but which in reality reduces to one or two simple mechanical or chemical devices. And in certain quarters all you have to do is to say the magic word "psychology" to stir people up and set them on the run after a new fad. What becomes of

a dogmatic education based upon equally dogmatic psychology when a reputable psychologist states (as one did this very spring) that it will require a thousand years of research before psychologists can tell what personality or character or human nature or the "self" is; or that economists will have to wait twenty-five hundred years before they can be in position to know anything positive about human "motives" as the basis for defining the economic impulses of man or accounting for such terms as "value" or "desire for wealth?"

Biology and psychology are due for a profound overhauling as the result of the new physics. For if philosophic materialism is doomed—and the work of men like Millikan and Whitehead seems to be digging its grave—the whole structure of those two sciences must be revamped in so far as it rests upon a rather naïve matter-physics. Nor is sociology much better off, except that as the youngest comer into the scientific family it has hardly had time enough yet to crystallize its findings into dogmatic systems. Yet in so far as it, too, accepts a materialistic concept of mind via psychology, and a rigid evolutionism via biology, it must revise itself to get in line.

Is it not clear, then, that since these three sciences occupy, as Dewey says, privileged positions as sources of scientific content in education, educational practice cannot formulate itself dogmatically so long as those primary sources are in flux? Perhaps I can make this clearer by citing some of the changes which have come over American education in the past two generations. Dr. Ernest Carroll Moore in his Fifty Years of American Education has given, I think, the best panorama in brief of this period of flux:

This institutional study of education is a twentieth-century activity. Its first fruits are clearer comprehension of educational principles and a more thorough organization of educational machinery. Energetic research has already been as profitable in this field as in other fields of science.

One of our most capable historians of education values what has been achieved in this direction so highly that he does not hesitate to say that John Dewey's discovery that real education is and must be based upon the nature of the child and E. L. Thorn-dike's discovery of a method of scientifically measuring educational results will in time be ranked in importance with Darwin's conception of evolution. Rousseau's adjuration "Study your pupil, for it is evident that you know nothing about him"

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has been a controlling principle in the last four decades. A science of child psychology came into being, the psychological conceptions and methods took the place of empirical notions and rule-of-thumb devices of an earlier time. Herbart's reconstructions of educational doctrine contributed to this movement. Physiology and psychology taught the schoolmaster that the human organism is an action system. Passivity in learning was abandoned, and methods of training through activity were substituted for it. The newly discovered science of medicine and the new education joined forces to conserve the physical well-being of the growing child. Activistic psychology revealed the importance of Nature's method of training him by play. Scientific study of administration and of methods of instruction led to a reorganization of schools, and school surveying came into being as a method of determining whether or not conditions called for improvement and of deciding what that improvement should be. The effort to evaluate instruction necessitated the formulation of standards and measuring scales with which to detect the presence or absence of the results required. That particular endeavor is still in its earlier stages, but bureaus for measuring and testing the sufficiency of the processes and the products of instruction have been created in several places. The study of sociology has contributed substantially to the remaking of educational theory. The pragmatic philosophy, with its revolutionary conception of the nature and function of knowledge, has just begun to revise educational aims and remake programs of study. Newer and truer educational rallying cries begin to sound above the call to get knowledge for the sake of knowledge and science for the sake of science. Purposive education begins to banish aimless learning from the field. The doctrine of formal or general discipline, which directed the pursuit of certain studies for the development of the faculties or powers of the mind, has been scientifically tested and found wanting. A philosophy of education can no longer be made out of it. When it is given up, as it must be, only specific education will remain, but specific education so rich in variety and so definite in purpose and method that it promises results far better than those which the old training gave.1

Let us see if we cannot take that brief summary as a point of departure and set down some things as at least tentative working principles, without in any sense attaching to them any claim for universality, absoluteness, or eternity.

The process of learning in any field and by whatever method would seem to involve: first, the recognition of certain barriers of physical weakness, mental abnormality or preoccupation, class or caste attitude, prejudices, "sets of mind"; second, a certain accepted average of culture level or attainment (call it intelligence quotient or what you will) predominant interest, ruling passion, or scale of values (to illustrate, a dominant figure in the movie

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ernest Carroll Moore, Fifty Years of American Education (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1917), pp. 91-94.

industry of America scales his whole business for an appeal to an average sixth grade education, and most politicians, together with large-scale advertising operators and publishers of cheap periodicals follow the same theory and practice); third, the common experience that education, or the learning process, encounters mob mind, waves of mental and social disturbance, fads, crazes, cycles of irrationality. The dealer in publicity recognizes these perturbations and either capitalizes them, learns to avoid them, if he seeks merely to be comfortable and fat, or attempts to neutralize them, if he has a sporting interest in the mental health of his fellows.

Educational experience seems to teach that we must always utilize the familiar in teaching the unfamiliar. There are strict limits to the distance one may vary from the average either in our own personal conduct or in our attempt to get over a new fact or a new message. We must have originality, of course, or the world would become as dead as the moon, but you will not have to strain your eyes to observe how the roads are strewn with the bones of self-crowned, inelastic "originals." Knowledge must be comprehensible to the man in the street or it fails of its purpose. I do not mean that our story of social work must always be said in words of one syllable. I merely want to emphasize that the things you and I have to tell about our work for human welfare can and must be made intelligible to men and women who lack technical acquaintance with our field. Perhaps here I should repeat what I always say to a young instructor, or to any instructor, dealing with beginners in his field: "Don't take too much for granted. Remember you are a specialist with the specialist's bias. Your students are not. Interpret your specialty in simple terms. Avoid any parade of superior knowledge. Avoid the fatal mistake of talking down to people. Keep your purposes clear. Never get lost in details. Keep your contexts clearly in mind. Don't try to be clever or incontinently facetious."

More recent educational research reveals the fundamental importance of recognizing individual differences between students. This is simply a belated but perhaps more precise determination in th

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in psychology of what had long been popular belief and accepted bio-sociological teaching, namely, the significance of variation in the struggle for life and life adjustments. Out of this recognition comes the demand for varying educational diet, varied curriculums, varying emphasis upon and distribution of subject matter, varying methods. The doctors within the last twenty years have been slowly coming to this same point of view. Our schools now work out different methods of instruction for different chronological ages, different methods of discipline for differing character patterns, different technical aids for reaching such contrasting types of perception, for example, as the visual and auditory. This point is very important for social work publicity. Some people are frightened by a graph or chart. Some of you may leap upon and devour tables of statistics; some of you, on the other hand, doubtless play leap frog over them when you see them in a report of a book on social work. To some people only the spoken word conveys the thrill of recognition. Educational campaigns need to provide for many variations in mental pattern. Radio will hit some; the movie film others; the well chosen story with humor and pathos, others; an array of figures, still others.

Perhaps I could put it in this way also: there is no pure idea free from emotional coloring, nor is there any pure emotion free from some idea or reason or intellectual element or whatever your particular brand of psychology will permit you to call it. Our mental and social procedures combine these two elements. Therefore any educational appeal must utilize methods addressed to each. Only experience can determine the exact dose of each element in the mental makeup of an individual or social group. At this point social work executives need to do a lot of careful research. It will not suffice merely to study the work of the behaviorist school of psychology or its application to commercial advertising. You will probably err less if you refuse to consider man as a mere animal or a set of irrational emotions and give him credit for a considerable amount of native intelligence.

In these days it is customary to look upon drill as an old su-

perstition in education. For forty years Dewey has taught that habit forming is not the whole end of education, and that habits are not formed by mere repetition. It is true that morality includes not only habits but also the ability to break habits. But this is only another way of saying that life is a constant interplay between change and resistance to change. With all the deference due a great educational philosopher, I must still hold that there is much of value in repetition, drill, and the cumulative effort of practice. If you do not believe this, examine the educational practices of Soviet Russia. You will find that the Russians profess Deweyism, yet utilize more fully and deliberately than any other modern country, excepting, perhaps, Fascist Italy, the principle of drill, repetition, more drill, for creating fixed habits and attitudes. The implication is obvious for social work publicity. I do not mean smart, clever slogans, the resort of the advertising boys who want to "put over" yeast or tooth paste or soap. I mean pounding away with a message or story or set of facts in varied words and with varying illustrations until the cumulative effect is irresistible and ignorance or indifference is transformed into conviction and response.

At this point it must be confessed that the debate is still going on in educational circles as to which method of education is most effective, the short intensive period or campaign with lessons presented daily (as in the so called short course or in the "quarter system"); or the longer, less concentrated period with more time for mental assimilation of materials presented, and also incidentally with more time for the attention and interest to be scattered and diffused between many rival subjects. In any event educators and advertising experts agree that frequent "reviews" are

necessary if the lesson is to be permanently fixed.

Parenthetically let me cite one of the most revolutionary discoveries of recent educational experimentation, namely, Thorn-dike's confirmation of an ancient maxim that we are never too old to learn; moreover that in some respects age is an advantage in the learning process. This fact is of tremendous significance to educational publicity; it is at the very heart of adult education.

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"No one can make knowledge for another any more than he can breathe for another," says Dr. Moore in his admirable little book, What is Education? In other words, the modern view of education emphasizes the element of participation, of active response by the person or group undergoing "exposure" to education. It involves not passivity but cooperation. Put into pedagogical language, education may be said to create attitudes; discover aptitudes; transmit culture, skills, and the folkways. Put into the best current educational practice, it looks upon the learning process as active cooperation between a problem-putter and a problem-solver rather than a struggle to the point of exasperation between a knowledge siphon and a resistant bottle. Put into terms of social work, it involves the attitude described to me the other day by the very successful executive of a well known "character building" agency. Said he, "I am trying to lead my members and contributors away from the idea that they are mere money givers and up to the idea that they must become active workers in this agency itself." That is to say, sound social education emphasizes team work in the learning process itself and develops a group consciousness, a sense of ultimate partnership. On this point, declares the educator, "One cannot have knowledge unless he makes it for himself. . . . . Mechanical education fails because it conceives us active beings as passive absorbers of words. . . . . Language is not a substitute for experience. . . . . "

Finally, from the sociological standpoint, education is the prime discoverer and communicator of values, of what things are worth while. This is why we treasure the outlines of the salient personality, utilize biography, the saga, the tale of heroism, even the myth or the legend. We want to uncover the value principle even beyond the ever increasing success formula. Perhaps here is the greatest opportunity as well as the greatest responsibility of responsible social work publicity. Just as the drill master as such has no place in an educational system, so the mere repeater of facts and figures should not be allowed to fill the picture in social work. There is still a large place for philosophy in education; and social work is perhaps weakest at this very point. Case work,

for example, is strong on technique, both generic and specific; it knows how to diagnose, organize facts, utilize community resources, prescribe treatment, and standardize practice to a certain extent. But why it is doing all this, what it all means to the case workers or to the world, and how to explain its purposes convincingly to the great non-technical world of onlookers is by no means so clear. The specialist in social publicity needs to have his own specialty so informed by a workable philosophy that he will become not a mere phrase man, a routineer, a slogan monger, a clever apologist, a little brother to the racketeer, but rather a focal center of genuine creative thinking, the reflector of a humanizing philosophy, the evoker of a participation which will tap not only stores of money but discover unsuspected strata of human interest, sympathy, and aptitude for personal service in our common enterprise.

## PUBLIC OPINION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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S YOU know but too well, the extent to which carefully devised legislation, directed to excellent purposes, based on careful preliminary studies, and drafted scientifically has, in action, failed of achieving the expected results, is often most disheartening to the social worker. In the era of Rooseveltian progressivism we were wont to attribute such failures to sinister interests controlling courts, to be held in check by the recall, or to the unsocial training and habits of thought of lawyers and judges, to be cured by changes in the professional curriculum. Further experience has brought home to us that there are many factors in this ineffectiveness of well intended, carefully prepared, scientifically drafted laws; that the background of their operation includes many obstinate elements which the preliminary studies, directed only to the old law, the mischief and the remedy, are likely to leave out of account; that there are things in the atmosphere of enforcement which are beyond any power of scientific drafting. The faith of the last generation in a simple sequence of single cause and single effect and so in simple solving remedies, has been given up. Insuring a maximum of observance and maximum of efficient enforcement of legal precepts is now seen to involve much more than we had assumed. Indeed it is now recognized as one of the cardinal problems of law making.

No such problem was known to the legal science of the past. To the analytical jurist, the whole matter was one of executive efficiency. From the lawyer's standpoint, it was enough that a precept had obtained the guinea stamp of establishment by the legislative authority. The lawyer had nothing to do with enforcement, and the law giver need not think about it. Enforcement was for the executive. If the executive did not make the

precept effective in action, why then the executive was at fault, and the remedy was to be applied at the next election. To the historical jurist, the whole matter was one of whether the precept did or did not correctly express human experience. If it was a mere formulation of what had been discovered by experience, enforcement would take care of itself. It would be rooted in habits and customs of mankind and would be secure on that basis. If not, it was a futile attempt to do what could not be done, and in the end all attempt at enforcement would prove vain. To the philosophical jurist, the whole matter was one of intrinsic justice of the precept—of its appeal to the conscience of the individual citizen. If, as an abstract proposition, it was inherently just, its appeal to the reason or conscience of the individual would secure obedience from all but an almost negligible minority who persisted in going counter to their consciences and might have to be coerced. If not, the theory was that the attempt to enforce a rule contrary to the conscience of the individual citizen ought to fail, and we need not feel badly if it did fail.

Such simple theories of observance and enforcement of law fall to the ground under the conditions of social life of today. We learn quickly that efficient or inefficient executives alike encounter certain obstacles which seem beyond the reach of efficiency. We soon find that in such matters as traffic regulations, the general security requires us to make or seek to make habits, instead of waiting for them to develop by experience at the cost of life and limb. We come to see that the exigencies of the general security and of the individual life require us to prescribe many things the reasons whereof are not upon the surface and the justice whereof, clear as it may be to the expert, will not appear at once to every reasonable and conscientious citizen. Hence we have been driven to deal with observance and enforcement of laws in new ways. We have to study the limits of effective legal action, both those of general application, throughout the land or even throughout the world, as men and things are today, and those of purely local operation and application. We have to determine what we may expect to do through law and what we must leave to other agencies of social control. We have to examine our armory of legal weapons, appraise the value of each for the tasks of today, and ask what new ones, if any, may be devised and what we may expect reasonably to accomplish by them when devised.

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Such questions, requiring study and research before we may hope to answer them, have replaced the search for bad men and for simple constitutional or legislative formulas to curb their bad acting, which obtained a generation ago.

But for the social worker the questions raised are more numerous and of wider scope than for the lawyer. The social worker is concerned with social control as a whole and all its agencies, where the lawyer has to do only with a highly specialized form and those agencies which are employed in the public administration of justice. Hence I purpose to consider some of the causes of falling short of the anticipated results in the application of legislation; I purpose considering them from a broader standpoint than that of the lawyer to whom they are primarily matters of the construction and operation of legal machinery. Moreover I shall venture to try this under the general title assigned to me, even if it is fashionable just now to scout such phrases as "public opinion" and as "social control." A name is a name and not a description. Whether well or ill chosen, these phrases connote one of the most difficult problems with which jurists and social scientists generally, as well as social workers, must wrestle.

There are two difficulties in such an endeavor, as things are. One is that a general discussion of a general question will be taken to be a particular discussion of a particular question which is much in men's minds at the moment. To an audience of social workers, into whose daily work and everyday program of improvement of conditions of life the general question enters constantly, I need make no disclaimer of intention to prejudge any feature of the special question when I suggest elements in or features of the other.

Another difficulty grows out of the Euclidean straight-line thinking of the last century. There was a straight-line sequence from one cause to one effect. There was a straight-line progress

onward and upward from one organism to another, from one institution to another, from one legal precept to another. Likewise there were straight line boundaries, exactly defined, setting off institutions and doctrines, and precepts. We had offered to us a simple bare choice of one institution of doctrine or precept or of its opposite. Compromise was likely to be thought of as something wrong, as if all law making and law administering did not involve an element of compromise; an adjusting of conflicting or overlapping claims so as to conserve as much as may be of each.

We now suspect that such straight-line thinking is only an application to thought of the erroneous appearance which the physical universe presents to limited human vision. If space is curved, the straight lines are only instruments for enabling us to picture things to ourselves in the endeavor to understand them. Things are not in planes, in the three dimensions of our experience. Progress is not in simple straight lines. There is not so much progress in one direction as change in all directions. Nor are there straight-line boundaries. Categories may be distinct enough at the core, but there is no definiteness at the edges. There is a wide no-man's zone at the periphery. No doubt this newer mode of critical thinking may be carried too far. In such matters, very likely, the last century looked too steadfastly at the core and ignored the periphery, while the present looks too exclusively at the periphery and ignores or denies the core. Thus some conceive, after the fashion of the older thinking, that any critique, any doubt as to one straight line, connotes an adoption of the straight line in the opposite direction. Others doubt the validity of any terms or categories and the reality of any lines and conceive that such terms as I am about to make use of are simply futile.

Here, too, as I see it, we may steer a cautious middle course. Our terms are useful if we have a clear idea of them and do not expect too much of them. Our categories and classifications are useful as instruments for the problems for which we employ them, even if they have no universal or inherent validity for all problems everywhere in all times. In such connection "real"

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means "significant," and significance is relative. Hence we may reach conclusions of significance for the general problems of social control without necessarily and inexorably foreclosing any particular controverted question involving special or even unique features.

We may think of public opinion as an agency of social control or as a check upon the operation of certain agencies, particularly those employed by politically organized society, notably law, enforced by proceedings in courts, and administration. The latter way of thinking comes down to us from the seventeenth century contests between courts and crown. It comes down to us from a time when political ordering of society was thought of as a ruling from without (even if a rational ruling) not as a public service from within. A political ruler imposed legal precepts on the individual subjects, and these precepts were held to their proper scope and sphere and were kept from pressing unduly upon the individual subject by the force of opinion, expressing the general sense of the subjects as to what was just or fair or politically tolerable. The fallacy in this conception has been pointed out repeatedly and sufficiently. Yet something not unlike it is significant and valid for our present purposes. Men acting in the name and using the legal and administrative machinery of politically organized society would interfere with the conduct, would order the behavior of their fellowmen. In so doing they encounter certain behavior habits, certain habits of thought, certain traditions or beliefs or opinions, which may lead to grudging acquiescence or lukewarm opposition or persistent and active resistance. The past century discussed these phenomena as the relation of law to public opinion; and if we are sure we know what we are talking about and bear in mind that we are using the term in the second of the two senses indicated above, namely, as meaning not an agency of control but a check on the operation of certain agencies, we shall be able to deal with our questions sufficiently for present purposes under the familiar title.

So thought of, public opinion is not a simple thing. In a general way we may distinguish a rational and an unrational ele-

ment. Our classical American political theory, inheriting from the rationalists of the eighteenth century, stressed and had great faith in the rational element. Laws derived their authority from the consent of the governed, based on a reasoned consideration of their application or on the appeal of their intrinsic justice to the individual conscience. In the nineteenth century this was given a historical turn; the rational element was made up of reasoned conclusions from experience, in the form of traditions, customs, beliefs, and opinions, and of reasoned conclusions on the analogy of experience, resulting from argument. Today we are less sure of reason. Psychology has been teaching us to distrust it. We suspect the rational element of being a mere putting of the unrational element in a form more satisfying to the human desire of appearing to act consistently and systematically. We suspect that what has passed for reason has been hopelessly adulterated with individual biases and prejudices and fears. Hence instead of looking at the reasoned public opinion which to the immediate past was the strength and support of law and laws, we have been looking at the unreasoned public opinion, which is a check upon laws and limits or defeats effectiveness in action.

First in this category of the unrational, we may put traditional beliefs. Sometimes traditional beliefs have fixed the ideals of the end and purpose of law and of politically organized society, and may even have been authoritatively accepted in the legal system as a body of received ideals. Lack of appreciation of the rôle of these ideals, as a part of the law quite as much as the enacted rules, frequently makes the work of the lay law reformer futile in action. But more frequently these traditional beliefs have not been received into the law. They merely form, in the lay mind, a background on which all proposed legal or political action is projected and by which it is criticized and judged and applied. These traditions may be economic or political or legal. What in the past we took to be reasoned conclusions from experience often prove to be traditional beliefs of this sort, given a cast of reason in the effort to maintain them against the new products of juristic or legislative creative activity.

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An example may be seen in the attitude of the courts when workmen's compensation acts first came before them. These statutes were objected to as arbitrary and unreasonable, and hence unconstitutional, because they imposed a liability upon an emplover where he was not at fault. In fact, there were a great many cases in the law where liability was imposed upon one who was not at fault. Some of these cases had come down to us from the Middle Ages, as in the case of liability for trespassing animals. Some of them grew out of a postulate of our social order that those who conduct enterprises shall at their peril hold in the servants or agents whom they employ to carry on the enterprises. Thus an employer may be liable for wrongs done by his servant or agent, in the course of the employment, although the employer is in no way at fault. Other cases had grown up in modern times with the advent of processes or activities threatening the general security. Of this sort was the liability imposed by the courts of New York where blasting operations carried on without fault, with all due care, nevertheless caused in jury. Thus there were abundant examples of legal imposition of liability without fault. But legal reasoning had been at work covering these over, and a traditional belief had grown up that no liability without fault was an old and fundamental common-law principle and a fundamental principle of justice. So far from being an old and fundamental common-law principle, it had come into the books within a century; and if it was a fundamental principle of justice, then whole chapters of our law of liability for wrongs were fundamentally unjust. Here a traditional belief, of no long standing, was long a serious obstacle to important legislation. The belief looked rational. But in fact it was a textbook generalization, on the basis of a doctrine of the modern Roman law and a text of the French Civil Code, in the endeavor to put the whole law of liability in terms of a metaphysical conception of freedom.

More important, from the social workers' standpoint, in this category of the unrational are rooted desires of a larger or smaller number of individuals which run counter to or come more or less into conflict with the means or purposes of some

items of social control. Sometimes these are rationalized and get the appearance of reasoned conclusions from experience. Sometimes they have become formulated in individual beliefs. Often they are merely obstinately asserted—most frequently as natural rights. But we do not dispose of this sort of public opinion by such a classification. So long as men sincerely hold that their traditional beliefs have an absolute basis in experience and that their obstinately asserted rooted desires have an ethical or even religious basis as natural rights, attempts at social control through the law which infringe upon them will encounter the perennial difficulties which have vexed law givers from the days of the Greek philosophers to the present. The traditional beliefs and claims of natural rights which a measure is likely to disturb deserve to be studied in preparation for law making quite as attentively as the old law, the mischief and the remedy and the technique of drafting.

It must be noted also that these traditional beliefs and claims of natural rights may or may not be coincident with the territorial jurisdiction of the law maker. When we speak of public opinion in this connection, we must ask, "The opinion of what public? Local? State? National?" A national or state statute may encounter local opinion. A national statute, sustained by general opinion, may encounter state opinion. One of the most obstinate of the traditional beliefs of the present is a high valuing of the local, of the provincial, in the face of a pervading eco-

nomic unification.

In the pioneer, rural, agricultural society of the beginnings of our polity, the neighborhood was an economically self-sufficient entity. There was little economic interdependence. Instead there was local economic independence. This condition is reflected not merely in our legal and political institutions but in our settled habits of thought. Note how these habits of thought affect the most important item of social control in the society of today, namely, the maintenance of the general security by means of the criminal law.

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new methods of communication have unified the country economically. They have made of the whole land one great neighborhood. Thus the things of general concern, as distinguished from those of purely local concern, have multiplied. Disorder or corruption anywhere in the land is reported throughout the country. It is read of in the press or listened to over the radio everywhere while its echoes are ringing in the locality. Crime is no longer a local affair in respect to participants, or instruments, or constituent acts, or effects. Lawbreakers extend their organized efforts over many states. The same machine gun may do one gang murder in Chicago and another in New York. In the course of one offense, the wrongdoers may use the federal mails, the transportation facilities of interstate commerce, and the instruments of interstate communication by telephone or telegraph.

For example, in the Arnstein case in which securities were stolen from financial institutions in New York through messengers, the conspiracy involved disposition of the securities in Washington. In a conspiracy to divert industrial alcohol, prosecuted in Chicago, the ramifications extended from New York to Los Angeles. Such things are a matter of course in large scale crime today.

Thus the maintenance of an ordered society has come to involve much more than repression of local offenders against local laws. The greatest threats may come from without rather than from within the locality. It is significant that legislation providing for jurisdiction over crimes at the forum of the injured state and for prosecution of crimes in places where a part of the offense was committed, have been enacted increasingly in the present century and are upheld and looked on favorably by the courts, whereas in the past they had been regarded with distrust or held invalid. Where one hundred years ago the chief concern was the common defense against foreign aggression and savages, today it is rather the common defense against organized anti-social activities extending beyond state lines, operating without regard to political boundaries, and threatening any locality where there is possibility of plunder or profit. Under such conditions the main-

tenance of the law anywhere is to some degree important everywhere. A federal system with local self-government requires much more of the locality than it did a century and a half ago. Observance and enforcement of law have become matters of general concern. There has come to be a problem of how to reconcile the needs of an era of economic unification with the régime of local self-government and with a federal as distinguished from a

centralized national government.

Many have noted that federal constitutions later than, though largely modeled on our own, such as the constitutions of Canada, of Australia, and of South Africa, differ from ours in respect of the greater number of subjects committed to the general government. Many have noted that all the amendments to our Constitution since the Civil War are in the same direction. Many have noted the enormous extension in recent years of exercise of the powers committed to the general government as compared with the relative disuse of those powers in the first century of our national existence. Not without reason it has been feared that there will be a centralization at the seat of the national government, a concentration of power in a federal bureaucracy, fatal to local self-government and destructive of our federal system. We have an inherited and justified fear of these things. But we invite them unless we, in some way, make our system of local autonomy and federal central government equal to its tasks in the economic order of today. The alternative of centralization is efficient cooperation.

Unification of some sort, military, political, or economic, is behind all centralization. The centralized administrative tradition of Western Europe is taken over from the Roman polity, which had behind it the military and political unification of the ancient world. In modern continental Europe it follows the economic and political consolidations after the breakdown of feudal society. In England economic unification following the industrial revolution brought about a centralization of control of local government through the Home Office. The growth of a general commerce and consequent demand for unified treatment of com-

mercial affairs transcending state lines led to the Constitution of the United States. Nation-wide business called for nation-wide laws, and the growth and concentration of that business has called for more and more unification or uniformity in the making and administering, not merely of commercial laws, but of the laws governing business of every sort.

In that part of the law which is in the form of reported decisions of the courts, the common law has been a unifying agency. But in legislative lawmaking there has been no such common basis and the business of the country often has to bear a burden of discordant regulation, sometimes involving not a little economic waste. Our traditional polity is judicial rather than administrative, and this judicial tradition has been given consistency through the inherited English laws. More and more, however, we have had to resort to legislation and administration, where we have little or no tradition from which to start. Indeed the common-law tradition is as distrustful of administration as the Latin tradition is reliant upon it. Our political and legal history and the circumstances of pioneer society led to a diffusing of administrative responsibility and localizing of administration as characteristically as the legal and political history of continental Europe led to a highly centralized administration with definitely located responsibility. Our American problem is to develop administrative efficiency while keeping up the Anglo-American tradition of supremacy of the law, local independence, and free

Thus far increase of power in the federal government has been the most conspicuous means of legal and administrative unification responding to economic unification. Obviously, however, there are limits to this increase, somewhat rigidly defined by the Constitution. There are limits which cannot be removed without changing the whole nature of our government. What we have to do is to find a way of meeting the demands of the new economic order without centralizing legislation and administration at Washington. We have to find how to make local and state and federal lawmaking and administration work together

individual action.

toward what have become national ends, without turning all subjects of moment over to the federal government and without putting all administration under a hierarchy at the National Capital. The way out is through cultivating a spirit of cooperation and habits of working with coordinate agencies as a matter of course. Indeed, as has been said, the alternative of cooperation is centralization. The economic order of today demands a unity and harmony of law and administration where a century ago these things might vary with each locality. It is not that there must be exactly the same laws in each locality, nor that administration in every locality must be modeled to the same pattern. It is rather that all laws and all administration must work together towards a common end whenever anything of national concern is involved. State lines no longer coincide with economic lines. A régime of local legal and administrative units pulling in different directions or blocking one another, or simply not pulling together, had no bad results when what one of these units did or did not could have little effect outside its own jurisdiction. Today the effects of legal and administrative inefficiency are not so confined. Hence a régime of administrative every-onefor-himself is not merely wasteful. It threatens the general security. Examples of clash of administrative agencies are given the widest publicity. Cases of inefficiency affecting matters of general human concern are read in the press dispatches throughout the land. Thus the public is led to question all administration at a time when we are having to learn how to administer and are having to learn it in the face of an adverse tradition. This distrust of administration on the part of the layman, added to the traditional distrust on the part of the lawyer, is a serious obstacle to the development necessary to bring our system of law enforcement abreast of the demands made upon it under the economic conditions of the time.

There is danger that this problem of cooperation in the enforcement of law will not be looked at dispassionately because of its connection with prohibition. Undoubtedly cooperation in the enforcement of law generally is intimately connected with the

enforcement of prohibition. But it is much broader in its scope and in its implications. It bears immediately and vitally upon the whole subject of enforcement of law in the United States. Enforcement of prohibition has only made conspicuous the difficulties of all enforcement of law in this country, which were bound to attract attention in any event and must have been dealt with in the end, even if there had been no National Prohibition Act. It bears also on observance of law, since the ease with which state laws are evaded through the régime of independent local laws, ignoring each other and ignoring the policy of other localities, makes for disrespect for law. The régime of local lawmaking and local administration, proceeding as if there were no considerations of law observance as a whole, makes law seem something arbitrary, resting on nothing more than the strength of the local political authority. The régime of non-cooperative administration, proceeding as if each situation might be divorced from any general setting of law observance and enforcement, makes the enforcement of law seem a game and fosters a spirit of beating the game whenever one has any interest in so doing. The evasions are made more conspicuous than the compliances.

An every-day example may be seen in the attitude of many of our states toward the divorce laws of other states. So far as the local population is concerned no doubt divorce laws are a matter of local concern. But the Reno divorce involves much more than a local policy of Nevada as to the status of citizens of that state. It is one thing to give effect to a local policy as to the domestic relations of the local population. It is quite another to provide tribunals for passing on the domestic relations of people in distant states. When a locality allows or encourages or even foments resort of citizens of other states to its tribunals as means of evading and defeating the local divorce laws and divorce policies of other states, the result is to make of them a source of irritation for those who have no means. For those who can afford the cost, the laws and tribunals of one state can be used to evade and defeat the laws of another state. Law is made to appear a body of rules governing those who are without money enough to escape them,

but affording no obstacles to those who can command the means and the time for a brief sojourn in another state. Such things breed discontent with and disrespect for the whole system of or-

dering society through law.

Consider some of the incidents of this régime of one state operating divorce courts for the citizens of other states in the face of the laws and policies of those states. One incident has been a practice of enjoining in the home state the prosecution of divorce proceedings in another state. In one case a wife in New Jersey sued in the New Jersey courts to enjoin her husband, a resident of New Jersey, from going forward in South Dakota with a suit for divorce brought in the latter state. The court in New Jersey granted the injunction and the court in South Dakota went on and granted the divorce. A contempt proceeding in New Jersey was followed by an attempt of the governor to pardon the husband committed for contempt. There was a long and complicated process of what came to an interference by each state, and by different agencies of the same state, with the legal course of law enforcement as conceived by each. As a result, laws were made to defeat law. The end and purpose of laws were lost sight of. It is not uncommon today to have a situation in which persons are divorced in the eyes of one state and not in those of another. Indeed the highest court of New York had a case before it recently in which it was constrained to pronounce void a divorce of New Yorkers obtained in a foreign state and yet to recognize that this void divorce was practically operative to allow a remarriage and a living together in New York of husband and wife in the second marriage. Things of this sort, going on every day, do continual injury to public regard for law.

It is significant that the subject of conflict of laws has become one of the chief titles of the law in the United States. There is an elaborate body of rules and doctrine for determining, as among the divergent and discordant laws of forty-eight states, which local law is applicable to situations and transactions and relations which transcend the state lines. It has been taken up for restatement by the American Law Institute, along with the

fundamental subjects, contracts and torts. But more is needed than restatement of the body of rules governing this conflict of laws. The economic waste of having many bodies of divergent local law potentially applicable to every business of importance and every economic activity of consequence, and of disputes as to which of these bodies of law should control them, speaks for itself. If we are to be spared an all-embracing federal law, there must be a reasonable coordination of the lawmaking which is to govern subjects of more than local concern. There must be cooperation in the administration of the local law on such subjects. There must be a conscious working together of all agencies, federal, state, local, and municipal for maintaining the general security as something of more than local, even if also of local, significance.

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How shall cooperation of all governmental activities toward the common purposes of government be promoted? Obviously it cannot be brought about by legislation. We must find means of changing the spirit of our administrative agencies rather than enact more laws. We must create and foster a spirit of cooperation with states among federal officers, and of cooperation with the federal government among state officers. A bad spirit has been handed down from the era of reconstruction; an antagonistic attitude toward the states on the part of the federal officials and of suspicion of federal officials and agencies on the part of state governments. This spirit was in abeyance during the World War, but has revived in some quarters in the last decade. There is an economic necessity of efficient government in the complex but unified industrial order of today. The economic waste of having one agency of politically organized society pulling one way and other agencies another, requires a giving up of the provincial attitude toward matters of national concern.

Now what is it that stands in the way of the cooperation between the different agencies of politically organized society, local, state, and federal, which alone can prevent centralization and preserve a reasonable measure of local autonomy? It is the sort of public opinion of which I have been speaking—a tradi-

tional belief in the value and independence of local institutions, a traditional suspicion of the general government, a traditional inclination to consider the general security as not a matter of local concern. The traditional fear of centralization is one of

the chiefest forces making for the centralization it fears.

Another example of the part played by these traditional beliefs may be seen in the American attitude toward the trial judge. In the United States, alone among English-speaking peoples, we insist on depriving the trial judge in large measure of his common-law powers. While we do not hesitate to give to the judges of our appellate tribunals powers with respect to statutes which exist in no other common-law land, we have from the end of the eighteenth century feared to give to the trial judge the powers essential to a vigorous administration of justice under our system. An obstinate traditional fear of the trial judge, brought over from the seventeenth century prosecutions of Whigs and Dissenters under the Stuarts, reënforced by eighteenth century prosecutions for sedition, by the conduct of some royal chief justices on the eve of the Revolution, by the conduct of some Federalist judges during the rise of Jefferson's party, and by the prosecutions which went along with the movements for Irish freedom, stands in the way of making our courts effective instruments of criminal justice at the very time when the public is clamoring for greater efficiency.

Many more instances might be adduced. It is enough to say that pioneer modes of thought surviving in developed communities, rural, agricultural modes of thought surviving in what are now urban, industrial communities, provincial modes of thought in an economically unified land, and thinking in terms of free individual competitive self-sufficiency in an economic order marked by interdependence and cooperation—all these things enter into the public opinion with which social legislation must wrestle. It must be interpreted and applied on a background of many converging traditions which have entered deeply into the settled American habits of thought which we call public opinion. There is the Puritan tradition formative in a time

of transition from a society in which organized religion had divided authority with political organization to one in which the political organization was to be paramount. There is the Whig tradition, formative in a time of transition following the breakdown of the authoritarian thought and relational social order of the Middle Ages. There is the American democratic tradition, formative in a time of transition following the casting off of the colonial régime and in the adaptation of English institutions to the New World. There is the pioneer tradition, formative in a time of expansion and rapid setting up of new commonwealths, when independence, self-reliance, versatility, restlessness and proneness to be on the move, impatience of form and ceremony and carelessness of the amenities were political and economic virtues. We must study these things and appraise their weight in what we may call the public opinion of today if we would know how to make the social legislation of the immediate future more effective for its purposes.

Speaking before a bar association some years ago, I said of interpretation and application of laws, "These things do not happen in a vacuum." The stenographer afterwards wrote it out, "These things do not happen in a back room." Legislation may be drafted in a back room. But it is not interpreted and applied either in a back room or in a vacuum. We must study, in preparation for any effective law making, the atmosphere of traditions, beliefs, and opinions in which it will have to function—

in which it will, or will not, be observed and enforced.

Social legislation is a much more difficult task than it seemed to us a generation ago in the enthusiasm of progressivism and of pioneer faith in versatility. Yet we may still have faith in the efficacy of intelligent effort—of effort intelligently directed to procuring observance and assuring enforcement no less than to the abstract justice of the precepts and the consonance of them and of the desired result with an enlightened program of social behavior.

## THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## WHAT THE INDIANS WANT FROM THE GOVERNMENT

W. David Owl, Missionary, Baptist and Presbyterian Indian Churches on Cattaraugus Reservation, Iroquois, New York

HE Indian population which numbers approximately 350,000, including 65,000 students, is rapidly reaching a period in its development when it is more and more difficult to please by benevolence, even of the choicest quality. The hand of the ages has touched them with force and attractiveness, and this touch has given rise to wants and desires kindred to those of enlightened peoples. They begin to appreciate the advantages of cultural attainments, of being well trained in the ordinary vocations of life, of doing things for themselves, of having sound bodies and of being members of the larger human family. "The time has come," they say, "that we must stand on our own feet and walk by the strength of our own intelligence." The change is from passive interest to earnest desire, and due to the vastly increased momentum of social and economic stimulus, their general wants as well as particular needs have become complex and difficult to satisfy or supply. It is primarily an educational task.

The Indian, first of all, wants his legal status clarified. Confusion of jurisdiction relative to Indian reservation life is frequently responsible for lack of law and order, for lack of educational, health, and various other modern facilities. The subject of independent rights of the Indian and the control of the federal and state governments is complicated by tribal relations, treaties, agreements and sales extending back into early national history.

A report by John R. Reeves submitted to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1914, relative to the New York Indians says,

Conditions of the remaining reservations show a crying need for reform. Naturally one casts about for the reasons why these conditions should have so long been permitted to continue. First among these we find the question of jurisdiction over these Indians.

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It is plain that settlement of this question of federal and state province over Indians which has been a stumbling block for a century and a half, must precede any substantial and permanent betterment of conditions. For instance, a state may enact a law providing for compulsory school attendance by Indian children, the same as it has for white children. Most Indians want education and approve of the provision. But there are Indians who do not want to obey such a law, who constantly question and challenge its validity. Some object on the ground that only the federal government can control the matter, and some go so far as to say that the Indians are completely independent of both white governments, not bound by any laws, but only by treaties. It is quite natural that the facilities provided both by the federal government and by the state suffer from uncertainty as to the right and duty to furnish and control them. The Indian, due to the resulting confusion, is the larger sufferer. He wants to know where he legally belongs. He wants to know what laws to live by; he wants to labor in peace, and he wants a government to which he may attach his love, his devotion, and his loyalty.

Indians who have possessed themselves with the advantages offered and have become self-supporting and self-respecting members of society give utterance to the proposition that the Indian race is rapidly outgrowing adolescence. This type of Indian, and he may be found in every tribe, is weary of the thoroughly paternalistic method of dealing with his race. He feels that they have been led by the hand, as children, long enough. They have not been permitted to make their own decisions in matters which mean substantial progress in the affairs of life. Schools have been planted among them, hospitals are established for their benefit, decisions are handed down to them, all these frequently without

their consent or without any willingness on their part to support them. This method of benevolence has left the mass of the Indian people half-grown, stunted, a miserable group of dependent folk. The Indian wants as much as anything else to be dealt with as though he were of some consequence. He desires to be consulted on subjects which affect his well being. He is receptive to suggestions regarding time-saving and labor-saving methods. He takes pride in striving toward and in attaining definite objectives which he has a share in setting up.

Members of the Indian race need to realize that they have the capacity to acquire modern culture unknown to their ancestors, that they have ability under proper training to perform the tasks of industry and mechanics with that same efficiency and constancy attributed to persons of advanced civilizations. The Indian's nature is designed for the conquest of great difficulties and he is never so truly himself as when he is grappling with them.

A sympathetic interest toward the problems of the Indian on the part of the neighboring white population would solve many perplexing situations. The Indian desires to understand his neighbors and to work in cooperation with them, but because there is an indifferent attitude on the part of his neighbors and a lack of active good will, social adjustments are tardy and economic opportunities are neglected. The government, through some tested agency, needs to enter this territory with the express purpose of lifting the horizons of the people, both red and white, so that understanding and better fellowship may result. It seems to me a justifiable expenditure of energy and means that the citizens of two races, living in the same community, should be led to take the chance of human nature being much the same on both sides of the boundary line and to act on the belief that love is stronger than hate, that brotherliness is more potent than armed truce.

The ways of the old Indian are gone, or are rapidly going and a new day is in the offing. The pace is very fast even for the ablest Indians, and the youth must be taught now how to make a place for themselves. The children should be prepared to live and to work alongside of their white neighbors, for in the course of a few years Indians in many sections will inevitably be merged with the whites, a situation which should be faced squarely and met intelligently.

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The Indian has learned to appreciate the necessity of training which will equip him for productive pursuits, which will give him better ways of making a livelihood, an education which completes itself by doing the thing that it knows how to do. The average Indian needs to be trained for some skilled occupation in order to achieve his best chance of becoming a useful citizen. This means better and more extensive vocational training facilities, efficient educational methods, and a well qualified personnel.

Wherever conditions permit our boys and girls should be urged to attend the public schools. The contacts there often mean more to Indian children than the mechanics of school routine. There they become accustomed to the language and habits of other children, and this brings about social adjustments. Wherever the activities of Indian youth are naturally blended in public school life the Indians lose self-consciousness and learn to look upon themselves as members of organized society. The efforts made in this direction, and the results already attained, are to be commended.

A critical period in the education of the reservation Indian in particular is that which concerns the high school and college students. The high school pupils need transportation facilities and assistance in meeting the miscellaneous financial obligations. Contrary to current opinion, most Indians are poor, and those who crave scholastic advantages experience many privations and circumstances difficult to surmount to achieve the end. Many a promising student falls by the wayside after the second high school year, not because of deficiency in intellectual vitality, but because of meager financial resources. For college students it is the same story. Independent or private scholarships are scarce. The government would not go far afield if it would set apart funds for the use of deserving and well recommended Indian students who have their ambitions tuned to higher education. Ample evidence is available concerning Indian college graduates who have made permanent use of their training. It is a sure way to bring to fruition the cherished goal of qualified native leadership. A thorough education therefore, itself is a worthy policy for the government to pursue in relation to Indian affairs.

Reservation inhabitants, both old and young, yearn for wholesome activity not only in work but also for the proper use of leisure time.

Much of the lack of initiative and of a thoroughgoing competitive spirit to be found among the people of my race may be traced with confidence to the absence of economic and social stimulus. The Indian's attainments have not been made to equal his possibilities, but as opportunities for self-expression are made

available results are rapid and satisfying.

Attempts have been made to place individual families on their allotments where, it was thought, they would make a comfortable living as tillers of the soil. This procedure has not always proved to be successful. Indians excuse themselves variously for their inability to cultivate the soil as a vocation. "It is the heritage of independence our ancestors exercised, as kings of the wide open spaces, which causes us to be indifferent to the captivity which farm life demands of us," they say. One thing is certain, that because of a change in the temper of the times, the lure of wages, the isolation of rural life, the lack of capital and the absence of thorough agricultural training, migration from the reservations to urban centers is steadily increasing.

The Indians, of course, want productive employment. It will be necessary for a few years for the government to assist in the placement of Indians, especially students, as they graduate in the kind of employment for which they are best adapted. Logan, an

Indian chief, is recorded as saying:

Indian, like white man, two kinds. One like eagle. He flies smooth and high. Wastes no time. Majestic. When he has something to do he never hesitates, he goes straight at it. Other, like crow. He meet with same kind in treetop. Make lots of noise, caw, caw, caw. Do nothing. Then fly away.

The Indian is a diligent worker, often preferred over others for railroad and highway construction, mining and forestry. Where he fits into his work, by virtue of skill or temperament, re

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he is dependable and efficient. He has a heritage of shyness and quiet, often painful to an employer, which he cannot easily overcome and which makes him sensitive to rebuke, to ridicule and even sometimes to authority, but he will be found receptive to the human touch of friendship, of sympathetic interest. Hence, the importance of a placement service which shall have for its object a fitting of individual Indians and of families into the life of the nation where they may permanently establish themselves.

The importance of the use of leisure time is paramount. The making or breaking of a nation is measured by the activities of spare moments. With the Indian the experience has mostly been "breaking." Well ordered recreational programs are few and far between. Leadership and personnel to carry out community recreation are rare and often unknown on reservations. Both men and women are responsive to community get-togethers when they are conducted with an eye to local situations and based on definite needs. There have been many mistakes in attempts at recreational work by churches and by social agencies. The time is ripe, we believe, when the vast resources of the government might profitably be expended in the promotion of lifegiving interests to occupy the leisure time of the reservation Indian.

I have come to believe that we must improve the environment, as well as the hearts, of our Indian population. We cannot change their habits and customs immediately but we can help them indirectly by modifying conditions, by an intelligent selecting and weighing of the things which engage their attention. For instance, an Indian, like anybody else, can travel after a fashion on unimproved roads. But Indians and automobiles are not strangers to each other in these days and the character of civilization to which the Indian is being introduced constantly is too complex to be carried on without smooth roads. Improved highways convenient to Indian centers would have more influence in civilizing the Indian than we sometimes think. Improved means of transportation are necessary.

Where Indians have migrated to urban centers, another aspect

of Indian welfare arises. A majority of these families, now residing in cities near each reservation, are forced by circumstances to live in unsanitary quarters in the less desirable sections of the town. We are prone to say, "They have left the reservation, so why worry about them longer." But they are still Indians and they are still in need of a true and trusted friend. The government must be this friend. It has the humane task of arousing public opinion in their behalf, of the arousing of the urban public to their responsibilities for these newcomers into their midst. The barriers of indifference, race prejudice, of "passing the buck," must be destroyed if these Indians are to become respected members of that society.

The Indian desires to be a good citizen. Already the government has conferred the rights and privileges of citizenship upon him and thus recognized him as a responsible person, a person who is the recipient of benefits and services from his fellowmen, a person protected by law. All this gives him importance. It also gives him duties, it gives him responsibilities toward his fellow men and toward his nation. The greatest wrong that can be done to the Indian is to place him in the light of being of no value to the nation, of having no opportunities for useful enterprise, of

having no duties worth performing.

The education of the Indian in these larger aspects of citizenship rests primarily with government. At present, he is confused about the meaning of citizenship and because it has not been made clear to him, he is afraid there is some unexplained reason for making him a citizen, which may not be to his advantage. In justice to him he ought to be shown just where his duties and rights begin and end. To him citizenship usually means paying taxes and voting and nothing else. If the Indian often seems stubborn, indifferent and difficult to deal with it is because confusion reigns in his mind. Questions affecting his personal duties, his rights, his property, his larger relationships have never been made clear to him. His power to make decisions has seldom been given opportunity for cultivation. But in instances where enough patience has been exercised to make some of these essentials of citizenship

understood, there has always resulted definite and immediate response. In justice to him, as a citizen, he needs to be placed in command of forces which will rout indecision and confusion, so that he may come and go, live and work, in the confidence that he is contributing his share to the whole.

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The day for setting a good example is not yet past. The Indian people need good citizens to emulate, citizens who show love and loyalty, sympathy and good will toward their fellow men, and toward their country. It is loyalty to which Indians need to be introduced, loyalty to something which claims their respect and confidence and to which they may cling with assurance that it is universally kindred to the noblest desires of mankind.

## WHAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS DOING

John R. T. Reeves, Chief Counsel, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington

BELIEVING firmly in the familiar adage that "actions speak louder than words" the present administration of Indian Affairs comes before you with no glittering generalities of what it intends to do, but prefers to hold its peace and allow results to speak for themselves. We can and do express the sincere hope, however, that the future holds in store for the Indian, individually and collectively, a wider opportunity for more rapid advancement along the broad lines of education,

civilization, and social and economic development.

In that very excellent production The Problem of Indian Administration, published some two years ago under the able supervision of Dr. Lewis Meriam, the Institute for Government Research presented in some detail many of the underlying handicaps with which the Indians and the Indian Service were then confronted. Among these it was repeatedly and abundantly pointed out that insufficient medical attention, including hospitalization; insufficient educational facilities, including buildings, equipment, and personnel; overcrowding in Indian schools and even insufficient food in some instances, particularly in variety, were all attributable primarily to a lack of sufficient funds. To this need Congress has recently responded in rather generous proportions. The Urgent Deficiency Bill, Approved March 26, 1930, carries increased appropriations for the Indian Service of something over \$2,000,000, containing items among others that may be mentioned as of chief interest and importance here: conservation of health, including purchase of equipment, material and supplies, \$400,000; support of Indian schools, including purchase of equipment and supplies and for an enlarged personnel, \$1,100,000; support of Indians and administration of In-

dian property, \$439,000. It is to be recalled, however, that the sums just mentioned are additional appropriations, that is, over and above those found in the regular or annual appropriations acts making provision for the Indian Service. The latter act for the coming fiscal year, approved May 14, 1930, also carries substantial increases in the sums made available by Congress for work among and in behalf of the Indians. Without going into needless details, these may be briefly summed up by saying that more than \$10,000,000 have thus been made available for educational work among the Indians, including approximately \$1,500,000 for the construction of improved classroom space, for dormitories and other buildings; over \$3,000,000 for conservation of health among the Indians, including the construction of six new hospitals, and over \$1,000,000 for industrial assistance, including irrigation and administration of forests on Indian lands.

These increased appropriations, however, have but recently been made available, both of the acts referred to having been passed by Congress less than ninety days ago. Under the enlarged program thus made possible to the Indian Service the following new positions have recently been established: one director of agricultural extension work with six additional agricultural extension agents, whose duty it will be to cooperate fully with state and county officers performing like duties among the whites; one supervisor of elementary education and eight demonstration teachers, to go from school to school for the purpose of observing conditions and to suggest improvements in teaching procedure; one placement agent of Indian employment, to find jobs for the pupils when they leave school and to find employment for other Indians as well; one supervisor of boys' industries and trades; one personnel officer of both field and office employes; one chief supervisor of construction with competent assistants, such as a trained estimator, specification writer, and heating engineer.

It is expected that this latter organization will greatly facilitate the erection of new buildings and the improvement of existing plants some of which have for many years been greatly in need of modernization.

Commendable reports are being received almost daily of the satisfactory progress made by this new staff of field employees, particularly by the placement agent of Indian employment and

by the agricultural extension agents.

Advertisements have recently been issued of a special examination for a director of education in the Indian Service at an entrance salary of \$5,600 per annum. Among the minimum requirements set up for this position may be mentioned scholarship equivalent to the degree of Ph.D., with specialization in some field of education and subsequent experience in educational research, including a thorough knowledge of modern educational methods, the formation and development of curriculums on a large scale and successful experience in vocational education and vocational guidance. Applications for this position must be on file with the United States Civil Service Commission, at Washington, not later than June 18, 1930. The qualifications of candidates will be passed upon by a special board of examiners consisting of Dr. Charles R. Mann, chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Education; Dr. Henry Suzzalo of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and also of the National Advisory Committee on Education, and Dr. H. A. Edson, chief of the Civil Service Commission, who will act as chairman of the special examining board.

Before leaving the question of Indian education it may be well to pause for a moment and turn our attention briefly to a review of what has been accomplished in the past. The first appropriation by Congress for educational work among the Indians will be found in the act of March 3, 1819, and consisted of but \$10,000. For some reason not entirely clear even this small sum was not used but in the following year \$11,838 was turned over to twenty-one schools being conducted by various religious or missionary organizations working among the Indians. This system was followed rather generally until about 1870 when an appropriation of \$100,000 was made for Indian schools,

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and this may really be regarded as the beginning of our present Indian educational system which consists of two kinds or classes of schools; namely, day schools located near centers of Indian population within the reservations or adjacent to Indian communities elsewhere, and the so called boarding schools, some located within reservations and established especially for the Indians residing thereon, and the non-reservation boarding schools usually located at some convenient railroad center, apart from any Indian reservation and open practically to the children of any tribe alike.

At the present time we have 130 Indian day schools, 55 reservation boarding schools, and 19 non-reservation boarding schools, some of the latter being establishments of considerable size, such as the Sherman Institute at Riverside, California, with a capacity of 1,000; the Salem Indian School in Oregon, the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona, the Chillocco Indian School in Oklahoma, and the Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas, with a capacity of approximately 900 each. The day schools, of course, are purely elementary and the reservation boarding schools are also largely elementary, having grades from one to six or from one to eight only. The non-reservation boarding schools now offer junior high school courses with grades from seven to nine and senior high school courses with grades from ten to twelve. Enrollment in these government day schools at this time is about 4,600, in the reservation boarding schools about 12,000, and in the non-reservation boarding schools approximately the same number. The government schools, therefore, are now affording educational facilities to about 28,600 Indian pupils, located in 23 states, principally west of the Mississippi River. Schools operated by missionary organizations working among the Indians provide educational opportunities for an additional 4,800 pupils.

A very commendable tendency of modern times has been to encourage and develop attendance of Indian children in public schools supported in whole or in part by the state or by local communities in which they dwell. At this time there are about 35,000

Indian pupils attending public schools in the several states. Generally speaking, tuition is paid by the federal government to the state or county school district at a pre-determined rate per pupil, based on each day's actual attendance. This rate may vary somewhat, being dependent to a considerable extent on the financial needs of the particular school or local community involved. In other words, small schools in remote or sparsely settled communities usually cost more per pupil to operate than the larger

schools located near thriving centers of population.

Of more than passing interest in this connection is a recent authorization by Congress of \$40,000 for the purpose of cooperating with the Public School Board of Browning, Montana, in maintaining a consolidated school at that point for the education of children of both the white and Indian race, the latter principally of the Blackfeet Indian tribe. Assuredly consolidated schools of this sort should result in better facilities, better buildings, better equipment, a higher grade of teaching personnel, and should go a long way also toward easing the burden on the local taxpayer. From the Indian standpoint it has the added advantage of bringing the Indian pupils into daily contact with their white neighbors where the English language alone is used—a real asset, particularly in the elementary grades.

We are very much pleased to be able to announce that through the kindly cooperation of the president of Cornell University we have been able to secure the services of Dr. Erl Bates, professor of anthropology and advisor on Indian extension work at that university, who will assist us for a year at least in formulating a more extensive national educational program for the Indians. Dr. Bates is so well known to most of us that he needs no words of commendation from us. I understand that he believes that the solution of the Indian problem rests in education in the trades, in agriculture, in the commercial arts and in home making, and that in its solution the states should assist through a joint

program of all public and private agencies.

Commendable progress is being made in the important field of health activities among the Indians under the capable supervision of our medical director. With the increased appropriations recently made available the Indian Service is now supplying 140 physicians whose entire time will be devoted exclusively to work among the Indians. This includes fifteen specialists in eve, ear, nose and throat work. Supplementing this staff of physicians are 250 hospital nurses and 85 field nurses. Ninety-six hospitals for the accommodation of Indian patients are now in operation in various parts of the field with a total bed capacity for some 3,600 patients. Additional hospitals and sanatoriums now nearing completion will accommodate 400 more and the six new hospitals recently authorized by Congress will increase this capacity to a material extent. It is with some degree of satisfaction that we are able to state that the Indians are making a steadily increasing use of the hospital facilities provided for their benefit. This is amply illustrated by the fact that during the past year over 37,000 Indians received hospital treatment in the institutions maintained by the government for their use, while a few years ago it was exceedingly difficult to persuade Indians to accept hospitalization even though desperately ill.

Other activities conducted by the Indian Service may be of interest here. Under existing contracts covering the sale of timber on tribal and allotted Indian land located on some fifteen different reservations revenue to the Indians was derived during the past year to the extent of something over \$2,000,000. On one reservation alone payments actually made to the Indians from this source aggregated around \$700 per capita. Where the average family consists, say, of even four members this means an income to such family of nearly \$3,000—admittedly of substantial benefit in affording a broader opportunity for educational

and civic betterment.

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Of outstanding importance in the irrigation work was the completion and dedication during the past year of the Coolidge Dam, Arizona, designed to provide storage for the irrigation of approximately 100,000 acres of land in the Gila River valley below Florence, Arizona. Of this area 50,000 acres belong to the Pima Indians on the Gila River Reservation and the remainder

to white owners above the reservation line. With funds appropriated by Congress a power plant has also been constructed in connection with this reservoir from which hydro-electric power is now being produced in considerable quantities. It is conservatively estimated that the revenue from this by-product alone—that is sale of electric power developed at this reservoir—will yield between \$50,000 and \$150,000 per annum, depending entirely, of course, on the quantity of water available and assuming that a ready market can be found for all power so generated. At any rate from October 1, 1929, to May 1, 1930, the revenue from this source amounted to \$34,700, the April sales alone be-

ing slightly in excess of \$13,000.

After protracted hearings and negotiations a license for the development of power at what is known as Site No. 1 on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, has recently been issued. This calls for the completion within three years of a power plant at this point consisting of three units of 50,000 horse-power each, or an aggregate of 150,000 horsepower. During the period of construction rental will be paid to the Indians at the rate of \$1,000 per month, and beginning with the calendar month next succeeding the date when the first unit of this project is placed in commercial operation the rental will be \$5,000 per month. For each full calendar year from and after the first day of January next succeeding the date when this plant comes into commercial operation, rental to the Indians will be paid on a gradually rising scale with a minimum of not less than \$60,000 for the first two years; \$75,000 for the third year; \$100,000 for the fourth year; \$125,000 for the fifth year; \$150,000 for each of the succeeding five years; \$160,000 for the next five years and \$175,000 for the next five years or down to the end of the twenty-year period, at which time the license provides that these rental charges in behalf of the Indians will be subject to readjustment, doubtless to their substantial benefit. It is also provided by this license that a certain amount of power at a reduced rate shall be furnished to the irrigation project within the Flathead Indian reservation, a considerable part of the lands of which are still in Indian ownership.

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With reference to the irrigation situation generally, it may be said that the total area now capable of being served with water from works constructed under supervision of the Indian Service aggregates around 700,000 acres located in ten different western states. Chief among these projects in point of size at least is the Wapato Project on the Yakima Indian Reservation in the State of Washington, where some 120,000 acres of valuable land highly adapted to fruit culture have been brought under irrigation. Undoubtedly projects of this kind are of great benefit to the Indians and to the communities in which they reside, but a matter of growing concern to the Indians and to their friends is the constantly increasing reimbursable charges thus being piled up against the lands in Indian ownership. Under existing law these irrigation charges remain a lien against the land until paid. In the more favored localities this may not prove too great a burden for the Indian to bear but in others, where the soil, the climate and other conditions are less advantageous, it is even now a question whether some of these obligations must not be charged off, as was done several years ago in a number of the Whiteman's Reclamation projects. This and several other matters deemed of vital importance to the Indians were specially brought to the attention of the Senate and House Committees on Indian Affairs in the early part of December, 1929.

A measure now pending before Congress, in which we are greatly interested, has been the subject of much discussion. It is designed to broaden the authority of the Secretary of the Interior so as to enable him more fully to cooperate with the qualified agencies of any state in providing educational facilities, medical attention and relief to indigent Indians.

In its final analysis the Indian problem is a local problem—one in which the community where the Indian dwells is or should be vitally concerned. The ultimate destiny of the Indian, of course, is absorption into our body politic, and the earlier this is accomplished the better it will be both for the Indians and for the

whites. For the past hundred years or longer this is the goal toward which we have all been striving. Combined efforts by the state and national governments is but a step in the right direction. Cooperation with a view of avoiding duplication of effort, duplication of facilities, duplication of buildings, personnel, et cetera, certainly affords a logical solution for situations of this kind. This can readily be brought about by consolidated schools, consolidated hospitals, and consolidation of efforts in providing other institutions of a like nature, open equally to members of both the white and the red races. Naturally, this leads us back to the fundamental idea that after all the Indian problem is really a local problem. It is also one in which cooperative effort and cooperative assistance by the white residents of any community will ultimately redound to their own substantial welfare.

May the day shortly arrive when the Indian will be no more a problem, is the sincere wish of all true friends of the Indians,

including those employed in the Indian Service.

# WHAT THE INDIAN SERVICE NEEDS

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Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford, Illinois

BEFORE considering certain essential needs of the Government's Indian Service I think we should remind ourselves that the Indian Committee which has charge of this meeting is a new committee of the National Conference of Social Work set up last year because of what the Conference considered an extraordinary juncture in Indian affairs, namely the appearance of a report entitled *The Problem of Indian Administration*. A brief description of the governmental origin of this report shows plainly that the Conference was warranted in adding at this time to its twelve general divisions a Committee on the American Indian.

This report was made in response to the formal request of the Secretary of the Interior—then Dr. Hubert Work—addressed to the Institute for Government Research. Secretary Work's letter states that the Survey of Indian Affairs which he desires should embrace the educational, industrial, social, and medical activities maintained among the Indians, their property rights and their general economic conditions. It should be conducted by persons selected because of their impartiality and special qualifications who will command the confidence of those concerned, the government officials, the Indians, and the general public.

The Secretary says also that his knowledge of the Institute convinces him that "it is especially well qualified to conduct such a survey in a thorough, impartial and scientific spirit with the object of making the result of its work a constructive contribution to the difficult field of government administration."

The Institute accepted the task and raised the special funds needed from private sources. Lewis Meriam, a member of the Institute staff especially qualified for this inquiry by experience in government and private research and administration, was made technical director. The other members of the Survey's

staff were Ray A. Brown, specialist on legal aspects: Henry Roe Cloud, Indian adviser; Edward Everett Dale, specialist on general economic conditions; Emma Duke, specialist on conditions of Indian migrants to urban communities; Herbert R. Edwards, M.D., specialist on health; Fayette Avery McKenzie, specialist on existing material relating to Indians; Mary Louise Mark. specialist on family life and activities of women; W. Carson Ryan, Jr., specialist on education; William J. Spillman, specialist on agriculture. This was a carefully chosen group of experts with practical experience in the various aspects of the survey. An adequate office force was also necessary and had to be organized. Thus some months inevitably were required for preparation before the ten members of the survey's staff set forth for seven months of arduous field work, during which some member or members of the staff saw most of the present Indian population from children in the schools to the old men and women of the various tribes. They saw the varying living conditions of the homes from comfort to squalid misery; they saw the government boarding schools; they saw and could measure the varying economic situations; in short, they brought back the most complete knowledge of the Indians of all types now living in the United States which has ever been gathered and presented as a whole, and which with the historical background we already have affords an invaluable basis for judging how the government can most rapidly and surely aid the advance of the American Indian.

It is not always easy for investigators to win the confidence of those they wish to study but in that respect this staff was unusually fortunate, thanks to one member, Henry Roe Cloud. Mr. Cloud is an Indian, a Yale graduate, a gentleman, and a scholar. Trusted by the Indians his presence on the staff was a guarantee of the good faith of the survey, opened every door and insured an extraordinary degree of accuracy as to all material which required the statements of the Indians themselves.

Libraries have been written concerning the American Indian. Much invaluable information has been gathered and preserved, oe

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but conditions have not been static with the Indian and the facts regarding Indian affairs at this time had not been assembled in orderly fashion, nor fully known, until the report on *The Problem of Indian Administration* was made and presented to the Department of the Interior in 1928 after two years of painstaking study and effort.

Secretary Work obviously requested this report because he believed that the office of Indian Affairs would be aided by the non-partisan, scientific study proposed by him and now published by the Institute. Whoever examined the 872 pages of the report, or the brief summary prepared for quick reading, will not question the practical wisdom of Secretary Work's request and will respect and admire the scientific skill and the fine human understanding which characterized the study.

Let us not forget that one element of great value in the report is that it initiates a method and forces us to see that social research must be continuous by the Indian Service itself, ingrained as an element of its program, so that it can test its own work and method and the value of its results and can itself by the quality of its work gain the "confidence of those concerned."

Let us stop here to consider briefly what the report shows as to the needs of the Indian before trying to consider what the Indian Service needs, which is the subject given me. This preliminary seems so important that I shall risk repetition.

The report begins its summary by stating:

An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization. . . . . The health of the Indians as compared with that of the general population is bad. . . . . Tuberculosis is extremely prevalent. Trachoma is a major problem. . . . . The prevailing living conditions among the great majority of the Indians are conducive to the development and spread of disease. With comparatively few exceptions the diet of the Indians is bad.

The government boarding schools were found open to serious criticism. No single need of the Indian can be more important than good schools. On this point "The survey staff finds itself obliged to say frankly and unequivocally that the provisions for

the care of the Indian children in boarding schools are grossly inadequate."

Again we quote from the report:

The income of the typical Indian family is low and the earned income extremely low. . . . . Much of his activity is expended in lines which produce a relatively small return either in goods or money. He generally ekes out an existence through unearned income from leases of his land, the sale of land, per capita payments from tribal funds, or in exceptional cases through rations given him by the government. . . . . Many of those who attempt farming are living on lands on which a trained skilled white farmer could hardly get a decent living. The Indian lacking both training and skill is doomed to failure. . . . . The typical Indian, however, has not yet advanced to the point where he has the knowledge of money and values and of business methods that will permit him to control his own property without aid, advice and some restrictions; nor is he ready to work consistently and regularly at more or less routine labor. . . . . The survey staff found altogether too much evidence of real suffering and discontent to subscribe to the belief that the Indians are reasonably satisfied with their condition. The amount of serious illness and poverty is too great to permit of real contentment. The Indian is like the white man in his affection for his children and he feels keenly the sickness and the loss of his offspring.

Not only do the Indian children need education and an education which employs the best methods of modern schools, but practical education in agriculture, in stock raising, in trades and occupations which will enable the Indian to earn a decent living in the towns, all to be done with a degree of interest and promise that will overcome the age-long Indian customs.

No one will dispute that the true function of the Office of Indian Affairs is to deal justly with approximately the three hundred thousand Indians remaining in this country and to do all that is possible to aid them to become actual, not nominal, citizens, sound in health, educated, self-directing, self-supporting, a valuable integral element, not a responsibility, in our national life.

I shall now venture to mention what may be called certain basic or essential needs of the Indian Service as they appear to one who is only a looker on.

First, the best obtainable knowledge of the Indian situation. At the present time the Meriam report answers that need. Ob-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is only fair to note that this statement and the supporting evidence in the report resulted in obtaining from Congress at the last session increased appropriations which we may hope will next session reach a sum fully meeting the school needs as to food, clothing, equipment, and modern teaching.

viously such research should be continuous and should be carried on by the government itself and should command the confidence of all. This is said with full understanding of the value of occasional detached observations by a non-governmental agency. In brief, the scientific approach is essential.

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Second, able, progressive, administrative direction wholly independent of political interference. Such an administration is at present assured by President Hoover's appointment of C. J. Rhoads and Henry Scattergood as commissioner and assistant commissioner of Indian Affairs, respectively. Both are men of affairs and social understanding, both have been intelligently interested in the progress of the Indians and have been active in organizations for the benefit of Indians. Though every argument of personal advantage and comfort was against their acceptance they did accept with the utmost good will.

Third, a competent personnel appointed by carefully made tests of such varying practical types as best serve the requirements of the different activities of the Service both in the office and in the field. All should be in the classified service. Indians and whites should be eligible to all appointments with salaries and retirement allowances on equal terms.

The administrative staff of the office of Indian Affairs in Washington is about two hundred strong. The field staff of about five thousand persons carries on a great range of activities—no one doubts the faithfulness and the ability of many of the field officers. Many have spent long years isolated in far-off parts of the country on salaries so low and with retirement allowances so meager that they dare not stop working. The authorities are well aware of the effect of low pay and the tendency is now, we may hope, upward. Undoubtedly increase of salaries which are now under other standards of Government service and better retirement allowances would improve the spirit of the field staff. If people work on because they dare not resign, the work suffers because of their diminished powers and their natural unhappiness.

In the matter of personnel we must look ahead to the mode of

selection of new appointees. The majority of positions in the field service of the Office of Indian Affairs are under the Civil Service Commission. It is a grave question whether the 25 per cent or so of exceptions are in the interest of the Indian Service itself.

There has been a constant improvement in the methods of selection in the classified service in the last twenty years. The old type of assembled written examinations (requiring much travel and loss of time and money to those who did not obtain appointments) has been wherever possible superseded by more reasonable methods of choice such as good administrators use in obtaining a staff for a school or a research foundation or a business. An interesting illustration of the new method is found in the announcement of the examination for the new position of director of education in the Indian Service. This examination the Commission announces will consist solely of the consideration of qualifications by the special Board of examiners consisting of the chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Education, Charles R. Mann, Dr. Henry Suzzalo of the Carnegie Foundation, and Dr. H. A. Edson, chief examiner of the Civil Service Commission. The old fashioned written examination is discarded in such cases.

I quote from a recent personal letter of a member of the Commission, as to the views of the Civil Service Commission itself:

There is difficulty in obtaining eligibles who will accept appointment owing to the isolated localities and the lack of quarters in some instances for dependents. There is a chronic shortage of nurses, physicians, matrons and teachers. The Commission has to resort to special advertising to obtain applicants. There is a need of eligibles who have the missionary spirit.

A fine spirit of cooperation is seen at present between the Indian Service and the Civil Service Commission from which we may be certain of excellent results. It is always easy in some quarters to find fault with the Civil Service Commission especially if it hinders an otherwise incompetent applicant from obtaining preferment. Of course, like every other legal regulation it is only as good as the persons who administer it. It is no auto-

matic Robot but it is the best plan yet invented for obtaining public servants of high qualifications, when intelligently and honestly administered.

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And here I wish to speak further of one particular type of candidate needed now and in the future for the personnel. The title of Mr. Meriam's address last year before this Conference was "The Indian Problem: A Challenge to American Capacity for Social Service." By social service he means the work of those trained for the activities represented by the twelve divisions of this Conference and by its more than five thousand members. He is pointing at the social worker in this challenge.

All this should encourage social workers as to the opportunities of satisfying careers in the Indian Service. This is not an abstract matter. Ask the Civil Service Commission today before you leave this Conference to place your name and address on the list for notices of positions in the Indian Service and if you find or do not find any position you desire, make it your business to call this opportunity to the attention of others. New positions will necessarily be created from time to time of increasing interest, social, economic, educational. No other group of scholars and practical workers in our country is so well fitted for the field of the Indian Service as the social worker. The Indians need some of you. And do not some of you desire the opportunity for public service—not easy but hard, exhausting: yet on the other hand, worthy your culture, your skill, your social interest, your patriotism?

It should be noted that in most of the field positions the appointee comes in personal contact with the Indians. Candidates are needed therefore who have such practical training and experience in social work as serves to produce mutual confidence and good will between the Indian and the government representative.

The social worker follows Masaryk who defines himself as a Realist. (Certainly social workers are realists!) Masaryk is a democrat, a scholar, and above all a humanitarian. In the opinion of many he is also the wisest, most practical and most useful statesman in Europe. He has written down in *The Making of a State* much wisdom, and the social worker, especially if also a government servant, well understands his meaning when he says, "One of the problems of democracy is how to put true and noble human qualities into politics in the administration of the state."

At this time, with the President of the United States and the commissioners firmly determined to inaugurate a practical policy for immediate progress in Indian Affairs, we believe that a genuine advance is being made in putting "true and noble human qualities" into the administration by the government of the Indian Service.

Fourth, I want to mention another essential need of the Indian Service. I mean public opinion, or perhaps rather publicity as the creator of public opinion. A great authority has said, "From the democratic principles of liberty and equity, it follows that democracy is based upon publicity." Publicity is an abominable master but it is an indispensable servant of intelligent public opinion. The Office of Indian Affairs needs public interest and public understanding. It will be strengthened immeasurably if the public understands it. The public really wants facts, only it wants them somehow administered painlessly. At this time the Office of Indian Affairs is perhaps richer than any other Bureau in the Government in records and reports, important as scientific material and of interest to us all as human stuff, unaffected, understandable.

We well understand that the government statistical material is basic and that the art of popularizing has seemed scarcely of equal importance with scientific research, yet I venture the belief that nothing could be more valuable than much skillful attention devoted to the interpretation of such reports, and addressed to the public by many varying expedients.

Publicity is not a hardy perennial plant but rather a delicate seedling soon dying from neglect, and with constant replanting necessary. To illustrate, in 1892 this Conference had a fine program on the Indian policy prepared by a special committee. The practical wisdom of most of the papers was and is unquestionable,

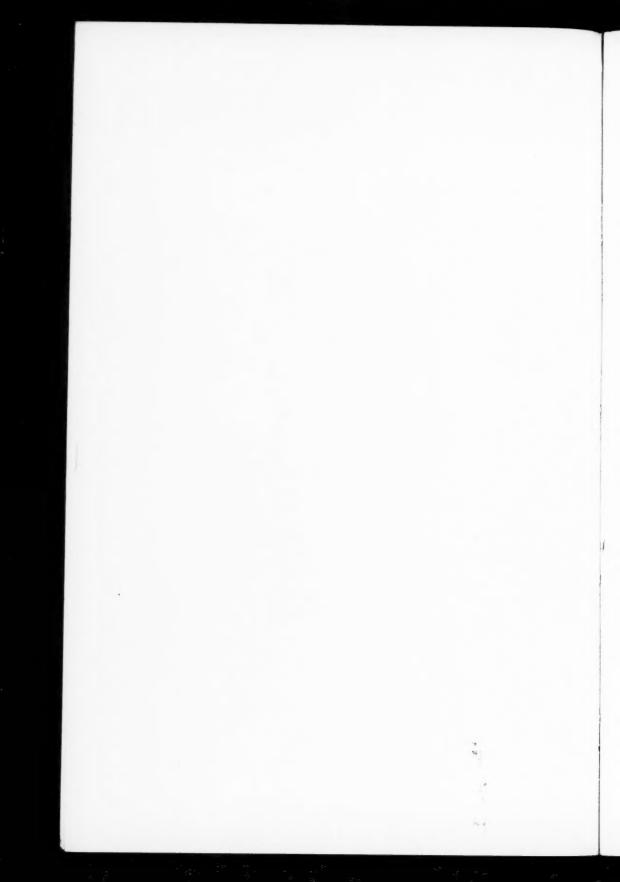
yet though I have been a member of the Conference since 1893 I have no recollection of ever hearing of that program until I was preparing this paper. Seven years ago Miss Henrietta J. Lund of the North Dakota Children Code Commission presented a paper on "Case Work Among the Indians." I discovered that also in the 1923 volume of my long file of *Proceedings*. And nothing noteworthy save these two until the present committee. Miss Lund's paper is admirable—brief, simple, convincing. She tells where she went and what the Indians said. Such a paper is a fine type of material which can make public opinion and should have had a million readers before now. Yet there it slumbers.

Yet we may hope that such work is too vital to be lost and we may hope that government agents themselves will be encouraged to make brief simple reports of this type. No one who reads the publications of the various societies, associations and clubs organized in whole or in part for promoting Indian welfare can fail to realize that they have long exerted important influence on the government in promoting a better understanding of Indian needs and therefore of the needs of the Indian Service, and their publicity has been and is indispensable.

Fifth, though it might well be first among essential needs, I shall mention adequate appropriations, carefully estimated, carefully expended, for the purposes for which they are granted by Congress. Extravagant appropriations for extravagant purposes are of course little short of criminal, but the most wasteful appropriations will always be those too low for the needs of the schools, adult education in profitable occupations, household management, health work, protection of Indian property rights, reasonable salary and retirement provisions. Does the public understand that this is true and why it is true? And again, as to public opinion and publicity, will it not help if the government informs us in simple terms of this great service? Intelligent public opinion can bring to fruition the undertakings of the Indian Service if it understands them.

One can only infer from the facts shown in the Meriam report that the promptest and most practicable change from the Indian to the white mode of life is, on the whole, the path by which the Indian is destined to survive. The scientific approach, adequate expenditures on the part of the government, Indian service of trained ability and understanding, a spirit of cooperation and good will on both sides, a rightful sense of self interest on the part of the Indians, an informed public opinion, are among the influences we may invoke to aid the attempt to solve the Indian problem in this generation.

PROGRAM



# **PROGRAM**

## GENERAL SESSIONS

Sunday, June 8—President's Address: Philosophical Trends in Social Work. Miriam Van Waters, President, National Conference of Social Work, and Referee, Juvenile Court of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles. Page 3.

Monday, June 9—Law Enforcement. George W. Wickersham, former United States Attorney-General, and Chairman of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Washington, D.C. Page 20.

Tuesday, June 10—The Economic Basis for Social Progress. Wesley C. Mitchell, Director of Research, Bureau of Economic Research, and Chairman of the President's Research Council on Social Trends, New York City. Page 34.

Friday, June 13—The Social Worker and Other Professions. Jane Addams, Founder and Head Resident, Hull House, Chicago. Page 50.

Voices of the Times. Reverend Francis J. McConnell, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Page 55.

Saturday, June 14—Whither Bound. J. Prentice Murphy, General Secretary, Children's Bureau, Philadelphia.

## DIVISION MEETINGS

#### DIVISION I. CHILDREN

I. (Joint Session with the International Association of Policewomen and the National Probation Association)

Juvenile Delinquency and Children's Courts

How Is Juvenile Delinquency Related to Adult Crime? Raymond Moley, Professor of Public Law, Columbia University, New York City. Page 81.

Re-examination of the Work of Children's Courts. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.

II. (Joint Session with Division VII—Mental Hygiene) Parent-Child Relationships

Parent-Child Attitudes Where Children Are Receiving Long-Term Care Away from Home. Joseph Bonapart, Superintendent, Vista Del Mar, Palms, California. Page 217. Parent-Child Relationships in Families under Social Care. E. Van Norman Emery, M.D., Assistant Professor of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene, Yale University, New Haven.

III. Group Discussion 1. State Legislative Programs for Child Care and Protection. Discussion Leader: Edith Foster, Executive Secretary, Children's Code Committee, Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, Milwaukee.

Group Discussion 2. Individualizing the Treatment of the Child in an Institution. Discussion Leader: Leon W. Goldrich, Executive Director, Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, Pleasantville, New York.

Group Discussion 3. (Joint Session with the Child Welfare League of America.) Training Foster Parents. Discussion Leader: Leon W. Frost, General Secretary, Children's Aid Society, Detroit.

Group Discussion 4. Adequate Facilities for Colored Children in Northern Communi-

ties. Discussion Leader: Douglas P. Falconer, Executive Secretary, Children's Aid Society, Buffalo.

Group Discussion 5. The Visiting Teacher. (a) In a Program for the Prevention of Delinquency. (b) In a Program for the Prevention of Dependency and Neglect. (c) In a Program for Constructive Mental Hygiene. Discussion Leader: Anna B. Pratt, Director, The White-Williams Foundation, Philadelphia.

IV. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family, the Mothers' Aid Group and the National Conference on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church) Interrelation of Family and Children's Work.

Defining the Functional Relationships of Family and Children's Case Work. Paul T. Beisser, General Secretary, Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, Baltimore. Page 227.

Mothers' Aid Practice and Standards of Family and Children's Work. Rose Porter, Secretary, Children's Council, Bridgeport Community Chest and Council, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

V. Child Welfare Research

A National Study of Progressive Methods in Institutional Practice. Reverend Karl J. Alter, Director, National Catholic School of Social Service, Washington, D.C.

Habit Training for Children of Pre-School Age. Douglas A. Thom, M.D., Director, Habit Clinics, Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases, Boston.

Putting the Findings of Child Welfare Research into the Practice of Social Agencies. Maud Morlock, Director, Course in Child Welfare, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

## DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

I. (Joint Session with International Association of Policewomen)

New Light on Criminal Justice

Surveys of Criminal Justice. Felix Frankfurter, Director, Harvard Law School Survey of Criminal Justice, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Page 63.

The Police and Crime Prevention. Virginia M. Murray, Director, Bureau of Crime Prevention, Police Department, New York City.

II. (Joint Session with National Probation Association)

New Light on the Juvenile Court and Probation

Jessie F. Binford, Director, The Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago. Frederick A. Moran, Director, Catholic Protectory, New York City. Page 70.

III. Punishment versus Treatment of Offenders

The Swing of the Pendulum. George W. Kirchwey, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 87.

The Vision of the Future. A. Warren Stearns, M.D., Commissioner, State Department of Correction, Boston, Massachusetts. Page 95.

Discussion Leader: Frank Loveland, Jr., Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

IV. The Prison in the Twentieth Century

Prison Tendencies in the United States. Walter N. Thayer, Jr., Superintendent of Prisons of the State of Maryland, Baltimore. Page 107.

Prison Tendencies in Europe. Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Page 118.

Discussion Leader: Ralph Van Waters, University of Chicago, Chicago.

#### DIVISION III. HEALTH

I. (Joint Session with Division XII—Educational Publicity and the Social Work Publicity Council)

Clinics as Centers of Health Education

The Basis and Significance of Health Education in Clinics, Iago Galdston, M.D., New York Academy of Medicine, New York City.

The Preparation and Use of Posters, Exhibits and Literature. Evart G. Routzahn, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

II. Group Discussion 1. (Joint Session with the American Social Hygiene Association.) Social Case Work and the Prevention and Treatment of Syphilis and Gonorrhea. Discussion Leader: W. F. Snow, M.D., General Director, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.

Group Discussion 2. (a) County Service in New Hampshire. (b) The Chadwick Clinics. Discussion Leaders: Robert B. Kerr, M.D., New Hampshire Tuberculosis Association, Manchester, New Hampshire; Sumner H. Remick, M.D., Director of Tuberculosis, Massachusetts State Department of Health, Boston.

Group Discussion 3. (Joint Session with American Association of Hospital Social Workers.) Relationships between Hospital Social Service and Public Health Nursing. Discussion Leaders: Marguerite Spiers, Director, Medical Social Service Department, Berkeley Health Center, Berkeley, California; Laura A. Draper, Assistant Director, Community Health Association, Boston; Charles F. Wilinsky, M.D., General Director, Beth Israel Hospital, Boston; Bess Medary, Director of Social Service, Rhode Island General Hospital, Providence.

Group Discussion 4. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family.) Minimum Health Knowledge and Professional Attitudes on Health Problems. Discussion Leaders: Howard W. Green, Secretary, Cleveland Health Council, Cleveland; Antoinette Cannon, New York School of Social Work, New York City; Virginia Wing, Executive Secretary, Anti-Tuberculosis League, Cleveland.

Group Discussion 5. (Joint Session with American Federation of Organizations for the Hard-of-Hearing.) A Program for Hard-of-Hearing Children. Discussion Leader: Mrs. James F. Norris, Boston.

III. The Care of Chronic Diseases.

Utilization of Resources for the Chronic Sick. Ida M. Cannon, Chief of Social Service, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston.

Chronic Disease in Massachusetts. Herbert L. Lombard, M.D., Massachusetts Department of Health, Boston. Page 146.

The Massachusetts Cancer Program. George H. Bigelow, M.D., Commissioner of Health, State Department of Health, Boston. Page 152.

Discussion Leader: Shields Warren, M.D., Huntington and Palmer Memorial Hospitals, Boston.

IV. (Joint Session with Division VIII-Organization of Social Forces)

Social Work Planning through Surveys and Appraisals

The Health Survey as a Social Instrument. C.-E. A. Winslow, Yale School of Medicine, New Haven. Page 163.

The Appraisal of Health Work. Huntington Williams, M.D., State Department of Health, Albany, New York. Page 172.

Discussion Leaders: Bleecker Marquette, Executive Secretary, Public Health Federation, Cincinnati; George Hamilton, Executive Secretary, United Welfare Fund, Honolulu.

V. Race Improvement and the Health Field

What We Know about Heredity and Environment. Benjamin C. Gruenberg, New York City.

What Is Practical in Race Improvement? T. Wingate Todd, M.D., Brush Foundation, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

Discussion Leader: William Healy, M.D., Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven.

#### DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

I. (Joint Session with the American Social Hygiene Association)

The Family

Parental Education. E. C. Lindeman, Professor of Social Philosophy, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Strengths in Family Life. Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 180.

Discussion Leaders: Mrs. Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio; Robert Dexter, Secretary, Department of Social Relations, American Unitarian Association, Boston.

II. (Joint Session with American Association of Hospital Social Workers and the Family Welfare Association of America)

The Problem of Relief

The Community Fund and Relief-Giving

Linton B. Swift, Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City. Page 239.

Robert W. Kelso, Director, Community Fund of St. Louis, St. Louis. Page 233.
Discussion Leaders: Lena Waters, Director of Social Service Department, University of Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia; Leroy A. Halbert, Director of Public Insti-

III. (Joint Session with Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems and the Industrial Problems Committee of the Family Welfare Association of America)

Dorothea de Schweinitz, Industrial Research Department, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, presiding.

Economic Factors in Case Work

tutions, Howard, Rhode Island.

The Case Workers' Contributions to Higher Industrial Standards. Charlotte Carr, Industrial Consultant, New York Charity Organization Society, New York City. The Problem of Labor Representation on the Board of the Family Society. A. J. Muste, Chairman, Faculty, Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York. Page 250.

Discussion Leaders: Mrs. June Purcell Guild, Richmond, Virginia; Philip A. Parsons, Dean of Social Work, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

IV. Group Discussion 1. Institutes: Their Purpose and Development. Discussion Leaders: Margaret E. Rich, Editor, The Family; Associate Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City; George W. Rabinoff, Director, Field Service, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, New York City.

Group Discussion 2. Application of the Recommendations of the Milford Conference. Discussion Leaders: Harriet Anderson, Consultant on Community Plans for Service to Transients of the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, New York City; Dorothy C. Kahn, Executive Director, Jewish Welfare Society, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 3. Credit and Instalment Buying. Discussion Leaders: Evans Clark, Director, Twentieth Century Fund, New York City; W. Frank Persons, Executive Vice-President, American Association of Personal Finance Companies, Washington, D.C. Group Discussion 4. What Is Involved in the Policy of Each Case Work Agency Hav-

ing Its Own Relief Fund? Discussion Leaders: Anna Budd, Personnel Director and Case Consultant, Associated Charities, Cincinnati; Lucia Clow, Supervisor, Family Welfare Association, Milwaukee.

Group Discussion 5. What Did We Do This Year on the Employment Problem in Our Respective Communities? Discussion Leaders: John Sanderson, General Secretary, Social Welfare League, Rochester, New York; Reverend John O'Grady, Secretary of National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D.C.

#### V. Case work

Social Values Which Underlie the Selection of Cases. Mary Phelps Wheeler, General Secretary, United Charities, St. Paul.

Intake Policies. Emil Steger, Secretary and General Manager, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis. Page 189.

Discussion Leaders: Dorothy E. Wysor, Executive Secretary, Travelers' Aid Society, Los Angeles; Roberta Morgan, Executive Secretary, American Red Cross, Birmingham, Alabama.

## DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

## I. (Joint Session with the American Association for Labor Legislation)

Two Decades of Industrial Insurance. (A Review of Justice Brandeis' Address at the 1911 Boston Conference)

Can Management Prevent Unemployment? Paul H. Douglas, Department of Economics, University of Chicago and Acting Director of the Swarthmore Study on Unemployment. Page 266.

Progress of Social Insurance in America. John B. Andrews, Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation, New York City. Page 258.

A Massachusetts Experiment. Alice H. Grady, Deputy Commissioner Savings Bank Life Insurance, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston. Page 273.

Discussion Leader: Paul U. Kellogg, Editor, The Survey and Survey Graphic, New York City.

#### II. Problems of the Southern Textile Industry

As Labor Sees It. Thomas F. McMahon, International President, United Textile Workers of America, New York City.

As the Employer Sees It. Henry P. Kendall, President, The Kendall Company, Boston. As the Social Worker Sees It. Harriet L. Herring, Research Associate, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Page 309.

As the Church Sees It. James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York City.

Discussion Leader: Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York City.

#### III. (Joint Session with the American Association for Labor Legislation)

## Current Problems of Unemployment

What Labor Is Doing. Agnes Nestor, National Women's Trade Union League, Chicago. Page 315.

What the Employers Are Doing. Ernest G. Draper, Vice-President, The Hills Brothers Company, New York City. Page 320.

What One Family Agency Is Doing. Charlotte E. Carr, Industrial Consultant, The Charity Organization Society, New York City. Page 325.

What the Schools Are Doing. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago. Page 330.

Discussion Leader: Roswell F. Phelps, Director, Division of Statistics, Department of Labor, Boston.

IV. (Joint Session with the American Association for Labor Legislation) Economic Old Age

The Community Looks at the Problem. Glenn A. Bowers, Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., New York City. Page 279.

Industry Looks at the Problem. Noel Sargent, Manager, Industrial Relations Department, National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, New York City. Page 283.

The Industrial Woman Looks at the Problem. Caroline Manning, United States Women's Burcau, Washington, D.C. Page 290.

The Church Looks at the Problem. Joseph Thorning, S.J., Social Research Department, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Page 295.

Discussion Leader: Abraham Epstein, Executive Secretary, American Association for Old Age Security, New York City.

V. Prevention of Industrial Conflict

Legal Injunctions. Francis B. Sayre, Law School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Arbitration and Conciliation. John J. Sonsteby, Attorney for United Garment Workers of America, Chicago.

Social Legislation. Frances Perkins, Industrial Commissioner, State of New York, Department of Labor, New York City.

Discussion Leader: Rev. R. A. McGowan, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D.C.

#### DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

I. Vital Social Relationships and How Social Work May Contribute to Them Recognition and Development of Elements That Go to the Making of the Integrated Community. Leroy E. Bowman, National Community Center Association, New York

City.

The Growth of Capacities in the Individual through Social Relationships and Family Background; The Hiram House Plan. George A. Bellamy, Head Resident of Hiram House, Cleveland.

The American Child of the Immigrant Home. Mary E. McDowell, Head Resident, University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago.

II. Unemployment

Report of a Survey by the Settlements on Effects of Unemployment. Helen Hall, University House, Philadelphia. Page 348.

Relation of Regional and Community Planning to Unemployment. Edwin S. Smith, Director of Research, Council of Social Agencies, Boston.

A Program of Planned Work by the Combined Social and Business Forces of a City. C. M. Bookman, General Secretary Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati. Page 341.

III. Group Discussion 1. Leadership—In Rural Communities—Small Cities—Large City Neighborhoods. How Does the Technique Vary? Discussion Leader: Mrs. Robert A. Woods, Head Resident, Neighborhood House, Los Angeles.

Group Discussion 2. Community Centers—School Centers. Are Community Centers Making More than a Recreational Contribution to Community Life? Discussion Leader: LeRoy E. Bowman, National Community Center Association, New York City.

Group Discussion 3. Isolated Racial Groups—How May They Be Integrated with the Larger Community? Discussion Leader: Lea D. Taylor, Head Resident, Chicago Commons, Chicago.

- Group Discussion 4. Contribution of Motion Pictures to Community Life
  - The National Industry. Discussion Leader: Guy Emory Shipler, Editor, The Churchman, New York City.
  - The Community Exhibitor. Discussion Leader: H. Dora Stecker, Motion Picture Exhibitor, Cincinnati.
  - The Children at the Movies. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Alice Miller Mitchell, author of Children and the Movies, Chicago.
  - The International Aspect. Discussion Leader: Reverend Frederic Siedenburg, Department of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago.
- IV. Housing as a Factor in Social Development
  - Maintenance of Legal Standards. Bleecker Marquette, Secretary, Better Housing League of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Cincinnati.
  - Improved Housing. John Ihlder, Executive Director, Pittsburgh Housing Association, Pittsburgh. Page 358.
  - Creating a Community as a Real Estate Operation. Louis Brownlow, City Housing Corporation, Radburn, New Jersey. Page 364.
- V. The Place of the Arts in the Settlement Program of Recreation. Mrs. Vladimir Simkhovitch, Greenwich House, New York City. Page 372.
  - The Art of Seeing. Esther G. Barrows, Woodbury Training School of Applied Observation, Boston.
  - The Influence of Music in Constructive Case Work. John Grolle, Settlement Music School, Philadelphia.

## DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

- I. The Evaluation of Psychiatric Social Work in Relation to Social Psychiatry Social Psychiatric Problems of the State Hospitals. C. Macfie Campbell, M.D., Director, Boston Psychopathic Hospital, Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard University, Boston. Social Psychiatric Problems of Clinics. Gerald H. G. Pearson, M.D., Psychiatrist, Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia.
- II. (Joint Session with Division II—Delinquents and Correction)
  The Psychiatrist's Contribution in the Treatment of Prisoners. A. Warren Stearns,
  M.D., Commissioner, State Department of Correction, Boston.
- III. (Joint Session with American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers)
  The Evolution of Psychiatric Social Work. Katherine Moore, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City. Page 378.
  - Discussion Leaders:

    Karl de Schweinitz, General Secretary, Family Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.
    - Dr. A. A. Brill, New York City. Page 404.
    - Reverend Thomas Brennock, Catholic Charities, New York City. Page 391.
    - Elizabeth Allen, Onondaga Health Association, New York. Page 396.
- IV. Group Discussion 1. (Joint Session with Division III—Health.) Mental Hygiene in Public Health Nursing Organizations. Discussion Leader: Glee Hastings, Mental Hygiene Supervisor, Henry Street Settlement, New York City.
  - Group Discussion 2. What Is an Adequate Mental Hygiene Program for a Small City? Discussion Leader: George S. Stevenson, M.D., Director of Division on Community Clinics, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.
  - Group Discussion 3. Mental Hygiene Principles and Their Transmission to Children's Workers. Discussion Leader: Lawson G. Lowry, M.D., Director, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City.

Group Discussion 4. Mental Hygiene in Industry. Discussion Leader: Henry B. Elkind, M.D., Medical Director, Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Boston.

Group Discussion 5. Food and Mental Hygiene. Discussion Leader: Frances Stern, Boston Dispensary Food Clinic, Boston.

V. (Joint Session with Division IV-The Family)

Mental Hygiene and Family Case Work

The Integration of Economic and Psychological Factors in Social Case Work. Eleanor Neustaedter, District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City. Page 108.

#### DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

(The theme of this program—"Community Leadership and the Influences Underlying Community Organization"—is a continuation of discussions at recent Conferences. At Des Moines, significant experience was presented from noonday and fraternal groups and from the public school. At Memphis, industrial forces, city planning, local legislative reform and councils of social agencies and community chests were considered from the standpoint of program making through fact finding, discussion and voluntary agreement. This year's program adds experience from two other types of social organization and through a presentation of some of the problems involved in social surveys raises the question, How can all the social forces for progress in a community [including those less amenable to formal social work processes of community planning] be made to serve their common purposes?)

I. The Challenge of a Widening Partnership in Community Upbuilding

Women's Movements—What Is Their Contribution in Activities and Personnel to the Development of Community Programs? Mrs. True Worthy White, Secretary of Political Education, Massachusetts League of Women Voters, Boston.

Organized Labor and the Public Welfare. Spencer Miller, Workers' Education Bureau, New York City.

II. Finding the Social Needs in a Community

What Are the Values for the Social Worker in the More Recent Sociological Type of Community Study? Neva R. Deardorff, Director, Research Bureau, Welfare Council of New York City. Page 408.

Some Community Values in the Social Survey. Ruth Hill, Associate Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City. Page 420.

III. New Experiments and Improvements in the Art of Surveying

Stimulating Social Consciousness through Community Self-examination. Edith Foster, Assistant Secretary, Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, Madison, Wisconsin.

Strategy and Order in Planning for Surveys of the Various Fields in Developing the Community's Whole Program. Bradley Buell, Director, Community Chest, New Orleans.

Demonstration as a Part of the Survey Process. Mary Irene Atkinson, Child Welfare League of America, New York City. Page 438.

IV. (Joint Session with Division III—Health, and Division XII—Educational Publicity)

Through Conflicting Opinion to Social Statesmanship

The Interpretation of Social Surveys. Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, St. Paul Community Chest, St. Paul. Page 430.

Social Planning and Social Leadership. George Warren, Director, International Migration Service, New York City. Page 448.

V. Group Discussion 1. A Clinic on Council Problems, Discussion of Several Actual, Typical Council Problems. Discussion Leader: Arthur Dunham, Secretary, the Child Welfare Division, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 2. A Clinic on Administrative Problems—For Analysis and Discussion of Actual Problems, Using the "Case Method." Discussion Leader: Frank D. Preston, Secretary, Children's Home Society of Virginia, Richmond.

Group Discussion 3. Community Chest Problems in Cities of Less than 50,000. Discussion Leader: Ralph Blanchard, Association of Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

Group Discussion 4. Social Case Work Agency Relationships with the Social Service Exchange. Discussion Leader: Ida M. Cannon, Chief of Social Service, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston.

#### DIVISION IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

## I. Federal Bureaus

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What Services May a State or Local Public Welfare Department Expect from the Federal Children's Bureau? Katherine F. Lenroot, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.

## II. The Year's Legislative and Administrative Developments

C. C. Carstens, Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York City.

John A. Brown, Secretary, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis.

Discussion Leader: Grube B. Cornish, Executive Secretary, State Department of Public Welfare, Augusta, Maine.

## III. Old-Age Assistance

The New York Plan. Charles H. Johnson, Director, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.

The Massachusetts Plan. Richard K. Conant, Commissioner, State Department of Public Welfare, Boston. Page 301.

## IV. State Supervision

The Inspection of Institutions. Francis Bardwell, State Almshouse Inspector, Boston. The Development of County or Town Boards. H. Ida Curry, Assistant Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City. Page 459. Discussion Leader: A. L. Bowen, Superintendent of Charities, State Department of

Public Welfare, Springfield, Illinois.

V. Group Discussion 1. Uniform Social Statistics. Discussion Leader: Emil Frankel, Director of Research, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey. Group Discussion 2. Modern Care of the Chronically Ill in Public Institutions. Discussion Leader: William J. Ellis, Commissioner, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

Group Discussion 3. Public Payments to Private Agencies. Discussion Leader: John L. Gillin, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

## DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

#### I. Immigration Problems at the Border

At a Canadian Crossing. Marion Blackwell, Executive, International Institute, Buffalo. New Features of Mexican Immigration. James H. Batten, Executive Director, The Inter-America Foundation, Claremont, California. Page 486.

The Social Worker and the Mexican. Reverend W. F. Mullally, Annunciation Church, St. Louis.

## II. Social Considerations in Deportability

The Legal Background and the New Legislation. Peter F. Snyder, Assistant to the Secretary, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Page 495.

- Detention of Deportees. Jane Perry Clark, Faculty, Barnard College, New York City. Page 502.
- Conflicts with Social Welfare. Jane Addams, Head Resident, Hull House, Chicago.
- III. Nationality as a Factor in Delinquency
  - Survey of Our National Attitudes. Edith Abbott, Dean, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.
  - Delinquency Areas. Clifford R. Shaw, Head of the Department of Research Sociology, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.
  - The Situation in the Southwest. Max S. Handman, Professor, University of Texas, Austin. Page 133.
- IV. International Aspects of Work with Foreign Born
  - Unraveling the Threads of Migrant Family Problems. Ruth Larned, International Field Secretary, International Migration Service, New York City. Page 469.
  - As the Problem Looks from Across the Water. Eugenia Taussigova, Czechoslovak Red Cross, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
  - The Quota Law: Next Steps for Separated Families. Legislation in Behalf of Parents, Husbands, Wives, Children. Mary E. McDowell, Head Resident, University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago. Page 478.
- V. Naturalization Policy and Law
  - The New Naturalization Legislation at Work—Its Limitations. Mrs. Leo Bernstein, Chairman, Committee on Naturalization and Citizenship, Council on Adult Education of the Foreign Born, New York City.
  - Dovetailing the United States Naturalization Service with Boards of Education. Mary L. Guyton, State Supervisor of Adult Alien Education, Division of University Extension, Massachusetts State Department of Education, Boston.
  - Nationality of Individuals in an International World. Dorothy Straus, Committee on Legal Status of Women, National League of Women Voters, New York City.

#### DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

- I. The History and Philosophy of Social Work
  - The History of Social Work and Its Place in the Professional Curriculum. Mrs. John M. Glenn, President, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City. Page 511.
  - Discussants: Karl de Schweinitz, Executive Secretary, Family Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia; John S. Bradway, Los Angeles.
  - The Philosophy of Social Work and Its Place in the Professional Curriculum. Antoinette Cannon, Professor of Hospital Social Work, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 520.
  - Discussants: Adaline A. Buffington, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City; Robert W. Kelso, Director, Community Fund, St. Louis.
- II. The Contributions of Science to Social Work
  - The Contributions of Sociology to Social Work. Frank Hankins, Professor of Sociology, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Page 528.
  - Discussant: Wilbur I. Newstetter, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.
  - The Contributions of Psychology to Social Work. Edward S. Robinson, Professor of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven. Page 536.
  - Discussant: Hester B. Crutcher, New Haven, Connecticut.
  - The Contributions of Biology to Social Work. Reverend Alphonse M. Schwitalla, Dean of Medical School, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri. Page 544.
  - Discussant: Richard C. Cabot, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

III. The Contributions of Science to Social Work

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- The Contributions of Industrial Relations to Social Work. John A. Fitch, Professor of Industry, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 552.
- Discussants: John P. Sanderson, Rochester, New York; H. J. Mahew, New Haven, Connecticut.
- The Contributions of Political Science to Social Work. Leyton E. Carter, Director, The Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland.
- Discussants: Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland; George R. Bedinger, Executive Secretary, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- IV. The Place of Field Work in Training for Social Work. The Educational Content of Field Work. Mrs. Mildred Mudgett, Professor of Sociology, Hamline University, St. Paul. Page 562.
  - Discussants: Sarah Ivins, New York School of Social Work, New York City; Elizabeth Dixon, University of Chicago, Chicago.
  - What Constitutes Adequate Training in Field Work? Virginia P. Robinson, Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, Philadelphia.
  - Discussant: Katherine Hardwick, Simmons College School of Social Work, Boston.
- V. Group Discussion 1. Field Work in Family Welfare. Discussion Leader: Margaret E. Rich, Editor, The Family, New York City.
  - Group Discussion 2. Field Work in Child Welfare. Discussion Leader: J. Prentice Murphy, Director, The Children's Bureau, Philadelphia.
  - Group Discussion 3. Field Work in Mental Hygiene. Discussion Leader: Marie L. Donohoe, Community Health Association, Boston.
  - Group Discussion 4. Field Work in Medical Social Service. Discussion Leader: Ruth Emerson, Director, Social Service Department, University of Chicago Clinics, Chicago.
  - Group Discussion 5. Field Work in Group and Recreational Activities. Discussion Leader: Walter W. Pettit, Assistant Director, New York School of Social Work, New York City.
  - Group Discussion 6. Field Work in Delinquency. Discussion Leader: James S. Owens.

#### DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

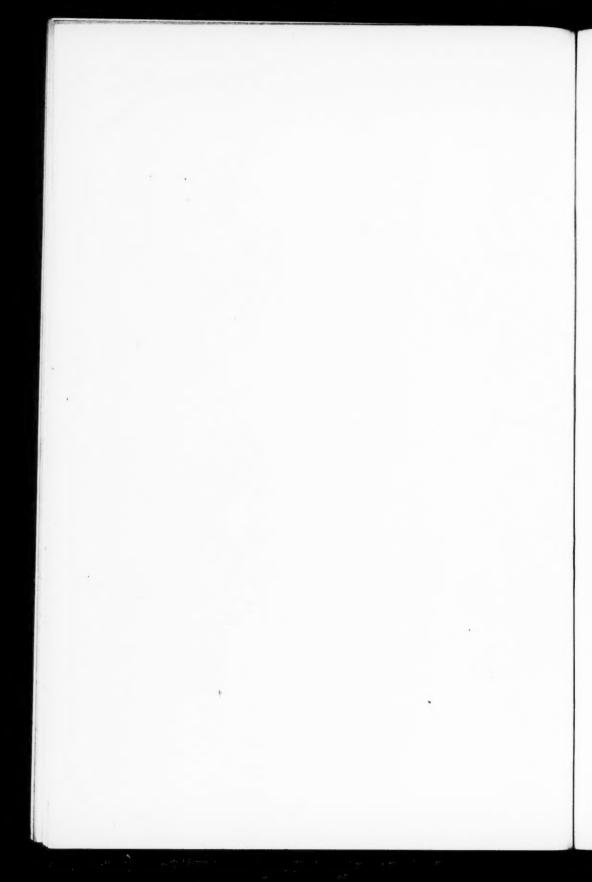
- I. The Philosophical Basis of Educational Publicity in Social Work. Leon R. Whipple, Associate Editor, The Survey, New York City. Page 569.
- II. Group Discussion 1. How to Develop a Favorable Attitude toward the Trained Social worker. Discussion Leader: Ralph J. Reed, Director, Omaha Welfare Federation and Community Chest, Omaha.
- Group Discussion 2. Education in the Schools about the Social Work in the Communities. Discussion Leader: Anne Sprague, Education Director, Detroit Community Union, Detroit.
  - Group Discussion 3. How to Make Statistical Data Interesting. Discussion Leader: T. J. Edmonds, Executive Secretary, Iowa Tuberculosis Society, Des Moines.
  - Group Discussion 4. What Should the Publicity Worker Know about Social Work. Discussion Leader: Clare M. Tousley, Charity Organization Society, New York City.
  - Group Discussion 5. What Constitutes a Reasonable Budget for Publicity? Discussion Leader: Virginia R. Wing, Executive Secretary, Anti-Tuberculosis Society, Cleveland.
- III. The Factual Basis of Social Work Publicity. W. Brooke Graves, Department of Political Science, Temple University, Philadelphia. Page 583.
  Discussant: Louise Clevenger, Associate Director, Community Chest, St. Paul.

- IV. The Application of Educational Principles to Social Work Publicity. Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Page 597.
  Discussant: Edwin G. Eklund, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.
- V. Public Opinion and Social Control. Roscoe Pound, Dean of Harvard Law School, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Page 607.

#### COMMITTEE ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

- I. The Indians' Point of View
  - The Social Background of the American Indians. Herbert Joseph Spinden, President, Eastern Association on Indian Affairs, New York City.
  - What the Indians Want from the Government. W. David Owl, Missionary in Charge of the Baptist-Presbyterian Indian Churches on the Cattaraugus Reservation, Iroquois, New York. Page 624.
  - Socializing Indian Administration
    - What the Indian Service Needs. Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford, Illinois. Page 641.
    - What the New Indian Administration Is Doing. John R. T. Reeves, Chief Counsel, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C. Page 632.

**BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS** 



# PART I

# BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1930

## OFFICERS

President, Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles.

First Vice-President, Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President, Rose J. McHugh, Washington; Third Vice-President, Walter W. Whitson, Houston.

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Ex officio: Miriam Van Waters, President; Karl de Schweinitz, First Vice-President; C. M. Bookman, Treasurer. Term expiring 1930: Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago; Mary A. Cannon, New York; Edwin G. Ecklund, Springfield, Illinois; Louise Cottrell, Chicago; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York; Philip Klein, New York; Gertrude Vaile, Chapel Hill. Term expiring 1931: Jane Addams, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Owen R. Lovejoy, New York; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles. Term expiring 1932: Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis; Bradley Buell, New Orleans; Edith N. Burleigh, Los Angeles; Margaret E. Rich, New Orleans; Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Boston. Chairmen of Divisions: Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York; George W. Kirchwey, New York; Ira Hiscock, New Haven; Paul L. Benjamin, Louisville; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago; Mrs. Robert A. Woods, San Diego; Henry C. Schumacher, Cleveland; David Holbrook, New York; Richard K. Conant, Boston; Mrs. Adena Miller Rich, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio.

## COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

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St. Louis; Elizabeth McMechen, Salt Lake City; Charles E. Miner, Chicago; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Stuart A. Queen, Lawrence, Kansas; Stockton Raymond, Boston; Ellery F. Reed, Cincinnati; Frances Taussig, New York; Arlien Johnson, Scattle; Aubrey W. Williams, Madison; Elizabeth L. Woods, Los Angeles; Dorothy E. Wysor, Los Angeles.

## COMMITTEE ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Lewis Meriam, Washington, Chairman; Edith Abbott, Chicago; Franz Boas, New York; Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer, New York; Henry Roe Cloud, Wichita; John Collier, Mill Valley; Edith Dabb, New York; Charles de Y. Elkus, San Francisco; Haven Emerson, M.D., New York; James Ford, Cambridge, Mass.; Alexander Goldenweiser, New York; Rev. William Hughes, Washington; Alexander Johnson, Croton-on-Hudson; Paul U. Kellogg, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Bruno Lasker, New York; Henrietta Lund, Los Angeles; Mary Louise Mark, Columbus, Ohio; Jay B. Nash, New York; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington; W. Carson Ryan, Swarthmore; M. K. Sniffen, Philadelphia.

#### EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Porter R. Lee, President; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio, Editor; Mrs. Bertha Freeman Hooper, Chicago, Assistant Editor; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati, 1930; Jane M. Hoey, New York, 1931; Joanna C. Colcord, New York, 1932.

## DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

#### DIVISION I. CHILDREN

Chairman, Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York. Vice-Chairman, Jacob Kepecs, Chicago. Secretary, Elizabeth Yerxa, Madison.

#### COMMITTEE

#### TERM EXPIRES 1930

Amy Abbott	A. Percy Paget Winnipeg
Rev. A. T. Jamison Greenwood, S.C.	Margaret Reeves Santa Fe
Katherine Lenroot Washington	C. V. Williams Chicago
Mrs. W. L. Murdoch Birmingham	

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Mrs. Gertrude Dubinsky Philadelphia	Eleanor MyersSt. Louis
Everett E. Duvall New Haven	
Anita Eldridge San Francisco	L. Josephine Webster Montpelier
Douglas Falconer Buffalo	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Samuel Langer San Francisco	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall Montgomery
Caroline deF. Penniman Middletown, Conn.	Ethel Verry
Emma C. Puschner Indianapolis	Alfred F. Whitman Boston
Edwin D. Solenberger Philadelphia	

#### DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTIONS

Chairman, George W. Kirchwey, New York. Vice-Chairman, Edith Abbott, Chicago. Secretary, Edward R. Cass, New York.

## COMMITTEE

TERM	EVDIDEC	1020
TERM	EXPIRES	1940

Edward R. Cass New York	Caroline deF. Penniman
Lincoln Frost Lincoln	Middletown, Conn.
Hastings H. Hart New York	Roscoe Pound Cambridge, Mass.
Herbert C. Parsons Boston	John J. Sonsteby

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

Sheldon Glueck Cambridge, Mass.	E. H. Sutherland New York
Jane M. Hoey New York	Miriam Van Waters Los Angeles
Howard W. Odum Chapel Hill	Charles Vasaly St. Cloud

## TERM EXPIRES 1932

Edith Abbott Chicago	Louis N. Robinson Swarthmore
Jessie F. Binford Chicago	Franklin Wilson Muncy, Pa.
Mrs. Jessie Hodder Framingham	

## DIVISION III. HEALTH

Chairman, Ira Hiscock, New Haven.
Vice-Chairman, Jessamine S. Whitney, New York.
Secretary, Virginia R. Wing, Cleveland.

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## COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1930

Grace Abbott Washington	John A. Lapp
Anna Drake	William F. Snow, M.D New York
Robert W. Kelso St. Louis	

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Donald Armstrong, M.D New York	
Richard Bowderick Oakland	Jessie I. Lummis Denver
Courtenay Dinwiddie New York	Helen MacMurchy, M.DOttawa
Mary L. Hicks Louisville	Mary E. Murphy
William F. Higby San Francisco	

## TERM EXPIRES 1932

Haven Emerson, M.DNew York	Katharine Tucker New York
Howard W. Green Cleveland	Charles F. Wilinsky Boston
Bleecker Marquette Cincinnati	C. E. A. Winslow New Haven

## DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

Chairman, Paul L. Benjamin, Louisville. Vice-Chairman, Anna F. Kempshall, New York. Secretary, Francis H. McLean, New York.

#### COMMITTEE

Harriet E. Anderson Louisville	Helen W. Hanchette Cleveland
W. S. Bixby	Nell Scott Pittsburgh
Lucia B. Clow Milwaukee	Gertrude Vaile Chapel Hill

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Mary F. Bogue New York	Anna F. Kempshall New York
Josephine Brown New York	Mary Russell Memphis
Cora Jacobs	Eva SmillNew Orleans

## TERM EXPIRES 1932

Caroline M. Bedford St. Louis	Jesse M. Lukens Brockton, Mass.
Ruth FitzsimonsSeattle	Clarence A. Pretzer Providence
Paul L. Benjamin Louisville	Jessie F. Sutton

## DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman, Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago. Vice-Chairman, Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, New York. Secretary, John B. Andrews, New York.

## COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1930

Eleanor CopenhaverNew York	John A. Lapp Milwaukee
Emil Frankel	Laura Parker Califon, N.J.
Mrs. R. F. Halleck Louisville	Jesse O. Thomas Atlanta
Mrs. Florence Kelley New York	

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

John B. Andrews New York	Rev. A. A. Heist Denver
Mrs. Katherine P. Edson San Francisco	Paul U. Kellogg New York
John A. Fitch New York	Rev. Frederic Siedenburg Chicago

## TERM EXPIRES 1932

Mary Anderson Washington	Alice Hamilton, M.D Boston
Lucy P. Carner New York	Leifur Magnusson Washington
Elizabeth Christman Chicago	Ellen Nathalie Matthews Washington
Paul H. Douglas Chicago	Edward F. McGrady Washington
Oliver Friedman Milwaukee	Mabel A. Strong Boston

## DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, Mrs. Robert A. Woods, San Diego. Vice-Chairman, John L. Elliott, New York. Secretary, Clarence A. Perry, New York.

## COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1930

Mrs. Grace E. Chaffee Iowa City	Elmer E. Scott Dallas
Robbins Gilman Minneapolis	Mrs. Eva Whiting White Boston
R. Maurice Moss Baltimore	

Jane Addams Chicago	Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad . New Orleans
Elizabeth Ashe San Francisco	Corinne Fonde
LeRoy E. Bowman New York	Mrs. Robert A. Woods San Diego

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Mrs. Ethel Richardson Allen. Los Angeles George A. Bellamy	E. C. Lindeman
Charles C. Cooper Pittsburgh	J. H. Montgomery Richmond
Eugene Kinckle Jones New York	Lea D. Taylor Chicago
Paul U. Kellogg New York	

## DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Henry Schumacher, Cleveland. Secretary, Maida Soloman, Boston.

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## COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1930

Herbert Chamberlain Minneapolis	Grace Marcus New York
Almena Dawley Philadelphia	Christine Robb New York
Elizabeth Dexter New York	Sarah Swift
E. Van Norman Emery, M.B. Los Angeles	

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Sylvia Allen	Bradford J. Murphey Colorado Springs
Hester B. Crutcher New Haven	Emerson A. North Cincinnati
Sarah Ivins New York	E. Perry Dallas
Nancy Johnson St. Louis	George Stevenson New York

## TERM EXPIRES 1932

Edith N. Burleigh Los Angeles	Paul Kubitschek St. Louis
Adeline Dewey Boston	Jeanette Regensburg New York
Mrs. W. F. Dummer Chicago	Florence SytzNew Orleans
Iune Ioslyn Seattle	

## DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, David Holbrook, New York. Vice-Chairman, Louise Clevenger, St. Paul. Secretary, Pierce Atwater, Wichita.

## COMMITTEE

# TERM EXPIRES 1930

C. M. Bookman	Howard W. Odum Chapel Hill
Roy M. Cushman Boston	Elizabeth H. Webster Chicago
Robert W. Kelso St. Louis	

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Otto F. Bradley Minneapolis	Arthur Dunham
Raymond Clapp	Mary Stotsenberg Louisville
Mrs. George H. Clarke Los Angeles	

William F. Higby San Francisco	A. W. McMillen
William Hodson New York	Mabel E. Pierson Plainfield, N.J.
Henry T. Levy Dallas	

## **BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS**

## DIVISION IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, Richard K. Conant, Boston. Vice-Chairman, John L. Gillin, Madison. Secretary, Louis H. Putnam, Stapleton, N.Y.

#### COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1930

	-,,-
Herman Adler, M.D Chicago	Emil Frankel
Frank Bane Richmond	William C. Headrick Nashville
Grube B. Cornish Augusta, Me.	A. Percy Paget Winnipeg
Louise Cottrell	Louis H. Putnam Stapleton, N.Y.
II Lia Curry New York	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

Jeffrey R. Brackett Boston	John L. Gillin Madison
Mrs. Amy S. Braden San Francisco	Charles H. Johnson Albany
John A. Brown Indianapolis	James S. Lakin Charleston, W.Va.
William J. Ellis Trenton	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Grace Abbott Washington	Mrs. Blanche L. La Du St. Paul
A. L. Bowen Springfield, Ill.	Mrs. E. S. H. McCauley Harrisburg
Amos W. Butler Indianapolis	Mrs. Anna L. Saylor Sacramento
Lincoln Frost Lincoln	George S. Wilson Washington
Frank E. Kimball Jefferson City	

## DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Mrs. Adena Miller Rich, Chicago. Vice-Chairman, Ida Hull, Boston. Secretary, Grace Love, San Francisco.

## COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1930

Georgia Ely Boston	Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell Pittsburgh
Mary E. McDowell Chicago	Forrester B. Washington Atlanta
Leifur Magnusson Washington Mrs. Adena Miller Rich Chicago	Aghavnie Yeghenian New York

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

		22	
Edith Abbott	Chicago	Philip A. Parsons	Eugene, Ore.
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge	Chicago	Cecilia Razovsky	New York
Herbert A. Miller Co	lumbus, Ohio	Marion Schibsby	New York
Bruce Mohler	Washington		

Jane Addams Chicago	Ruth Larned New York
Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer New York	Lewis Meriam Washington
Florence Cassidy New York	Rev. Robert N. McLean Los Angeles
Max Handman Austin	Lea D. Taylor
Elsie Jones Columbus, Ohio	Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer Boston

## DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman, Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis. Vice-Chairman, Joanna C. Colcord, New York. Secretary, Rose J. McHugh, Washington.

#### COMMITTEE

#### TERM EXPIRES 1930

C. C. Carstens New York	Arthur J. ToddEvanston
Dorothea de Schweinitz Philadelphia	Gertrude Vaile Chapel Hill
Philip A. Parsons Eugene, Ore.	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

Henrietta S. Additon New York	Cecil C. North Columbus, Ohio
F. Stuart Chapin New York	Kenneth L. M. Pray Philadelphia
Elizabeth Dixon Chicago	

## TERM EXPIRES 1932

Henry M. Busch	Jesse F. Steiner New Orleans
Martha A. Chickering Piedmont, Calif.	Walter M. West New York
Bessie A. McClenahan Los Angeles	

## DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman, Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio. Vice-Chairman, Mary Ross, New York. Secretary, Edwin C. Jones, Chicago.

## COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1930

Paul Bliss St. Louis	Bernard C. Roloff
Homer W. Borst New York	Mrs. Mary Swain Routzahn New York
Louise Clevenger St. Paul	

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Louise Franklin	Bache New York	Olga Gunkle	T
Thomas Devine	Jacksonville, Fla.	Robert Horan Louisvill	c

F. D. Preston Richmond	Chester H. Rowell Berkeley
Ralph J. ReedOmaha	Virginia R. Wing
E. G. Routzahn New York	H. L. White Boston

# PART II

# BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1931

#### OFFICERS

President, Richard C. Cabot, Boston.

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First Vice-President, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Second Vice-President, Jane M. Hoey, New York; Third Vice-President, Harry L. Lurie, Chicago.

Treasurer, Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio.

General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Richard C. Cabot, President; C. M. Bookman, First Vice-President; Charles C. Stillman, Treasurer. Term expiring 1931: Jane Addams, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; T. J. Edmonds, Des Moines; Owen R. Lovejoy, New York; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; F. D. Preston, Richmond, Virginia; Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles. Term expiring 1932: Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis; Bradley Buell, New Orleans; Edith N. Burleigh, Los Angeles; Margaret E. Rich, New York; Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Boston. Term expiring 1933: Joanna C. Colcord, New York; Louise Cottrell, Portland, Oregon; Dorothy C. Kahn, Philadelphia; Ellen C. Potter, Trenton; Clare M. Tousley, New York; Chairmen of Divisions: Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington; Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles; Robert W. Kelso, St. Louis; Paul L. Benjamin, Washington; Reverend Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago; Robbins Gilman, Minneapolis; E. Van Norman Emery, New Haven; Raymond Clapp, Cleveland; Leroy A. Halbert, Providence; Marian Schibsby, New York; Joanna C. Colcord, New York; Leon Whipple, New York.

## COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Richard C. Cabot, Boston, Chairman; Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1931:* Almena Dawley, Philadelphia; Reverend Robert F. Keegan, New York. *Term expiring 1932:* Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, Syracuse; Shelby M. Harrison, New York. *Term expiring 1933:* Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis; Cheney C. Jones, Boston.

#### COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia, Chairman; David C. Adie, Buffalo; Harriet E. Anderson, Louisville; Runo E. Arne, Berkeley; John A. Fitch, New York; Mrs. June P. Guild, Richmond, Virginia; Kenneth L. Messenger, Hartford; Philip A. Parsons, Eugene, Oregon; Jesse F. Steiner, New Orleans.

## COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Parker B. Field, Boston, Chairman; Alice E. Richard, Cincinnati; Emil G. Steger, St. Louis.

#### COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

George R. Bedinger, Philadelphia, Chairman; C. W. Areson, Houston; William S. Bixby, Nashville; Carl H. Bogart, Columbus, Ohio; Leon W. Frost, Detroit; Marie C. Judge, Baltimore; Dorothy King, Montreal; Marie C. Kohler, Kohler, Wisconsin; Mrs. Kathleen

Ormsby Larkin, New York; Mrs. L. Edward Lashman, New Orleans; Harold J. Matthews, Columbia, Missouri; Helen C. Mawer, Tallahassee; Roberta Morgan, Birmingham; Mrs. Alice E. Newbold, Milwaukee; C. Whit Pfeiffer, Kansas City, Missouri; F. D. Preston, Richmond, Virginia; Katherine E. Quig, Pittsburgh; Ben M. Selekman, Boston; C. K. Warne, Spokane; Reverend George H. B. Wright, Berkeley.

## COMMITTEE ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Lewis Meriam, Washington, Chairman; Edith Abbott, Chicago; Franz Boas, New York; Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer, New York; Henry Roe Cloud, Wichita; John Collier, Mill Valley, California; Edith Dabb, New York; Charles de Y. Elkus, San Francisco; Haven Emerson, New York; James Ford, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Alexander Johnson, Croton-on-Hudson, New York; Paul U. Kellogg, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Henrietta Lund, Pittsburgh; Mary Louise Mark, Columbus, Ohio; Jay B. Nash, New York; Reverend John A. Ryan, Washington; W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Swarthmore; M. K. Sniffen, Philadelphia; Eugene J. Welch, Washington.

#### EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Miriam Van Waters, President; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio, Editor; Mrs. Bertha Freeman Hooper, Chicago, Assistant Editor; Jane M. Hoey, New York, 1931; Joanna C. Colcord, New York, 1932; Harry L. Lurie, Chicago, 1933.

## DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

## DIVISION I. CHILDREN

Chairman: Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington. Vice-Chairman: Charles F. Hall, St. Paul. Secretary: Mary Ruth Colby, Chicago.

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#### COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Mrs. Gertrude M. Dubinsky Philadelphia	Eleanor MyersSt. Louis
Everett E. DuVallNew Haven	Claire SandersDetroit
Anita Eldridge San Francisco	L. Josephine Webster Burlington, Vt.
Douglas P. Falconer Buffalo	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Samuel Langer San Francisco	Edwin D. Solenberger Philadelphia
Caroline de F. Penniman	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall Montgomery, Ala.
Middletown, Conn.	Ethel Verry
Emma C. Puschner Indianapolis	Alfred F. Whitman Boston

#### TERM EXPIRES 1933

C. W. Areson Houston	Herman Newman Topeka
Lawrence C. Cole Cleveland	Forrester B. Washington Atlanta
Mary Frances Godley New York	Elizabeth Yerxa Madison, Wis.
Luba A. Joffe New York	

#### DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Chairman: Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles. Vice-Chairman: Edith Abbott, Chicago. Secretary: Edward R. Cass, New York.

## **BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS**

## COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Sheldon Glueck	Cambridge, Mass.	E. H. Sutherland New York
Jane M. Hoey	New York	Miriam Van Waters Los Angeles
Howard W. Odum	Chanel Hill, N.C.	Charles E. Vasaly St. Cloud. Minn.

## TERM EXPIRES 1932

Edith Abbott	Louis N. Robinson Swarthmore
Jessie F. Binford	Franklin Wilson Muncy, Pa.
Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder . Framingham, Mass.	

## TERM EXPIRES 1933

Alfred Bettman	Herbert C. ParsonsBoston
Hastings H. HartNew York	A. Warren StearnsBoston
George W. Kirchwey New York	George W. Wickersham New York

## DIVISION III. HEALTH

Chair	ma	n:	Robert	W.	Kelso	, St.	Louis.	

Vice-Chairma	n: Ka	tharine Tu	cker, Ne	w York.
Secretary: A	lbert H.	Iewell, K	Cansas C	itv.

#### COMMITTEE

## TERM EXPIRES 1931

Donald Armstrong New York	Albert H. Jewell Kansas City
Courtenay Dinwiddie New York	
Mary L. Hicks Louisville	-
William F. Higby San Francisco	Mary E. Murphy

## TERM EXPIRES 1932

Haven EmersonNew York	Katharine Tucker New York
Howard W. Green Cleveland	Charles F. Wilinsky Boston
Ricecker Marquette Cincinnati	C F A Winelow New Haven

## TERM EXPIRES 1933

George H. Bigelow Boston	Ira V. Hiscock New Haven
Anna M. Drake Cincinnati	Horace Morison Boston
Ray H. Everett New York	Sophie C. Nelson Boston
George Hamilton Honolulu	W. P. Shepard San Francisco
Alice M. Hill New York	Virginia R. Wing

## DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

## Chairman: Paul L. Benjamin, Washington.

Vice-Chairman: Florence W. Hutsinpillar, Washington.

Secretary: Francis H. McLean, New York.

## COMMITTEE

Mary F. Bogue	New York	Anna F. Kempshall	New York
Josephine C. Brown.	New York	Mary Russell	Memphis
Cora Jacobs	Madison Wis		

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

ence A. Pretzer Providence erine E. Quig Pittsburgh e F. Sutton Chicago
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#### TERM EXPIRES 1933

Mrs. Leona M. Evans St. Louis	Mary McPhedran Vancouver
Virginia C. Frank Chicago	Roberta Morgan Birmingham
Helen HackettLos Angeles	E. Frances O'Neill Boston

## DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman:	Reverend	Frederic	Siedenburg	, Chicago.
Vice-Chairn	nan: Rev	erend F.	E. Johnson,	New York.

# Secretary: John B. Andrews, New York.

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#### COMMITTEE

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

John B. Andrews New York	Reverend A. A. Heist Denver
Mrs. Katherine P. Edson San Francisco	Paul U. Kellogg New York
John A. Fitch New York	Reverend Frederic Siedenburg Chicago

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Mary Anderson Washington	Alice Hamilton Boston
Lucy P. Carner New York	Mrs. Mabel Strong Lord Boston
Elisabeth Christman Washington	Leifur Magnusson Washington
Paul H. Douglas Chicago	Ellen Nathalie Matthews Washington
Oliver A. Friedman Milwaukee	Edward F. McGrady Washington

#### TERM EXPIRES 1933

Linna E. Bresette Washington	George W. Lawson St. Paul
Mrs. R. P. Halleck Louisville	James MullenbachChicago
Mrs. Florence Kelley New York	I. M. Rubinow Cincinnati
John A. Lapp Milwaukee	Jesse O. Thomas Atlanta

# DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman: Robbins Gilman, Minneapolis. Vice-Chairman: John L. Elliott, New York.

# Secretary: Eugene T. Lies, Chicago.

### COMMITTEE

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

Jane Addams	Corinne Fonde Houston
LeRoy E. Bowman New York	Mrs. Robert A. Woods Los Angeles
Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad Syracuse	

Mrs. Ethel Richardson Allen Los Angeles	Paul U. Kellogg New York
Elizabeth Ashe	E. C. Lindeman New York
George A. Bellamy Cleveland	Mary E. McDowell Chicago
Charles C. Cooper Pittsburgh	J. H. Montgomery Richmond, Va.
Eugene Kinckle Iones New York	Lea D. Taylor Chicago

#### TERM EXPIRES 1933

W. Gertrude Brown Minneapolis	Mrs. Eva Whiting White Boston
Edward L. Burchard Chicago	Mrs. Robert A. Woods Los Angeles
Sidney A. Teller Pittsburgh	

#### DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman: E. Van Norman Emery, New Haven.

Vice-Chairman: Elizabeth H. Dexter, Newark, New Jersey.

Secretary: Sue H. Mason, St. Paul.

#### COMMITTEE

# TERM EXPIRES 1931

Sylvia Allen Charleston, S.C.	Bradford J. Murphey Colorado Springs
,	
Hester B. Crutcher New Haven	Emerson A. North Cincinnati
Sarah Ivins New York	E. Perry Dallas
Nancy Johnson St. Louis	George Stevenson New York

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Edith N. Burleigh Los Angeles	Paul Kubitschek St. Louis
Mildred DeweyBoston	Jeannette Regensburg New York
Mrs. W. F. Dummer Chicago	Florence Sytz New Orleans
June Joslyn Milwaukee	

# TERM EXPIRES 1933

Henry B. Elkind Boston	George J. Mohr Chicago
Elizabeth Healy Philadelphia	Charlotte Towle New York
Mrs. Kathleen Ormsby Larkin New York	Anna Belle Tracy
Ruth Lloyd Denver	

# DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman: Raymond Clapp, Cleveland. Vice-Chairman: Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis. Secretary: Arthur Dunham, Philadelphia.

#### COMMITTEE

# TERM EXPIRES 1931

Otto F. Bradley Minneapolis	Arthur Dunham Philadelphia
Raymond Clapp	Mary Stotsenberg Louisville
Mrs. George H. Clarke Los Angeles	

# TERM EXPIRES 1932

William F. Higby San Francisco	A. W. McMillen Chicago
William Hodson New York	Mabel E. Pierson Plainfield, N.J.
II m I . D II	

Allen T. Burns New York	Arthur A. Guild Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad Syracuse	David H. Holbrook New York
John B. Dawson New Haven	

# DIVISION IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Leroy A. Halbert, Providence.

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7a. ork Vice-Chairman: A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Illinois.

Secretary: Mrs. Blanche L. LaDu, St. Paul.

# COMMITTEE

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

Jeffrey R. Brackett Boston	John L. Gillin Madison, Wis.
Mrs. Amy S. Braden San Francisco	Charles H. Johnson Albany
John A. Brown Indianapolis	James S. Lakin Charleston, W.Va.
William I Ellie Trenton	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Grace Abbott	Mrs. Branche L. LaDu St. Paul Mrs. E. S. H. McCauley Harrisburg
Amos W. Butler Indianapolis	Mrs. Anna L. Saylor Sacramento
Lincoln Frost Lincoln, Nebraska	George S. Wilson Washington
Frank E. Kimball Jefferson City, Mo.	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1933

Herman Adler Berkeley	Leroy A. Halbert Providence
Frank Bane Richmond, Va.	William C. Headrick Nashville
Grube B. Cornish Augusta, Me.	Ellen C. Potter
Louise Cottrell Portland, Ore.	Louis H. Putnam
H. Ida CurryNew York	Stapleton, Staten Island, N.Y.
Emil Frankel Trenton	

# DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman: Marian Schibsby, New York.

Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Mary O'Donnell Turner, Detroit.

Secretary: Carolyn E. Ware, St. Paul.

# COMMITTEE

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

Edith Abbott Chicago	Philip A. Parsons Eugene, Ore.
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge Chicago	Cecilia RazovskyNew York
Herbert A. Miller Columbus, Ohio	Marian Schibsby New York
Bruce Mohler Washington	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Jane Addams	Ruth Larned New York
Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer New York	Reverend Robert N. McLean . Los Angeles
Florence Cassidy New York	Lewis Meriam Washington
Max Handman Austin, Tex.	Lea D. Taylor Chicago
Elsie Jones Columbus, Ohio	Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer Boston

James H. Batten Claremont, Calif.	Mary E. McDowell Chicago
Emory S. Bogardus Los Angeles	Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell Pittsburgh
B. F. Coen Fort Collins, Colo.	Reverend W. F. Mullally St. Louis
Ida L. Hull Boston	Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich Chicago
Leifur Magnusson Washington	Aghavnie Yeghenian New York

# DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman:	Loanna	C	Colcord	Now	Vorle
Chairman:	roanna		Colcord.	INCW	I OTK.

Vice-Chairman: Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia.

Secretary: Antoinette Cannon, New York.

#### COMMITTEE

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

Henrietta S. Additon New York	Cecil C. North Columbus, Ohio
F. Stuart Chapin New York	Kenneth L. M. Pray Philadelphia
Elizabeth Dixon Chicago	

### TERM EXPIRES 1932

Henry M. Busch	Jesse F. Steiner	New Orleans
Martha C. Chickering Piedmont, Calif.	Walter M. West	New York
Bessie A. McClenahan Los Angeles		

#### TERM EXPIRES 1933

E I I E	n	*** 11
Frank J. Bruno St. Louis	Rose J. McHugh	Washington
C. C. Carstens New York	Gertrude Vaile	Minneapolis
Almena Dawley Philadelphia		

# DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman: Leon Whipple, New York.

Vice-Chairman: Louise M. Clevenger, St. Paul. Secretary: Horace H. Hughes, Philadelphia.

#### COMMITTEE

#### TERM EXPIRES 1931

Louise Franklin	Bache New York	Olga Gunkle .		
Thomas Devine.	Jacksonville, Fla.	Robert Horan	Louisville	

#### TERM EXPIRES 1032

F. D. Preston	Richmond, Va.	Chester H. Rowell	Berkeley
Ralph J. Reed	Omaha	Harding L. White	Boston
Fuert C Poutraha	Now Vorle	Winginia D Wing	Claustand

Paul S. Bliss St. 1	is Mrs. Mary Swain Routzahn New York
Philip L. Ketchum Or	a Mrs. Gertrude H. Springer New York
Charles I. Madison Des M	

# PART III

# BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Sunday, June 8, 1930, 8:00 P.M.

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Due to the absence at the annual meeting of two of the members of the Committee on Resolutions as previously appointed, Miss Miriam Van Waters, President, annuanced the following Committee on Resolutions to serve: Pearl Salsberry, Minnesota, Chairman; William H. Pear, Massachusetts; Fred R. Johnson, Michigan.

Upon the authorization of the Executive Committee, the following committees

were appointed by the president and announced:

Committee on Elections: William Hodson, New York, Chairman; Margaret F. Byington, New Jersey; H. J. Early, Alabama; Mary B. Holsinger, New York; Ralph Barrow, Connecticut; Oliver Friedman, Wisconsin; Herbert D. Williams, Illinois; Effie Doan, Iowa; Ruth Kolling, Kansas; Katherine Hardwick, Massachusetts.

Committee on Tellers: Elmer Scott, Texas, Chairman; Edward D. Lynde, Ohio; Katherine T. Kerwin, Maryland; Louise Clevenger, Minnesota; Edna Zimmerman, Illinois; Victor Woodward, Michigan.

Monday, June 9, 1930, 8:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was called for. Mr. Howard S. Braucher, New York, Chairman, announced the following nominees as the report of the Committee:

For President: Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Richard C. Cabot, Boston. First Vice-President: C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Second Vice-President: Harriet E. Anderson, Louisville; Jane M. Hoey, New York City. Third Vice-President: Harry L. Lurie, Chicago; Elmer Scott, Dallas. For members of the Executive Committee: Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; Clare M. Tousley, New York City; Louise Cottrell, Portland, Oregon; Dorothy C. Kahn, Philadelphia; Ellen C. Potter, Trenton; T. J. Edmonds, Des Moines; Frank D. Preston, Richmond; Fred M. Butzel, Detroit; Margaret Curtis, Boston; T. Arnold Hill, New York City.

Wednesday, June 11, 1930, 11:00 A.M.

Miss Miriam Van Waters, President, called the annual business session of the Conference to order, about 250 members being present.

The General Secretary read the reports from the various Divisions for officers and new committee members of the Divisions for the succeeding year, the officers to serve terms of one year, the committee members terms of three years.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the Division officers and committee members be declared elected. (See Organization of the Conference, 1931, page 674.)

The report of the Treasurer for the fiscal year ending May 30, 1930, was called

for. It was presented by the Treasurer, Mr. Charles C. Stillman, who read as his report the auditor's report dated May 27, 1930. A copy of this is printed in the August *Bulletin*. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the Treasurer's report be accepted and placed on file.

The report of the special Committee on the Relation of the National Conference of Social Work to the next International Conference of Social Work was called for, and was presented by the Chairman, Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, New York, as fol-

lows:

Your Committee has held two meetings: the first, a meeting of the General Secretary with a few members of the Committee in Washington; and the second, a meeting presided over by the Chairman with practically all of the rest of the Committee members in New York. With but one exception every member of the Committee has been present or represented at one of these meetings. It reports as follows:

An understanding of the present organization of the International Conference of Social Work is necessary before any judgment can be rendered on what relationship should exist between the National Conference of Social Work and the International Conference of Social

Work.

# I. PRESENT ORGANIZATION INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The International Conference of Social Work is governed by an Executive Board consisting of a Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen, two Secretary-Generals (Professor Dr. W. Poligkeit of Germany has recently been elected Associate Secretary-General in view of the next meeting of the International Conference in Germany), a Treasurer-General, and has ninety-nine members. This Executive Board was authorized by vote of the International Conference at its last meeting in Paris and instructed to add to its then existing membership. The last published list of members of the Executive Board gave ninety-nine members, of which fifteen were from the United States.

The following paragraphs from the resolutions adopted by the Conference at Paris indicate the authority vested in the Executive Board and imply that at some future time some different form of organization may be established. The resolutions adopted at Paris are as follows:

"The Executive Board of the International Conference of Social Work,

"Considering the great success of the Conference and the advantages to be derived from a renewal of the facilities therein offered for information, discussion, and the establishment of personal relations;

"Considering also the need for associating in friendly relations all international meetings devoted to the campaign against social ills;

"Considering further the impossibility of giving a final form to a permanent organization charged with carrying on the work of the Conference,

"Places before this meeting the following resolutions:

"I. That the Executive Board of the Conference be given full powers to organize another International Conference of Social Work;

"2. That it should make every effort to co-ordinate this second Conference with other Congresses having similar aims;

"3. That the Board be authorized to co-opt new members;

"4. That the National Committees already formed for the preparation of this Conference be invited to place their organization on a permanent basis."

This form of organization is obviously a centralized organization providing for no official representation from any country, as such, but seeking widespread representation of various countries in the selection of its members.

# II. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE MEMBERSHIP

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The Constitution of the International Conference of Social Work has the following provision regarding membership:

"Individuals or agencies become members of the Conference through application to their National Committee, which informs the Secretary-General of the International Organization Committee, if the application is approved.

"While the Conference is in session, each National Committee appoints a member to receive the entries of his compatriots.

"Individuals or agencies from countries which do not possess a National Committee apply directly to the Secretary-General."

From the foregoing, it is evident that each member of the Conference, either an individual or agency, is on an equal basis with all other members and that there is no such thing as national membership in the International Conference.

Recently the Executive Board has changed the regulations regarding membership so that any person or agency sufficiently interested may become a member of the International Conference of Social Work, the National Committees serving merely as a channel through which the memberships from any given country may be conveniently assembled and forwarded to the offices of the International Conference.

#### III. NATIONAL COMMITTEES

As a part of the organization promoting the first International Conference and as a continuing part of the organization for the second International Conference, National Committees were set up and presumably will again be organized, if for any reason they have lapsed, in as many countries as possible. The function of these National Committees, according to the report of the International Conference of Social Work is as follows:

"The National Committees which were formed in 31 countries had as their primary aim to encourage and organize the participation of public institutions, voluntary organizations and social workers in the International Conference of Social Work.

"With the idea of making fuller preparation for the International Conference, several of the National Committees organized National Conferences of Social Work to precede the International Conference.

"These national meetings, like the National Committees, aim, however, at something wider and more continuous than mere collaboration in an International Conference. Their fundamental raison d'être is similar to that of the National Conferences and National Associations or Federations which already exist in certain countries. They will, it is hoped, constitute a permanent centre for information, study and co-ordination of the all too scattered forces of social work."

From the foregoing, it is evident that the function of the National Committees, so far as their relationship to the International Conference of Social Work is concerned, is one of promotion of interest, attendance and participation in the Conference. The situation in the United States is somewhat different from that of any other country inasmuch as our own National Conference of Social Work had already been organized and functioning for many years. Such a Conference does not exist in other countries.

# IV. VALIDITY OF CENTRALIZED ORGANIZATION

Your Committee, after considerable discussion, believes that the scheme of centralized organization established by the International Conference of Social Work is valid at this stage of development. We respectfully suggest that the question of definite official representation from the various countries be postponed until such time as a permanent form of organization of the International Conference of Social Work is under discussion.

The responsibility for arranging a program, securing speakers, and all of the other details of organizing a Conference on the scale and scope of the International Conference of

Social Work must of necessity be the responsibility of a relatively small group.

Your Committee also recognizes clearly that any plan of national participation in the International Conference of Social Work must be universely applicable. We believe that the present system of National Committees with functions as outlined above in the main follow this principle. They can serve not only as a means of promoting the International Conference as such but also as a means of giving recognition to national viewpoints and the expression of national opinion. In the light of the foregoing, we therefore recommend:

#### V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the National Conference of Social Work is willing and desirous of continuing as the National Committee representing the International Conference of Social Work in the United States and that responsibility for such representation and the carrying on of such activities as may be assigned to our Conference shall be executed either by the Executive Committee of the Conference or by a special committee appointed by the Executive Committee for that purpose.

We suggest that according to the stated functions of National Committees, the following be given emphasis by our Conference:

- a) That we promote membership from the United States in the International Conference of Social Work.
- b) That we promote attendance at and participation in the next International Conference of Social Work by social workers from the United States.
- c) That we convey to the Executive Board of the International Conference of Social Work suggestions of subject matter and speakers for the next International Conference of Social Work.
- d) That we undertake any other responsibility requested by the Executive Board of the International Conference of Social Work.
- 2. That in accordance with the membership statement in the Constitution of the International Conference of Social Work that the Executive Board clarify somewhat the basis of membership and suggest a simple method of carrying out its provisions. We anticipate that at the next International Conference of Social Work there will be many persons from the United States wishing to attend and also desiring membership. Is it the responsibility of the National Conference of Social Work to establish standards of membership in the International Conference of Social Work, or should such standards be established by the Executive Board of the International Conference? We also suggest that the privileges of attendance, participation, and the like of people who may wish to attend the next meeting of the International Conference, but who may not for one reason or another be members, be clearly stated.
- 3. That in the belief that American participation will be enhanced by the fullest knowledge of the workings of the Conference, the American Committee should request from the Executive Board full financial statements of the Paris meeting, plus a budget of the Frankfort meetings, prior to any steps to raise further money through the American Committee.
- 4. That the General Secretary of the National Conference of Social Work be asked to present to the Executive Committee recommendations as to the services which our National Committee may render to delegates attending from the United States that will enable them to secure the greatest value to themselves and to social work in the United States through their attendance at the next meeting of the International Conference of Social Work, and also enable them to make the most effective contribution to the social work of other countries.
- 5. That in general, the National Committee of the United States (the National Conference of Social Work) serve as a channel through which American wishes can make themselves known and American participation be encouraged and made constructively effective.

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The common purposes of the two bodies—national and international—make such co-operation a natural course. The free expression of ideas on the part of the National Committees and the open spreading before them of developments by the council, stage by stage, will make for that interplay and mutual confidence which should at Frankfort carry the International Conference to an altogether new level.

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Mr. Kellogg further remarked with reference to section V, 2 and 3, that Dr. Sand has been in this country since this section was written and that these questions of membership have been cleared up. A membership scheme similar to that of the National Conference of Social Work has been adopted so that any individual or organization who so wishes may become a member of the International Conference upon payment of the membership fee. We have received financial reports of the Paris meeting and the budget of the forthcoming meeting in Frankfort.

After discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adopt the report.

The President called the attention of the Conference to the recent statement sent to all members of the Conference by authorization of the Executive Committee relative to the voting privilege of institutional members of the Conference, and called upon the General Secretary to give a résumé of the situation. The Secretary outlined the differences of opinion that had resulted from the action taken at San Francisco relative to the voting privilege of institutional members, pointed out the different policies involved, and stated that the Executive Committee had prepared two amendments to the Constitution—one that would without equivocation or possible misunderstanding do away with the voting privilege of institutional members, limiting the voting privilege only to personal members, and the other which is recommended by the Executive Committee that re-establishes without question the right of institutional members of the Conference to vote. The Secretary then read the recommendation of the Executive Committee as follows:

To amend Article VIII of the By-Laws by eliminating the third paragraph and substituting therefor the following: "Any institutional member or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot."

A lengthy discussion led by Miss Sophonisba Breckinridge, of Chicago, opposing the recommendation of the Executive Committee and Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, of New York, in favor of the recommendation of the Executive Committee then ensued. The question having been called for and motion having been duly made and seconded, it was voted by a rising vote (158 ayes, 52 nays) to adopt the amendment as recommended by the Executive Committee.

The report of the Committee on Time and Place was called for, and was read by Mr. Alfred F. Whitman, Boston, Chairman, as follows:

The following members of this Committee have held several sessions, and with the assistance of a map of the United States supplied by the Philadelphia committee, have given thorough consideration to invitations from five cities. The members of the Committee now making this unanimous report are Mrs. Baylor, Miss Binford, Miss Bresette, Miss Donaldson, Fr. Fortier, Miss Howell, Miss Johnson, Miss McMechen, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Raymond, Mr. Reed, Miss Taussig, and the Chairman, Mr. Whitman.

Cordial and serious invitations for the 1932 meeting were received from Baltimore, Co-

lumbus, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Richmond. Invitations were also presented from Milwaukee for 1933, and from Kansas City a standing invitation was received for 1933 and subsequent years. Our members from Canada met with the Committee and indicated that they would present an invitation for some year subsequent to 1933 and would welcome the Conference for any year following that date when it saw fit to accept the invitation from a Canadian city. This same delegation made the suggestion that the 1933 meeting of the National Conference be held in some city on the eastern half of the northern boundary of the United States, having in mind the fact of the World's Fair in Chicago in 1933 and the arrangement whereby the Canadian National Conference holds its sessions on the even years.

Out of the experience of the Committee, we are making certain suggestions to the Conference.

- 1. That the date be set at a time when it will least conflict with commencement dates and at a time when there will be the best co-ordination with the plans for the Pan-American Conference and for the International Conference.
- 2. That some mathematically inclined member of the Conference devise a formula for scientifically locating the logical place for the Conference.
- Suggestions for local committee. The formal recommendations of the Committee are as follows:
- a) That a plan be worked out whereby prospective hosts present invitations several months prior to the first session of the Time and Place Committee in order that the Conference staff may make a case work study of the inviting city, its resources, the guaranties for facilities and for financing the need of such community, and the matter of possible race discrimination.
- b) That the policy of holding open sessions of the Time and Place Committee be encouraged and continued.
- c) That the invitation of a special committee representative of a large number of social and civic organizations in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania urging that the Conference go to Philadelphia for its 1932 session be accepted. These recommendations constitute the unanimous report of the Committee on Time and Place.

ALFRED F. WHITMAN, Chairman, Committee on Time and Place

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the report be adopted.

There being no further business, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adjourn.

Friday, June 13, 1930, 8:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Tellers was called for, and was presented by Mr. Elmer Scott, Dallas, as follows:

The following officers have been elected: President: Richard C. Cabot; First Vice-President: C. M. Bookman; Second Vice-President: Jane M. Hoey; Third Vice-President: Harry L. Lurie; Members of the Executive Committee: Joanna C. Colcord, Louise Cottrell, Dorothy C. Kahn, Ellen C. Potter, Clare M. Tousley.

Saturday, June 14, 1930, 1:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was presented by Miss Pearl Salsberry, Minneapolis, Chairman, as follows:

WHEREAS, the National Conference of Social Work is interested in promoting international understanding and cooperation in dealing with common social problems,

And whereas the sixth Pan-American Child Congress will meet in Lima, Peru, July 4 to 11 of this year, and will then designate the place of meeting of the seventh Pan-American Child Congress, which will probably be held in 1932,

AND WHEREAS the United States has actively participated in the Pan-American Child Congress but has never had the honor of entertaining the Congress,

Therefore be it resolved by the National Conference of Social Work in session in Boston, Massachusetts, to express to the sixth Pan-American Child Congress its hope that the United States may be chosen as the seat of the seventh Congress, and further, that it may be possible to arrange one joint session of the two conferences in furtherance of greater Pan-American cooperation in the development of social work.

Whereas, the 1930 session of the National Conference of Social Work, the most largely attended within its history, has been marked by cordial hospitality on the part of the social agencies and of the citizens of Boston, as well as by the most satisfactory arrangements for the work of the Conference and for the comfort of its members; and

Whereas, all members and delegates have enjoyed the many delightful opportunities for entertainment, and have profited in unusual measure by the orderly presentation of a magnificent program; and

Whereas, the spontaneous statements of appreciation and gratitude generally expressed by the members and visitors at this Conference deserve to be formally embodied in definite record:

Therefore, be it

Resolved that this Conference acknowledges with respect and appreciation the sympathetic attitude of His Excellency Frank G. Allen, Governor of Massachusetts, to whose interest and initiative is due the present movement in the furtherance of child welfare in Massachusetts; and, be it

Resolved, that this Conference expresses gratitude to the city of Boston through His Honor Mayor James M. Curley for interest in its purposes and proceedings; and be it

Resolved, that this Conference extends greetings, felicitations, and sincere appreciation to Bishop Lawrence, chairman of the Boston Committee, and expresses to this distinguished citizen of the nation, who is loved and respected by all, the earnest wish that his life may continue to be as full of happiness as it is and has been of good works; and be it,

Resolved, that this Conference acknowledges with particular delight the generous hospitality extended by those whose beautiful homes and gardens have been opened to our members, and also the splendid privilege of participation in other notable tercentenary events that have occurred in and near Boston during the Conference week; and be it

Resolved, that this Conference acknowledges its indebtedness to Mr. Roy M. Cushman, secretary of the Boston Committee; to the efficient chairmen of committees serving with him; to the fine corps of volunteer workers who have carried the burden of the local arrangements of the Conference; to the Hotel Statler for its service and accommodations; and to the Boston newspapers for their excellent work in reporting the events and proceedings of the Conference; and be it further

Resolved, that the Conference extends its appreciation to the churches and to the organizations which have made their auditoriums available for meetings, to the volunteers who have been gracious and efficient ushers at meetings, and especially to Mr. Parker B. Field for his excellent work in arranging for meeting places under conditions rendered complex by large attendance and great numbers of meetings.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM H. PEAR
W. FRANK PERSONS
PEARL SALSBERRY, Chairman.

# PART IV

# CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

#### CONSTITUTION

#### PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

#### MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State board and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

#### OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the assistant secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

#### COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all the Division Committees, exofficio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

#### ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

#### GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

#### AMENDMENTS

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This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

# BY-LAWS

#### I. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the Proceedings, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

#### 2. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He

shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

#### 3. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

#### 4. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the Next Meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, and six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Division and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

- c) To determine from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.
- d) To recommend to Division Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Division Committees.
- e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference program, either General Sessions or Divisions. Where such commitments are made for Division programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Division involved or with its hearty cooperation and consent, and for not more than two of the five meetings now allowed each Division.
  - f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Divisions.

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- g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.
- h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.
- i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.
- j) To execute such other functions as from time to time may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.
- k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

#### 5. DIVISIONS

- a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.
- b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.
- c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.
- d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.
- e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.
- f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs,

in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work,

#### 6. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

#### 7. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

#### 8. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting and, (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

### 9. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

#### 10. DIVISION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairman of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

#### II. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the

official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

#### 12. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

## 13. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the second day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the second day of the Conference.

5. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee. Such nominations shall be received up to 1 P.M. on the third day of the annual meeting.

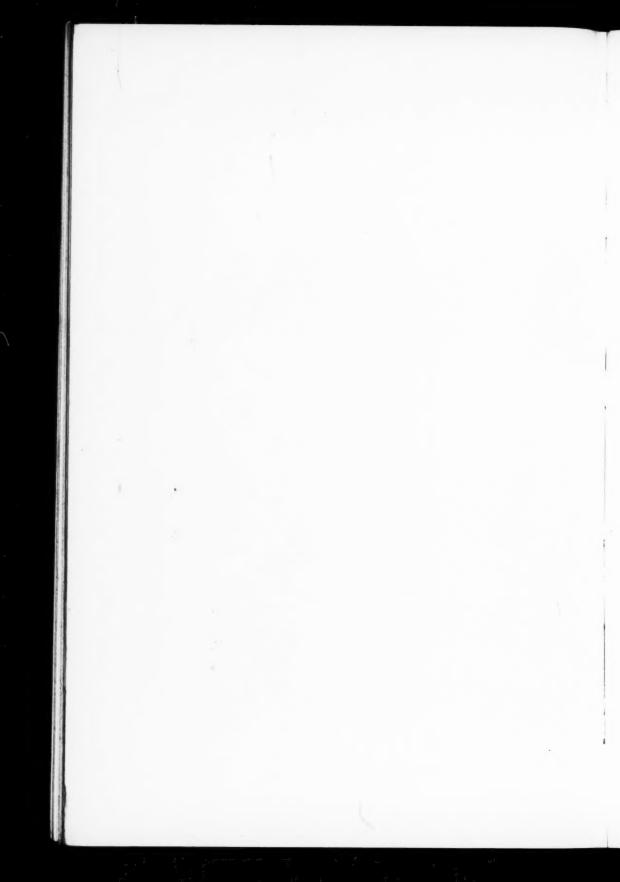
6. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday. Should the fourth day fall on Sunday, such publication shall be made on the morning of the fifth day.

Ballots shall be supplied to all members who are entitled to vote and who present themselves for voting.

A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference to be open for at least four hours at such times as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired the ballots shall be counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.



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